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The Modern Review

V. 83

1948

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Andre Gide: *Sunil Kumar Bose*

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy: *Swami Jagadiswarananda*

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Some Aspects of Indo-Muslim Polity: *Y. Krishan*

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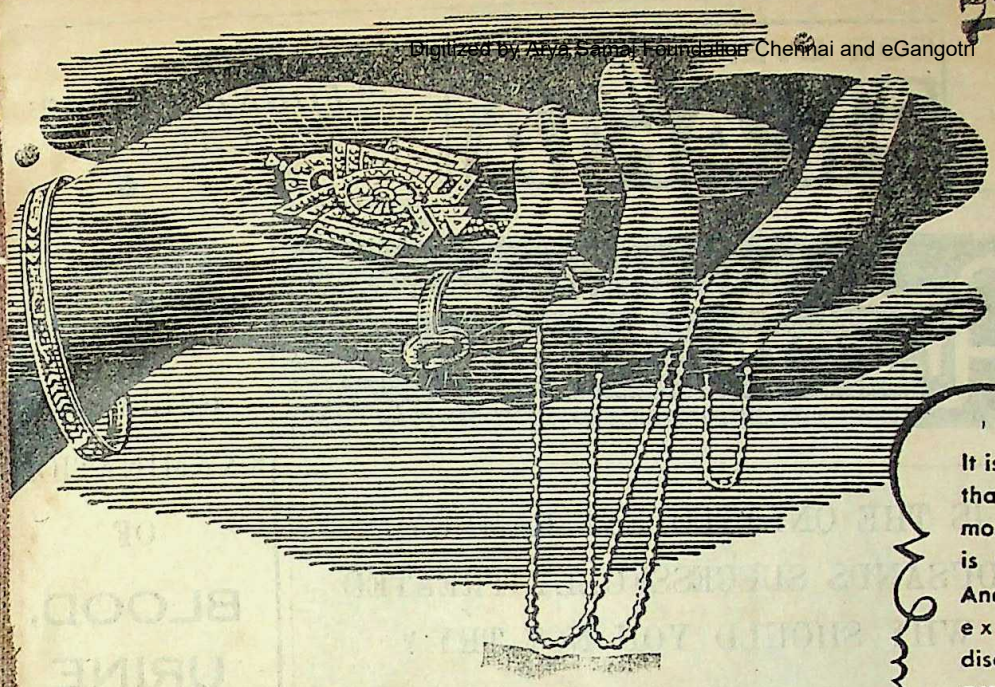

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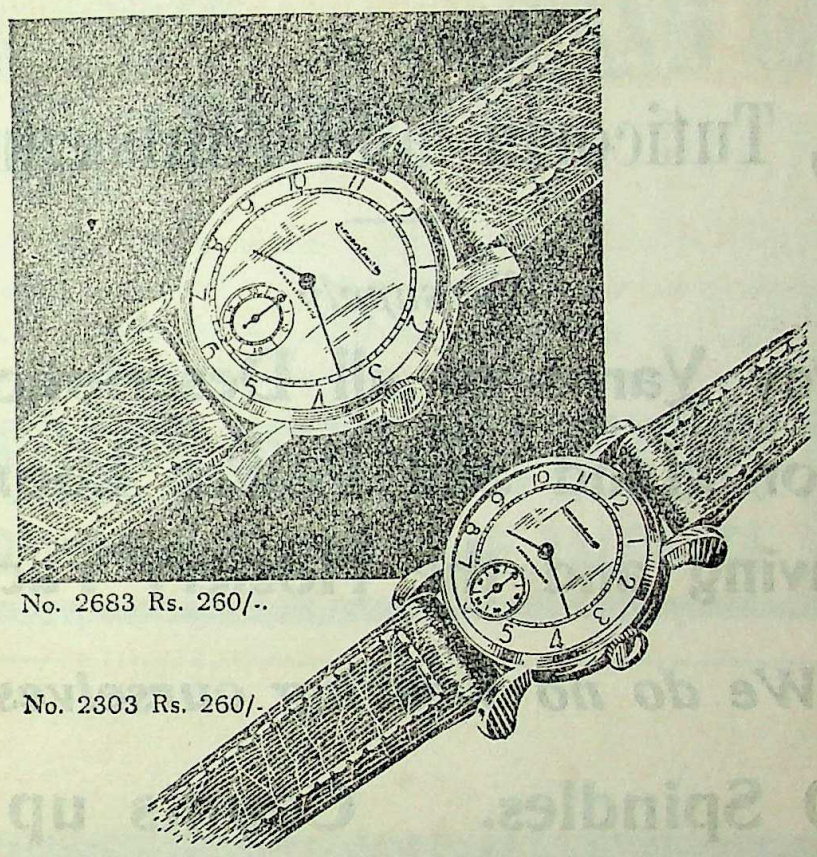

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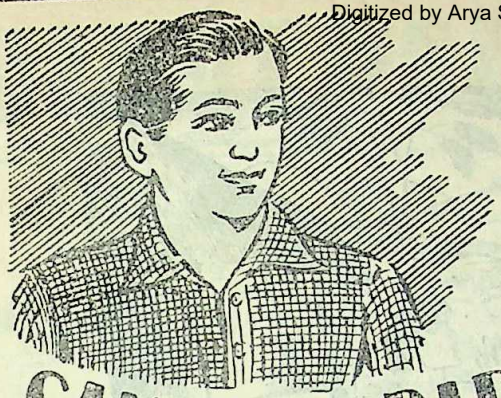

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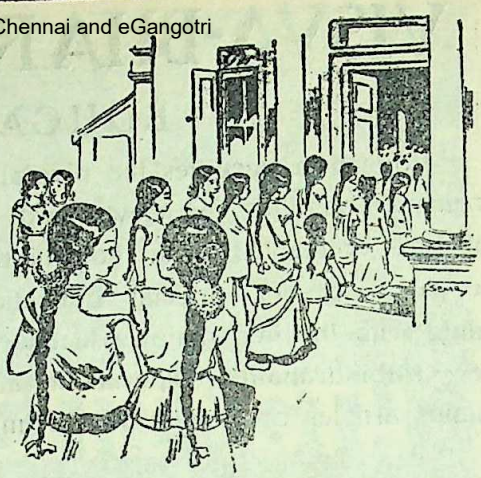

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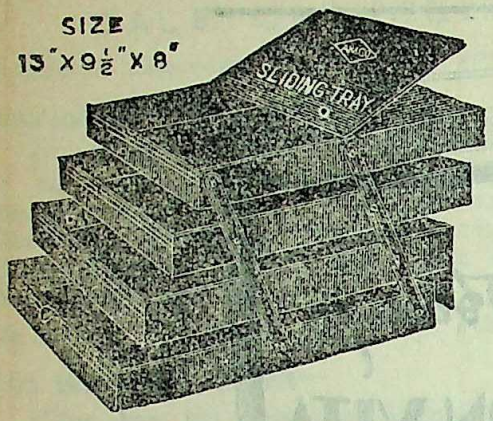

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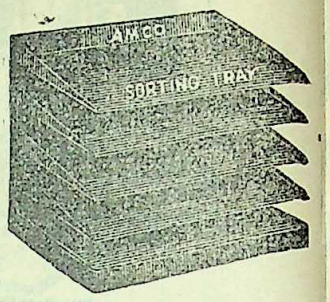

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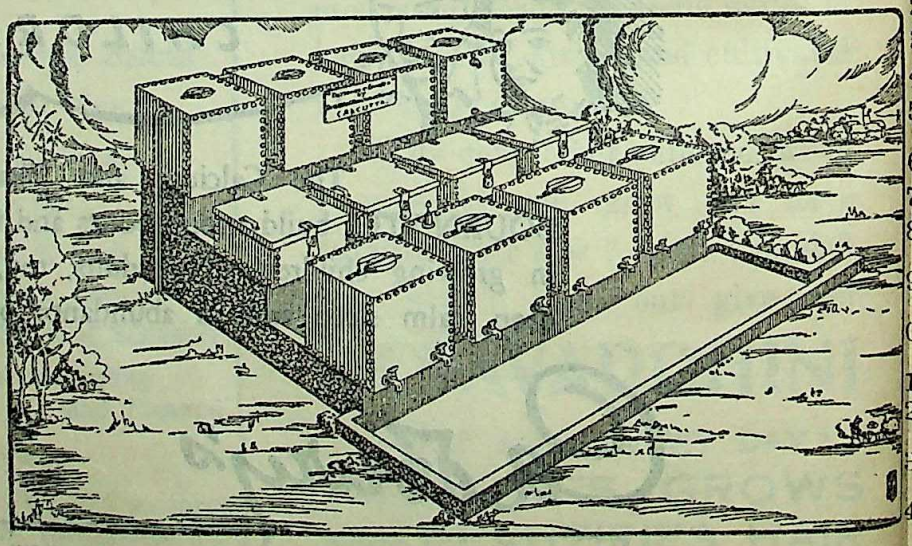

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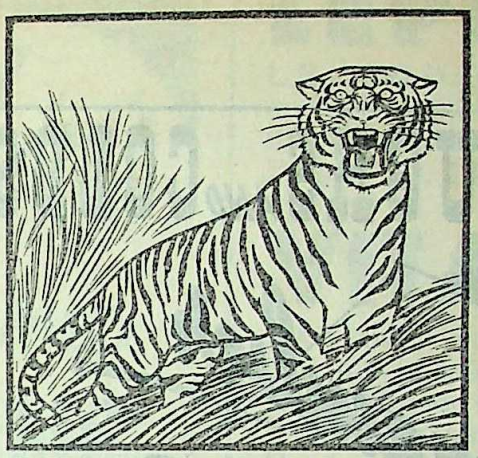
TIGER  BRAND

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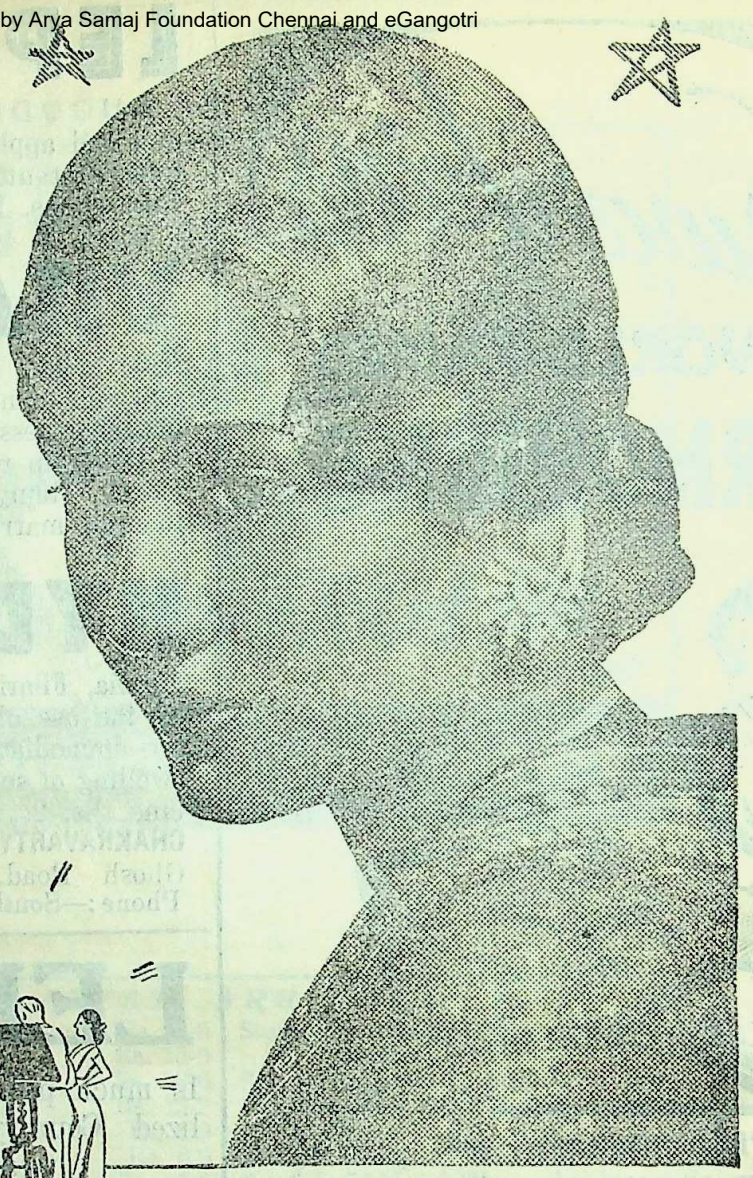

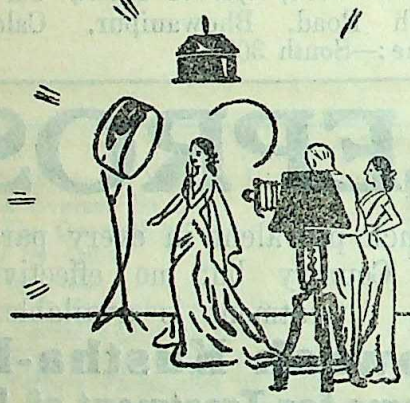

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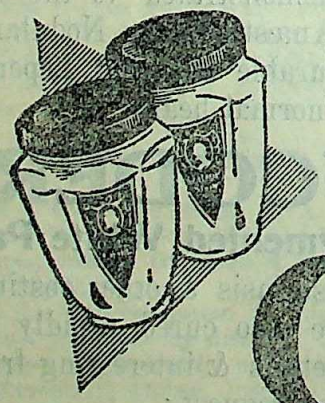

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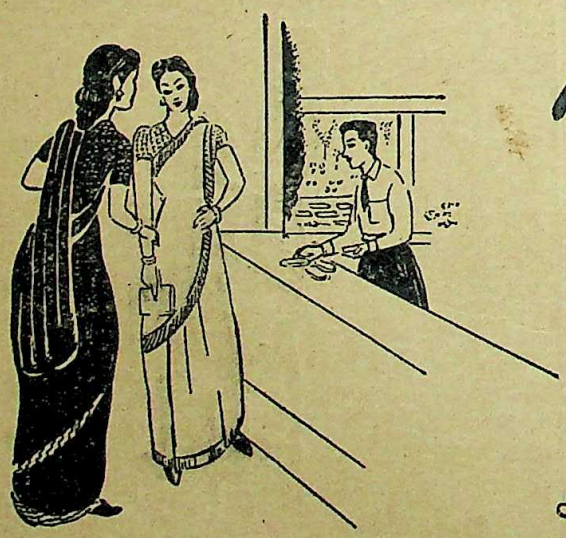

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Polo is one of the chief sports of all districts in the Gilgit Agency. An international match is being played at Gilgit during the annual meeting of chiefs

Hunza in Kashmir : A father teaches his daughters to reap and to lay out the barley ; 'reaping' usually consists of pulling the crop up by the roots

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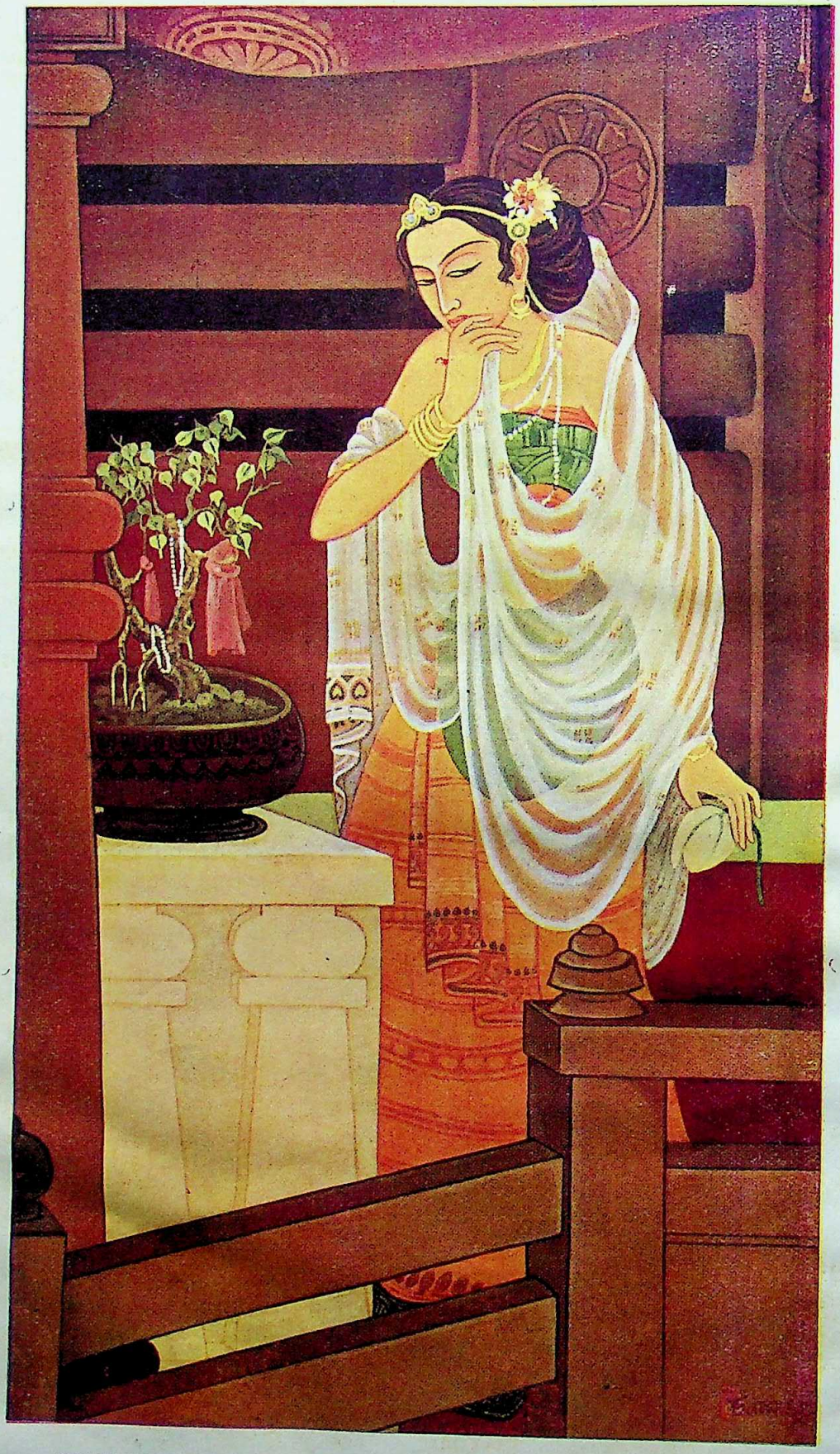

TISHYARAKSHITA STANDING BEFORE THE BODHI TREE
By Tilak Banerji

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

The New Year

The Old Year has passed out amidst the trials and agony of millions and the acute nervous tension of the hundreds of millions inhabiting the Indian sub-continent. But despite the manifold horrors to which the people were subjected and the terrible ordeals through which the despoiled, dispossesed and ravished millions of innocents had to pass, the year that has passed would be marked for ever in Indian history as the year of Independence and the year of the Parting of the ways of the two ideologically different peoples. 1947 was in all truth a year of black gloom and despair, lit only with Freedom's solitary brilliant shaft of light, cleaving through the darkness.

The year that is newly born has not brought in its train any happy augury for the future as yet. But today the nationals of the Indian Union are perhaps more ready than ever before to face the future with a stern resolve to take all that comes without flinching. With ominous signs of scarcity all around and with the increased tension consequent on Pakistan's machinations, few have hopes that our trials and tribulations would be ended in the near future. Indeed, it seems as if the nation would have to pass through the fieriest of all ordeals within the very first year of its existence. But still, though concern and deep anxiety is marked on all quarters, there is no despair to be perceived, and there is no lack of confidence in the capacity of the nation to meet all trials. If only the nation's Elder statesmen would steel their nerves, reinforce their ideals with realism and get rid of all emotional frenzies, there is no reason to doubt that, come what may, the Indian Union will survive with glory all its trials and tribulations. For just as the sole message of hope for the nation is forthcoming from the staunch attitude of the Man in the street and the Man in the field, so does, in all truth, the deepest cause of anxiety lie in the emotional vacillations and lack of realism in some of our most beloved leaders. Basic principles of democracy of deepest significance are being ignored—even violated—by them, through over-emphasis being laid on abstract ideals, to the deep detriment of the broader interests of the nation. This is leading to the confusion of the mass-mind, creating tension and resentment in quarters where there was only loyalty and faithful trust before.

The time has come when our trusted leaders, including the Father of the Nation, have to be asked for a clear reply to a plain question. Where does the Hindu of the Indian Union stand today and what does freedom mean for him? Does he possess along with others the democratic birth-rights by which a State has to be ruled and administered for the greatest good for the majority, or is he there merely to serve as so much fuel for a burnt sacrifice—to be used as "conscience-fodder," so to say, by his leaders, just as the totalitarian Fuehrer used his people as cannon-fodder? It is the Hindu who did by far most of the fighting for liberty and offered by far the vastly greater part of the sacrifices. Then why should his interests be sacrificed at every emotional impulse of his Elders and Leaders? A State cannot be run on the lines of a Passion-play, and what would avail the working of a miracle in the minds of the recalcitrant infinitesimal minority, if thereby the trust of the hundreds of millions of the majority be betrayed?

While the rest of the world, including Pakistan, has awarded first and foremost priority towards giving strength and succour to its own nationals and devoting all its time, energy and resources towards nation-building, it seems the nationals of the Indian Union are to be doomed, to wait for ever in helpless misery.

Mahatmaji's fast will, we are sure, attain its object for the time being but the results would be futile and disastrous in the long run, unless the Pakistanis mend their ways. Indeed, this fast will enhance communal bitterness a thousand-fold on this side when the people realise the futility of all their sacrifices, and would

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make the ultimate and inevitable clash horrible, catastrophic beyond all measure, unless Mahatmaji can work his miracle in Pakistan as well. And as yet we have seen not a vestige or sign of a change of heart in that quarter. Indeed, if anything, they are getting increasingly arrogant everywhere as the following example will show. The extract is from a letter written to the Secretary of the Indian Central Jute Committee with the copy of a note from Dr. B. C. Kundu, Ph.D., F.N.I., Director, Jute Agricultural Research :

> I submit below a report of the incidents which took place at the Jute Agricultural Research Laboratories on the 16th, 17th and 18th December, 1947.
>
> On the 16th December, 1947, at about 10 a.m. (B.T.) Mr. G. A. Faruqi, Secretary, Agricultural Department, Government of East Bengal, along with Khan Bahadur S. Abdullah, Director of Agriculture, Khan Bahadur Hedyetullah, Assistant Director of Agriculture (Research), Dr. S. D. Chowdhury, Economic Botanist, Mr. Yusuf, Economic Botanist and Dr. M. O. Ghani, Chief Chemist came to me and wanted to take possession of the Jute Agricultural Research Laboratories immediately. For this purpose he asked me to give him a list of all equipments, etc. I refused to do this in the absence of any order from you and strongly protested against the tone and manners of the Secretary. He said that as we were in Pakistan, we must obey the orders of the Pakistan Government. I informed him that I was not an officer of the Pakistan Government and was not prepared to obey any orders of the same Government in the absence of any orders from my Secretary, besides there were no written orders of the Pakistan Government. He replied very rudely and with highly arrogant gesture, "I am the Government, you must carry out my orders" and then served me with a memo asking for the lists, etc. (copy enclosed). I refused to carry out his orders and explained to him that the matter of handing over charge of the Laboratories had been discussed by Sir Datar Singh and myself with Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Chief Secretary, East Bengal Government over the 'phone and he (Mr. A. Ahmed) agreed to wait for 10 days. Besides I asked him for some time to consider the matter and to ring you up and the Chief Secretary, East Bengal Government. He said that he could not wait even for a minute and did not allow me to ring you up or the Chief Secretary, East Bengal Government. I kept quiet and refused to do anything. At this he threatened me with the dire consequences that were going to fall upon me if I did not comply with his orders immediately. He actually asked the Director of Agriculture to phone the Superintendent of Police for coming immediately and taking action against me and he gave him some written instructions. I informed the Secretary that I was fully aware of the consequences and that he would not be able to coerce me in that way. In the meantime the Laboratories were full of peons, bearers, assistants, clerks, etc., of the East Bengal Agricultural Department. I found that carpenters and peons were moving about with door rings and big padlocks.
>
> As some time went on, the attitude of the Secretary became more and more unreasonable and overbearing. His tone and manners became extremely rude and highly objectionable. I apprehended that if I did not give him the list, all the doors of the rooms of the Laboratory would be immediately locked up and they would probably give me no receipt for the articles taken over by them. Under pressure of the circumstances I handed over the lists of equipments (each page of which were signed by me and Mr. R. L. M. Ghose, Botanist, J.A.R.L.) under strong protest. He took the list and deputed his officers to go to each section of our Laboratories for the purpose of verification.
>
> Soon after this I sent a letter to the Chief Secretary, East Bengal Government (copy enclosed) and after some time personally went to explain him the position. The Chief Secretary was in the midst of a conference. I waited for some time and then rang him up and informed him of all that had happened. He said that he did not receive any letter from me and could not see me at that time and asked me to see him next day.
>
> In the meantime the officers and assistants of the East Bengal Agriculture Department checked and verified the apparatus, furniture, books, etc. and coerced my assistants to hand over the keys of the almirahs, rooms, etc. After doing all these they posted guards at the Laboratory and we were not allowed to enter the Laboratories without their permission. A note received from Mr. R. L. M. Ghose during the time I was away is enclosed herewith.
>
> In short, the East Bengal Government has by force taken possession of the Laboratories. We were helpless as we received no help from any quarter. I tried to get you over the 'phone several times but failed.

While the Pakistanis behave thus, what lasting benefits can accrue to the people of the Indian Union despite all appeasement ?

Kashmir Question at U. N. O.

The Government of India has placed the Kashmir issue before the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. Pakistan Dominion and other Dominion representatives in Delhi have also been apprised of India's intention to raise the issue before the Security Council. The Indian Government have for some time past been in communication with the British Government who have been fully posted with India's case. This decision to approach the Security Council is without prejudice to the military operations which are now in progress in Jammu and elsewhere. It is presumed that this reference is a prelude to a relentless and more vigorous drive against the raiders.

The United Nations legal counsellors at New York are of the opinion that India's decision to refer the Kashmir dispute to the Security Council is entirely proper and legal.

It is understood that reference to the Security Council is based broadly on the following lines. Pakistan, which is also a member of the U.N.O., has continued with its hostile activities against a friendly neighbouring country by aiding and actively assisting the raiders in Kashmir and Jammu which by virtue of its accession to India forms part of the Indian Dominion ; repeated appeals to Pakistan to deny to the raiders the use of their territory as a base of operation against India have failed ; there is conclusive proof of Pakistan's guilt by way of her assisting the raiders with all the sinews of war including of munitions artillery and ordnance stores. In this connection, it has been recalled that India had already offered to hold a referendum on the accession issue under the auspices of the U. N. O. even though the people of the

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State do not desire a referendum on the ground that accession of the State to India is final and complete.

Pakistan, which contested the accession of the State to India was duly informed of India's desire to hold a referendum under impartial auspices, subject, of course, to the establishment of peace following the ejection of the raiders from the State territory. It appeared that Pakistan desires no referendum but wished to force a decision by the might of arms through the subterfuge of a tribal raid.

Observers in New Delhi feel that the outcome of this reference to the Security Council will be that either Pakistan will take steps to stop the influx of the raiders in accordance with international morality or the Indian dominion must be free to take such appropriate action as might be necessary to protect the integrity of the State and of her subjects. Judging from Pakistan's usual practice of breaking every agreement arrived at with them, we do not share the optimism of New Delhi that it would conform to international law and morality even under pressure from the U.N.O. We would consider the reference as fruitful if it only clears the way for the Government of India and enables it to attack the raiders' base in Pakistan. It is impossible to stop the raids of a modern mechanised army unless its base is destroyed.

India's efforts to arrive at an amicable settlement with Pakistan on the Kashmir issue must be considered as exhausted. The two-dominion conference at New Delhi on December 22 could come to no conclusion owing to the intransigence of Pakistan to face facts and its inability to honour agreements. Agreements about the treatment of refugees and return of abducted women have all been systematically dishonoured. Even an ultimatum, handed over personally by Pandit Nehru to Mr. Liaqat Ali, remains unreplied. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Sunday Times* of London gives the following message splashed on on the front page of the paper :

> I am able to state on the highest authority that on December 22, Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, handed over to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, a formal Note which, although couched in friendly terms, states that the Indian Government is satisfied that the invasion of Kashmir has the backing of Pakistan's arsenals and trained personnel, who are held responsible for the obviously experienced direction of the operations.
>
> The Note calls on Pakistan to withdraw the tribes and its own personnel 'immediately,' failing which the Indian Government will appeal to the United Nations Security Council. If no reply is received by Wednesday, instructions will be cabled, without further delay, to the Indian representative at U.N.O.
>
> The correspondent says that the forces which India can maintain in Kashmir are limited by the immense supply difficulties from which the Azad Commander is free. In the past week, the invaders have felt strong enough to abandon guerilla tactics for the pitched battles which have led to Indian withdrawals. It is reported that there are 19,000 invaders in the Uri area alone; and, including their Poonch forces, the Azad army is now said to outnumber the Indians by two to one.

In view of the fact that the parleys with the Pakistan Government have failed to produce any peaceful solution, the Government of India are understood to have decided to mobilise all their military resources in order to intensify the Kashmir campaign.

Pakistan's refusal to withdraw raiders from Kashmir and refrain from hostile acts have led the Government of India to reconsider as to what they should do about the payment of remaining Rs. 370 millions to Pakistan. It is apprehended that if such a large sum is immediately placed in the hands of Pakistan it may provide sinews of war to it. There have been reports earlier that Pakistan was attempting to purchase modern arms and armaments from foreign countries and emissaries were at work for that purpose. Any large cash payments made to Pakistan at this stage might be spent on the purchase of war equipments to be utilised against the Indian Dominion.

Sheikh Abdullah has recently stated, with reference to the huge concentration of raiders along Jammu border, that the stage had been reached when the entire situation must be faced militarily. No state could allow concentrations of hostile armed bands along its borders. Pakistan officially is not at war with India or Kashmir but apart from concentrations of enemies in Pakistan and her supply of arms and ammunition, there is sufficient proof that Pakistan troops were actually fighting in Kashmir under the subterfuge of "deserters." As soon as a large number of Pakistan troops were caught in Kashmir the Pakistan radio came out with the announcement that two battalions of Pakistan troops had deserted. Sheikh Abdullah also stated that the enemy was concentrated in large numbers in Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Sialkot, Gujrat and Sakkargarh. Total enemy strength was estimated at between one and two lakhs. All these people were armed with rifles. They had armoured cars, other weapons and had two aeroplanes. Only a few days ago, the Pakistan radio announced that two aeroplanes were being handed over to the "Azad Kashmir Government" but kept silent as to who was giving them and what were the types of the planes.

In reply to a question put by a press representative, Sheikh Abdullah made an observation which provides the key to the whole situation: Asked whether he thought that a conflict between India and Pakistan was inevitable if the present state continued. Sheikh Abdullah said, "Pakistan people fire across the borders while our army does not. This state of affairs cannot last long. No army can allow such big concentrations across the border. If the Pakistan people say they have nothing to do with the raiders, let them stop this thing. If they say that they are not capable of stopping the raiders, then they should allow India to stop them."

Kashmir Before August 15

The full details of Pakistani conspiracy with regard to Kashmir have yet to come to light. The world outside appears to know more of these, thanks to the presence of foreign correspondents at New Delhi, at Karachi, in N.-W.

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Frontier Province and Kashmir. And in India, we can attempt to get at the truth by piecing together items of news published in the foreign Press under banner headlines. The majority of these broadcast the Pakistani brief. The *Roy's Weewly* of New Delhi gives out a story that went to show that the conspiracy started before August 15 (1947), and that the late Dewan of Kashmir, Ram Chandra Kak, played not a very decent part in it. The names of the Nawab of Bhopal and of Sir Conrad Smith, Political Secretary to the "Paramountcy" Department, figure in the story. And the Maharaja of Kashmir was as clay in their hands. He tried to enter into a Stand-Still Agreement both with India and Pakistan. We will allow the *Roy's Weekly* to describe what followed:

> Accordingly, he sent wires to both on August 11. The wire was delivered to Mr. Jinnah who promptly replied accepting the proposal. The wire meant for India was held up by the Muslim staff of the telegraph office and was not delivered to the Indian States Ministry until August 27. Naturally, there was no hurry to sign a standstill agreement when it had been announced that Kashmir had already signed an agreement with Pakistan.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan has been at pains to mislead world opinion by asserting that his Government had no hand in facilitating the march of Tribals through his territories. They simply walked or marched over it, his Government looking in benevolent helplessness on this exploit. The London *Daily Telegraph* published the following report from Rawalpindi date-lined November 23, confirming the charge made by the Indian Union that the Pakistani authorities were helpful to the raiders on Kashmir. The report also directed attention to the hand of the Soviet Union trying to have its fingers in the Kashmir pie. How British policy would gain by allowing this story to go out into the world is more than we can say at present. The Soviet Union cannot be anxious to do an unfriendly act to the Indian Union. The *Daily Telegraph* story is as follows:

> A party of 800 tribesmen from various parts of Southern Afghanistan who passed through here yesterday is going to Poonch armed with the latest pattern of Russian rifle. Pakistan Intelligence officers who seized one rifle for identification confirmed that it is this year's pattern of firing rimless ammunition.
>
> The Pakistan Government have flown an agent to Gilgit to test reports that the Independence Movement there, although nominally a part of the Azad Kashmir Movement, is in fact backed by Russia. . . .

Pakistan Minorities

West Punjab and the N.-W.F.P. have been cleared of all minority problems by driving away the Hindus and Sikhs from these two provinces of Pakistan. The plight of Hindus in Sind, who have been forcibly prevented from migrating to India because the provincial and local administrations cannot be run without them, are well-known. The Congress leaders of Sind have not let down the voiceless millions and have succeeded in drawing the attention of the High Command. Efforts are now being made to bring them into India as has been revealed by Sardar Patel in his Calcutta speech and the circular letter of Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the Provinces. Dr. Prasad, the Congress President, is stated to have issued directives to the Presidents of the Bombay, Gujarat, Central Provinces and the United Provinces Congress Committees for making arrangements for the reception and accommodation of a large number of Hindus who are anxious to migrate from Sind. This step has been taken by the Congress President as a sequel to the representation made by a delegation of Sind Congress leaders headed by Dr. Choitram Gidwani, President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee, drawing the former's attention to the "steadily deteriorating situation in Sind as a result whereof a large number of Hindus are anxious to migrate from that province." In his circular letter to the Provincial Congress Presidents mentioned above, Dr. Prasad has also asked them "to secure for the refugees assistance from the ministry there." Sj. Sri Prakash, India's High Commissioner to Pakistan, has also been approached and it is understood that he is soon going to take up the question with the Central Government. It is also understood that the Sind situation is engaging the attention of the Government of India and Dr. Prasad is expected to place the Sind issue before the Congress Working Committee as well as before Dominion Cabinet.

The East Bengal Hindus, on the other hand, have been left to their own devices. Migration is steadily going on and it can safely be said that it had crossed the million mark long ago. Calcutta alone has registered a rise in the number of ration cards to the extent of a million. Living conditions in East Bengal may become gradually comparable to that in Sind and may be summed up as no rights, little security and constant humiliation. But there is one vital difference between them, namely, that while the Sind leaders are moving to secure succour for their people, Bengal Congress leaders, the West Bengal Government and Bengal's representatives at the Constituent Assembly have maintained a studied silence, apparently for shirking responsibility which would devolve on them as soon as facts are admitted. Most of the members of the Bengal Congress, West Bengal Government and representatives to the Constituent Assembly are themselves East Bengal men, and the betrayal of their own men has hardly any parallel in the world. In reply to a question, put by Pandit Kunzru it was revealed that Dr. Ghosh's Government had not supplied any information about East Bengal migration to the Dominion Government. Instead of detailing the day-to-day happenings in East Bengal, even a small amount of which would be sufficiently revolting, we quote below the statement of Sj. Satindranath Sen, a Congress leader of the district of Barisal which was formerly known as the granary of Bengal. It must be remembered that unlike the top-ranking leaders of the Bengal Congress, Sj. Sen lives in Barisal, his native district. He says:

> Khwaja Nazimuddin, the Premier of East Bengal, deserves thanks for some clarification with respect to the Qaid-e-Azam Relief Fund. But the Central and Provincial Committees, as announced in the East Bengal Government appeal, remain the same, *i.e.*, without a single Hindu. Both in my statements on the subject in the Press and when I met the Premier at Dacca, I emphasised this point.

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Adequate representation of the minority in the Central and the Provincial Committees should be immediately made. Relief should be for all kinds of local distress. For some time past people especially the middle-class in East Bengal, have been suffering as the price level of rice and other essential articles is far beyond the reach of the overwhelming majority of the middle-class. In Hijla and Mohendiganj police stations the level rose to Rs. 60 per maund. Even now, when the harvest is in full swing, there are places where the level is near about Rs. 30 per maund. The result of all this has been very grave deterioration in the vitality and power of resistance of the people. Gradually selling or mortgaging their movable and immovable property to keep the wolf from the door, they are making serious preparations for exodus. During the whole of last year, though we pressed for it, to our knowledge, there has been no governmental relief. So a substantial part of this fund should be earmarked for local relief and the Centre should generously supplement the local fund.

I am sorry Mr. Nazimuddin has not said anything about the voluntary character of the fund. He must have seen in the Press how various licenses are being abused and pressure exercised by short-sighted and over-zealous officers. Its only effect on the minority is to encourage the inevitability of exodus. The same effect is being seriously produced by the same type of officers in the matter of Income Tax. Some of them are augmenting the assessment 10 to 15 times on the ground that Pakistan is badly in need of funds. Can there by anything more preposterous and monstrous? Is this not completely at variance with the public statements of the Qaid-e-Azam, Mr. Jinnah?

In Pakistan

The following advertisement appearing in a Lahore paper on behalf of a well-known Punjab bank throws more light on the doings of Pakistanis than any criticism by us can do.

> The management of the . . . bank regrets the inconvenience caused to their patrons on account of the non-functioning of the branches in West Punjab for reasons beyond their control. The bank is making every endeavour to resume functioning as soon as possible. The Hindu and Sikh staff of the bank being afraid to serve in Pakistan, resumption of service can only begin after Muslim staff has been recruited and properly trained. For this purpose a few of our Hindu officers are staying on in Pakistan during the training period of the new staff. Such officers should receive the full and sympathetic co-operation of the public to enable them to train Muslim personnel. In case of any hardship or rough handling of such Hindu officers of the bank, it may become difficult for the bank to re-start functioning in Pakistan.

And what the friendly *Civil and Military Gazette* said in connection with the looting of non-Muslim property at Lahore and other West Punjab towns is revealing of the morals of the classes who rule Pakistan today.

> People in every walk of life, from the highest to the lowest, found it impossible to resist the chance of a rich harvest while the sun of disorder shone, and the result has been all-round lowering of moral values which persist despite the cessation of murder and fire-raising.

We had experience of the same thing in Calcutta on the 16th, 17th and the 18th August (1946) when Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy was Chief Minister of undivided Bengal.

Central Administration's Cost

The Finance Minister in the Central Government of India gave us certain figures of the progressive rise in the expenditure of the Central Government. The pre-war expenditure on "General Administration" was 1 crore 87 lakh rupees, in 1944-45, it was Rs. 4 crores 24 lakhs, for 1946-47 it was Rs. 6 crores 23 lakhs, and for the present year it has been estimated at Rs. 6 crores 24 lakhs. Shri Shanmukham Chetty directed attention to three factors that have been responsible for this rise—the Pay Commission's recommendations; dearness allowance payments; control measures connected with what has come to be known as Civil Supplies Department; the last item including purchase of food-grains from foreign countries at inflated prices. The members of the Central Legislature as usual subjected this rise to criticism; the Finance Minister tried to disarm them by agreeing to all that they had said, and pleaded that over this rise the "Government had no control." Shri Bichitrananda Das of Orissa who initiated this discussion had to remain satisfied with the announcement that an Economy Committee would be soon appointed to suggest retrenchment. Recalling the fate of the recommendations of previous Committees on this subject, the public who ultimately pay for these costs need not be very hopeful. The bureaucracy all the world over has developed a habit of multiplying its bureaus and inflating the number of their denizens. The New Delhi set-up cannot be an exception to this rule, until the Finance Minister reverts back to the traditions of careful handling of public monies.

Help to Provinces

Shri Shanmukham Chetty has shattered the hopes of Provinces for subsidies from the Centre to start measures for the reconstruction of their economic life in consonance with the Congress Election Manifesto. The unexpected expenditure incurred for the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees from the Punjab, Sind, Beluchistan and N.-W. Frontier Province has upset all these plans. Rs. 22½ crores have been budgetted for this purpose during the seven and a half months till the end of the official year—August 15, 1947 to March, 1948. We cannot think that the representatives of the people in the Central Legislature will take this decision without demur. For more than eight years the Provinces have been kept on short ration. With the end of the war and the removal of British control from over our destiny, the Provinces should refuse to live on doles, to agree to be spoonfed by the centre. Timid finance has outlived its use. The balancing of the budget is not the last word in the plans of a Finance Minister. Expenditure on the ministrant services of the State, on health services and education that would produce a better crop of citizens, men and women, would pay handsome dividends many times over. Shri Shanmukham Chetty will have to reply to the question why the State cannot spend on purposes of peace sums equal to those which were spent

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during the last war years. The Indian public unwillingly found the finances for an unwanted war. Why should it be thought that they would be unwilling to pay monies that would be devoted to bettering their own lives? India's Finance Minister must satisfy the public with regard to this query.

Two Philosophies at War

The meeting at London of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the "Big Four"—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France—that started during the last week of November last has dispersed after registering a failure again. It sat for a little over three weeks, and the differences between the Soviet Union and the "Western" Powers are no nearer solution than when they met at Moscow in April last. The ostensible reasons for failure are given in two versions, one issuing from the U.S.S.R. and the other from the U.S.A. London and Paris appear to be more restrained in giving expression to their feelings with regard to this failure. The Soviet Union has been propagandising the thesis that the United States has some dark designs in Europe, as the upholder of "free enterprise," against the planned economy of the Soviet-dominatd area stretching from East Prussia to the Pacific. The United States returns the compliment by saying that the world cannot expect to have peace and happiness under the shadow of totalitarianism for which the Soviet Union stands. The Soviet Press never misses an opportunity to warn the world of "dollar imperialism", of "Anglo-Saxon" reactionary influence. And the dominant feeling in the United States was expressed by Karl Mundt in the House of Representatives in course of a speech made on November 27 last:

> Europe today was a gigantic ideological battle-field . . . the United States faced two alternatives, one to pull out of Europe entirely and the other to project our influence in such a way that we can help to hold the line established between the free peoples of Europe and those who have corralled to come within the orbit of the Red masters of Moscow. . . .

With Mr. Mundt this was a "hope" only; and it is as likely to be fulfilled as the disinclination of the British Government under Neville Chamberlain to see the world disrupted into ideological rivalry and engaged in bloody war. They in Europe and America have begun to talk of a "World War III", and appear to be preparing for it.

Where is Asia?

And in this war where stands Asia? We know that in China there has been an "undeclared war" between the Communists and the Kuomintang Government. It is affecting countries across the Pacific. For instance, in Canada under the inspiration of Labour there has been staged a stoppage of exports to China. In our own country war cries have been echoing demonstrating that we are in line with the world-wide battle of ideologies. Both in India and in Pakistan, observers appear to detect the battle-lines between "free enterprise" and Totalitarianism. The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore appears to be watchful of the tendency of things in its own State:

> There is little to choose between dictatorship by an individual and dictatorship by a political party; and it is the second which threatens in Pakistan. India was luckier, or wiser. The Government of India is of the Congress, but it is not the Congress. . . . This is healthy and wholesome. But in Pakistan, the Muslim League is the creator of the State and of the various Governments, Central and Provincial. There is thanks to the conditions under which election campaigns were fought (and election results were negatived or changed) an inextricable inter-relation between party, Government and religion. Criticism of the Government is liable to be construed as condemnation of the party and even as political and religious renegadism. This creates all the circumstances in which totalitarianism can best flourish.

This British paper assures us that we are "luckier" or appear to be so. The Central Government in the Indian Union is not a "one party" Government. But in the Legislature the Congress Party dominates, and there are not many signs of the emergence of an Opposition—the seed-plot of an alternative Government. Constitutional *pundits* have taught us that without this development, there cannot be any democracy that Britain has popularized in the world. And though Britain is no longer the dictator of fashion, her example has been copied with a little variation here and there by different parties in the world. The Soviet Union has developed a pattern of its own which it propagates as democracy. And those who say "nay" to her do not find life made comfortable for them. And we are brought back to the battle of ideologies and practices that threatens to burst out again in a virulent form.

Military Training in India

Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Minister of the Indian Union, said in course of his speech made in the Central Legislature on November 27 last, that the Government had not decided "whether the new organization should be a National Militia or a Territorial Force or some other organization, and what its size should be." The general public cannot be expected to understand the esoteric meanings attached to words—National Militia, Territorial Force etc. What they are anxious about is that the mass enthusiasm created by freedom from British control should be harnessed to the service of the State, that the insult implied in the division between "martial" and "non-martial" races in India should be effaced. The military bureaucracy do not appear to have realized the value and significance of this popular feeling. But better late than never. We understand from the daily Press that "the Government of India have decided to put into operation a 6-crore (rupees) scheme for giving military training to school and college students in the Indian Union." While being thankful for this decision, we desire to press the idea that the masses should be encouraged to embrace the service of India's defence. The East Punjab and West Bengal border areas should, in this connection, receive special attention. The need for an officer cadre to organize and lead the masses is not denied. But the training of the masses has become more than ever necessary to meet the exigencies of "total war." We in India cannot afford to ignore the lessons that others have learnt with blood and tears.

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West Bengal's Defence

The visit of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, India's Deputy Prime Minister to Assam and Bengal, cannot have been undertaken for ceremonial purposes. There will be mass rallies, ovations and such other things in Sardarji's honour. But more serious things will be engaging his time and attention, we are sure. Char-Sarandaspur and Char Rainagar in the bed of the river Padma that divides the two States in Bengal through the district of Murshidabad, have high-lighted the situation for us all. The antics of Pakistani squatters in East Bengal have been giving trouble to the Assam Administration. A message from Shillong dated December 29 last described how a large tract of land in the Patharkandi area of the district of Cachar has been taken possession of by the East Bengal Government; the infiltration of "Pakistanis" into Goalpara, into Naga Hill tracts has also been reported. The Governments in West Bengal and in Assam appear to have been taken unawares. Both the West Bengal and Assam Governments have protested to relevant authorities at Dacca. and the latter are reported to have agreed to withdraw their forces from the disputed areas. We have reasons to believe that Muslim League National Guards were quite openly active in the areas, preparing the Muslim inhabitants in the neighbourhood for this coup. The Magistrate of Murshidabad and the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar must have been very badly served by their Intelligence Officers to have been thus caught napping. They failed to realize that they were in charge of border areas which threw certain special responsibilities on them. This could have happened only because at Calcutta and Shillong were installed Governments that had no training in the duties of rulership in a free State and who had no idea of the perils of the new life.

In Shri Chakravarty Rajagopalachari we have a philosopher who has left his militant days behind, and though a philosopher as a ruler is said to be an ideal combination, the needs of a modern State with "Pakistan" as a neighbour create for West Bengal certain new situations as a frontier Province. The Premier, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, plumes himself on being an orthodox believer in Gandhian non-violence, devoted to "constructive" activities. The revolutionary patriots of Bengal whom he used to know in his youth and who have retained their interest in organizing the physical might of their people could have been of inestimable value at this hour of trial in their people's life. But he, out of fixed ideas, has kept them at arm's length, thus depriving his State of the services of the most vital element in his people's life. Dr. Ghosh, as a Bengalee, should have realized that he has much leeway to make up in organizing the ardour of his people so long kept down by British policy.. Does he not know the history how the Bengalee was made into a "non-martial" race under British dispensation? And does he realize the special responsibility that has developed on him to wipe out this stigma from his people's record?

Other Provinces have been training their "Home Guards" or "National Militias" or "Territorial Forces" to constitute their "second line of defence" to keep watch and ward over their frontiers, to organize their manhood and womanhood to meet the [illegible] ways threatened with. We have seen an announcement in the daily Press that two batallions are being stationed at dotted lines on West Bengal's eastern frontier of 500 miles stretching from Jalpaiguri to the Bay of Bengal. 1600 men to watch over 500 miles appear to be a parody of defence of a frontier which crosses paddy-fields and creeks in a flat countryside. If the Defence Authorities think that this force is adequate, we will not enter into a futile controversy with them.

But what we are concerned with is the organization of army formations stationed in West Bengal. We propose to say it straight away that we shall not be satisfied if West Bengal's defence is effected by non-Bengalee elements alone. We want to see the Bengalee in line with them. We will be satisfied with nothing else. We want to see stationed in West Bengal's eastern frontier army formations manned by Bengalees. We want to see Bengalee men and women of these frontier areas roused to a sense of their duty as defenders of their own hearth and home. It is a truism today that in modern wars there cannot be any distinction made between combatant and non-combatant elements in the warring peoples. West Bengal being a frontier unit of the Indian Union cannot be granted any special dispensation of non-combativeness. After one hundred and fifty years of neglect, her people must be prepared to pass through greater military discipline than their neighbours in other parts of India.

Bengal's Claim on Bengali-speaking Areas

Bengal's claim on the Bengalee-speaking areas of Bihar and the adjoining States about which there has been a lot of agitation for a number of years, has now assumed great importance. It should be clear that the Constituent Assembly, which will meet in April, will not be able to postpone consideration of this ticklish issue. There is every likelihood that the present Hindi majority in it. who have been trying to get Hindi installed as State language by the force of a bare majority attained through brisk canvassing, will also try to settle Bengal's claim in their favour. The newly elected Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad's address at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan gives serious cause for apprehending that the return of the Bengalee-speaking areas of Bihar will be resisted by the Hindi-speaking authorities at the Highest level. Bihar for long has been engaged in a campaign of converting the Bengalee-speaking areas into a Hindi-speaking one through the dissemination of Hindi with the ruse of popularisation of *Rashtrabhasa*. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has blurted out the truth, the saint taking a queer stand when his self-interest is touched. It is now clear that Hindi has been exploited as an insidious form of territorial aggrandisement. Dr. Prasad is angry with the Hindi Sammelan because they have not succeeded in defeating Bengal's claim on these areas through a successful propagation of Hindi. Knowing as we do Dr. Prashad's efforts to crush Bengalees in Bihar, his last utterance has not been surprising but West Bengal will commit a blunder if she still remains complacent on the verbal

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Sardar Patel's action in allotting Seraikela and Kharswan to Orissa instead of amalgamating them with Bengal, is another proof that all is not well with Bengal at the highest New Delhi level. Pressure, it seems, was put upon the Government of India from within as much from outside immediately to rescind the original order of the States Department for the amalgamation of the two States with Orissa and to issue a fresh order for their merger with Bihar on the ground that the two States are contiguous to the district of Singhbhum and constitute as was claimed, a part of Singhbhum and therefore of Bihar. This pressure from Bihar seems to have borne immediate fruit. A *communique* has been issued by the Government of India stating that the arrangements made about the different units of the Eastern States Agency are only temporary without prejudice to the claim of any province to have any one of these States. Although the initial success goes to Bihar, Bengal should also welcome this latest statement of policy because it leaves the question open. As has been pointed out by the *Hindusthan Standard*, the incorporation of the States of Seraikela and Kharswan with Orissa constitutes a grave injustice not to Bihar but to Bengal, or rather to West Bengal which alone has the rightful claim not only to these two States but also to its contiguous districts of Singhbhum, Manbhum, Santal Parganas and Purnea, which at present form part of Bihar.

Bihar's claim to Seraikela and Kharswan, as on those four eastern districts, is only fantastic as there is no linguistic, cultural or ethnological affinity with Bihar. In Seraikela, 30 per cent of its population are Bengalees, 25 per cent Oriya, 20 per cent Santal, 16 per cent Ho and only 3 per cent are Hindustanis. Even assuming that the remaining 6 per cent have greater affinity with Hindustanis than with any other group in the State, Hindustanis would even then constitute only 9 per cent of the population. The fact really is that Seraikela and Kharswan are parts of the Dhalbhum Pargana of the Singhbhum district which is predominantly a Bengalee-speaking area and culturally, historically and ethnologically form part of Bengal. Dhalbhum is contiguous to Purulia on the one side and Midnapore on the other. This Pargana, and in fact the whole of Singhbhum, had formed part of the Midnapore district. In the 1931 Census, it has been clearly stated that "outside Jamshedpur town Bengali is the dominant language in Dhalbhum, Oriya comes a bad second and Hindustani a poor third." Bengali in this area is also the subsidiary language for the Adibasis. Recent investigations have revealed, states the *Hindusthan Standard*, that the most ancient documents in the Raj Sherista, as well as in the District Record Room, so far as matters relate to Dhalbhum, are all in Bengali. Out of the documents that are registered in the Dhalbhum Sub-Registry Office every year, not more than one in every thousand is in Hindi, not even one in Oriya, about 5 per cent are in English and the rest are all in Bengali. So well-recognised is the predominant position of Bengali in Dhalbhum that the court language in the sub-division has all along been Bengali. The position is substantially the same in the two States on which have fallen the greedy eyes of Bihar.

The machinations through which these two States have gone to Orissa have been revealed in an article contributed to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. The Capitals of these States exercise great influence over the rural areas, because the ruling dynasties, their leading officials and the urban population are Oriyas. Oriya has, for some time past, been made the official language of the States and the medium of instruction in their educational institutions.

The same writer gives an account of Oriya and Bihar activities in Singhbhum and Manbhum for altering the Bengali language and culture in their respective favour. Bengal's activity there is conspicuous by its absence. Organisations, both political and cultural, have been set up under different names in Singhbhum working for the incorporation of this district in Orissa. Large amounts are being spent for the establishment of Oriya Schools in institutions to infuse Oriya culture among an unwilling people. On the political front, the claim for the incorporation of Singhbhum in Orissa is vigorously agitated and pursued. Bihar is already holding the district and trying by every means in its power to retain it. Bengal has no organisation and no activity there. Under such conditions a perplexing situation prevails among the local Adibasis who neither desire to remain in Bihar nor like to join Orissa because both are alien to their culture and tradition. In their exasperation they have started a separatist movement for an autonomous homeland of their own in default of any co-operation or sympathy from Bengal to which they are closely related by a common culture, tradition and language. It is significant that although Singhbhum is under the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, the Orissa Provincial Congress Committee maintains and operates its offices at different centres in Singhbhum which actually function in competition with the Bihar Congress organisations. The Bengal Congress maintains no organisations there. It is a pity that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has not yet thought fit to establish an office even at Jamshedpore although Orissa P.C.C. offices are briskly functioning at Chakradharpur and other places of Singhbhum. In Manbhum, 70 per cent of the population are Bengali-speaking and Adibasis constitute the remaining 30 per cent. Almost the same is the case with Pakur in Santal Parganas and the Kishenganj area in the Purnea district.

Congress is committed to the reconstitution of provinces on a linguistic basis, but some of her top-most leaders have not concealed their eagerness to go back upon this accepted principle. The subject of reconstitution of provinces on a linguistic basis has been under the consideration of the Constituent Assembly and different provinces in South and Central India are pressing forward their claims. Gandhiji has supported this move, to which Congress stands committed, in respect of many provinces but has not yet mentioned Bengal. It is high time that the Government of Bengal and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee should move into the matter, assert themselves and get the immense wrong and harm done to Bengal rectified. Delay would be dangerous.

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West Bengal Under the B.P.C.C. Ministry

After the Mountbatten decision had settled the matter of partition, West Bengal, as defined under the National division came under the regime of a dual Ministry. There was in existence the League Ministry under which Bengal was torn up with famine, communal disturbances and ruthless oppression and its economy was totally disrupted through malpractices, corruption, black-marketeering and profiteering on a titanic scale carried on largely with the knowledge and backing of the administration. The story of that process of decay and degeneration of the services is a long one, but some day a full history will be written giving the detailed background of the Rowland Report.

In accordance with the Mountbatten decision, a "Shadow Cabinet" came jointly into office at the beginning of June, 1947, professedly to look after the interests of the people of West Bengal in particular, and that of the Nationalists of Bengal in general. This "Shadow Cabinet" was in office for nearly two months and a half, which was ample time in which to observe the root causes of the decay of administrative processes and to devise a plan for the process of reform and regeneration that was essential to relieve the suffering of the people. In due course came the Partition award and the "Shadow Cabinet" materialized into the Cabinet in sole control of the administration of West Bengal. The people heaved a sigh of relief, as they thought that since the Congress had come into power, reforms and redress would soon be under way and the question of the betterment of the people with relief, rehabilitation and stamping out of black-marketeering, maladministration and corruption, would be tackled in a methodical and planned fashion.

But West Bengal had made a mistake, for it was not a Congress Ministry that had come into power, to form a democratic government of the people in accordance with the Congress ideals, to rule the province by the people for the benefit of the people. On the contrary, it was a caucus of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee that had obtained control of the province, to rule it through its chosen tools, for the aggrandisement of its own particular party faction. It had learnt little during its "shadow" regime, beyond noting certain League methods for future use, and it has done nothing for the relief and regeneration of the province in the five months that it has been in full control. Scarcity of the essentials of life is on the increase, costs are rising on all sides and the profiteer and the black-marketeer is still carrying on his malpractices with impunity. Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi and the comparatively high literacy of the province, there has been no communal trouble in the province beyond a momentary flare-up. There is no strain on the finances of the province either for the present. Yet there are no indications of any nation-building activities, nor is there any attempt at the rebuilding of the morale and the restoration of the efficiency of the province. The administration is as loose and lackadaisical as ever and the only things that are on the increase are inefficiency and the costs of administration. The voice and opinion of the people still count for as little—if not even less—as it did under the rule of the British bureaucracy.

In short Bengal is having a taste of the Caucus rule—which is running true to pattern—that has been imposed on this unfortunate people under the false label of a "Congress government." The Indian National Congress has all along stood for the ideals of democracy. But the party-faction that has today obtained control of the province of West Bengal, did not come into power through democratic and open methods, nor is it willing, even today, to change its methods. Let us illustrate the point.

At the time when the question of partition of the Punjab and Bengal was being discussed in the All-India Congress Committee, it was decided by the Working Committee that directly the Partition was settled the Provincial Congress Committees concerned should be split up into Zonal Committees so that each partitioned sector could work out its own problems in accordance with the people's will as it obtains in that sector. But this evidently would go against the interests of the Party-bosses who now dominate the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee through low intrigue and fraudulent methods of voting and election. East Bengal is the main source of strength for these party-bosses, the tens of millions of its Moslem people—almost all hostile to the Congress—providing numbers of fraudulent votes for the B.P.C.C. So what would happen to the party-bosses if Zonal Committees are formed? And, therefore, in West Bengal, no Zonal Committee has materialized. We append below two letters from Acharya Kripalani, the then President of the A.-I. C. C. to prove our statement. It should be noted that Sri Kali Pada Mukherjee, to whom the letters are addressed, is a Minister in the Ghosh Cabinet of West Bengal, who has not relinquished his Secretaryship of the B.P.C.C., for obvious reasons.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
Camp : 6, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi
22nd August, 1947

My dear Kali Babu,

I had personally talked to you about the formation of the Zonal Committees. Now that the Boundary Commission has given its award there should be no delay. I am sure you realize that after the decision the problems affecting the two Zones are different. I saw this in Sind. The problems of Sind are quite different from those of the Indian provinces. Sind has therefore to refer to me for any fundamental policy about which there is doubt. While West Bengal is a province of India, East Bengal is not so. Therefore if in East Bengal Congress organisation is to be kept up it cannot be tacked on to West Bengal but must have direct access to us in the matter of fundamental policies to be followed.

I have already told you as to how the Zonal Committees are to be formed. The delegates from each Zone form the Zonal Committee. The members of the executive of each Zone form the executive for the Zone. The new office-bearers for the Zone may be elected. The President of the B.P.C.C. as he belongs to East Bengal may continue to be President of the East Bengal Zonal Committee as also the B.P.C.C. If there is any Vice President

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from the Western Zone in the present Committee he may be elected the Acting President of the Western Zone till fresh elections are held.

The matter must be expedited. You have nothing to do except to make the necessary announcement. If this is not done I may be obliged to issue orders from here that Zonal members are free to meet and transact business.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- J. B. KRIPALANI

Sri Kali Pada Mookerjee,
Secretary, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee,
115-E, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta.
Copy to : Sri Surendra Mohan Ghose,
Camp : New Delhi.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
6, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi
Dated 1.9.47.

My dear Kali Babu,

Your letter of the 29th August. When we personally met during my last visit to Calcutta you told me that the Boundary Commission having given its award, the Zonal Committee will be formed. Now I see that your Committee is not prepared to give effect to the decision of the Working Committee. You even doubt if that was the decision though you have been told so by the Secretaries and myself. You refer to your President's letter which was not addressed to me but to the General Secretary. Only a copy was sent to me. I was not therefore called upon to reply. But if you must have a reply from me I must tell you that whatever the Permanent Secretary wrote at first was an obvious mistake. The argument given in your President's letter against Zonal Committee would apply even to the Zonal Committee if it were created in the eastern Zone only. The decision of the Working Committee seems to have been wrongly worded by the Permanent Secretary. He immediately corrected it. The Working Committee does not pass resolutions only. It also takes decisions that are recorded. What the Permanent Secretary wrote afterwards was the correct decision of the Working Committee. It could not be otherwise.

In taking this decision the Working Committee was not influenced by any resolution of any Conference but by the new circumstances created by the political division of India. Not to adjust oneself to the changing conditions and to ignore them is not political wisdom.

I had a talk with your President on the point. I am sorry to say he failed to see the changed situation. I think he and those who think with him are harming the best interests of Bengal. I am sorry to say this about those whom I consider as dear friends. But political judgment may differ. I have only to warn you about the consequences of delay. *Already there is an idea that East Bengal has been trying to dominate West Bengal.* If Zonal Committees are not formed this feeling of antagonism between East Bengal and West Bengal will grow. But you will say that you know the feelings there better than myself. That could not be theoretically denied if there were not vocal opinion with arguments given by the other side. You must, however, remember that I have not given you my opinion but the judgment of the Working Committee. As you seem determined to take time I can only keep all the papers before the next meeting of the Working Committee. But may I suggest that at least for the distribution of membership forms the B.P.C.C. should make itself above suspicion by entrusting the task to a West Bengal Committee. Such a Committee may be formed in consultation with Sri Prafulla Ghosh and any other person who represents West Bengal as constituted today. *You know there are always complaints about the distribution of forms.* You will show your *bona fides* if you do this little.

I am afraid we are concerning ourselves with our small groups and parties at a time when the country is passing through the most difficult times.

As for the publications of my letter to you a copy of which I sent to your President, the responsibility is not ours. However, I may remind you that the decision about the formation of the Zonal committees was not considered a confidential decision.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- J. B. KRIPALANI

The Secretary,
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

With this background, the intolerance towards public opinion and obduracy of Premier Dr. Ghosh can be well understood. When those characteristics are coupled with almost absolute ignorance and inexperience in administrative affairs, the results are bound to be disastrous. At the time of our going to press there is talk about a change in the Ministry. *There is little hope from such a change* if it merely means that another group of professional dealers in corrupt politics obtain mastery over the destinies of West Bengal, using the name and status of Dr. B. C. Roy as a shield to hide their malpractices. Indeed, it might even be worse, unless Dr. B. C. Roy is extremely careful in his choice of associates.

The Ghosh Administration in Bengal

We have till now refrained from making any comments about Dr. Ghosh's Ministry, though we were pained to find the rapidity with which Dr. Ghosh had started copying the methods of his predecessor, with the hope that things would improve as soon as Dr. Ghosh sensed the trend of public opinion. We regret to have to admit that our hopes have been belied.

The list of officers appointed in key positions by Dr. Ghosh at the time of the transfer of power came to us as a surprise. Many officers of proved honesty and ability had either been excluded or relegated to unimportant positions and many of those who had either proved worthless or had actively worked against the interests of the country were placed in high positions. Private patronage was writ large on the list. The Secretariat was filled in the main with the inexperienced, such as the civilians from the judicial cadre with little administrative experience, and with the proved incompetents, the inevitable result of all which has been gross inefficiency.

Appointments at the Calcutta Police Headquarters at Lalbazar, from the very beginning, were equally bad, if not worse. On the efficiency and honesty of the staff at Lalbazar depends the peace and security of Calcutta on which in its turn depends the tranquillity of all West Bengal and a good deal of India.

It is now further being stated that Dr. Ghosh's Cabinet has practically decided to amalgamate the Calcutta Police and the Bengal Police. The matter is of moment because just now the people of Indi

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not afford to let Calcutta become a ground for retrial of rejected theories. On Calcutta's security and strength depend the stability of India's Eastern defences to a very large extent. The danger of lowering the effectiveness of Security arrangements in Calcutta had already been demonstrated during the communal carnages of 1946-47. Dr. Ghosh, the Bengal Premier, brought a number of inexperienced police officers, having no knowledge of the city criminals, their habitats and their *modus operandi*, into the City Police right at the beginning of his tenure and placed them in high positions. The result had been very disquieting, as immediately after these postings, there was a serious increase in armed robberies and other crimes in the city. When the "district" police officers failed to cope with the situation, as was only to be expected, a batch of Calcutta police officers were selected to form an Anti-Robbery Squad. Armed robberies, since then, have been practically brought under control and the previous crimes are being traced. This, together with the recent detection of Pakistani smuggling, has proved, if proof was necessary at all, that rural and metropolitan criminals differ radically in character and therefore different standards of investigation are needed to stop them. In India, from the time of Manusamhita and Kautilya down to the present day this distinction has been observed, as has been the case in every other civilised country. It is very difficult to understand Dr. Ghosh's eagerness to break this age-old tradition. At a recent press conference at the Calcutta police headquarters, in the presence of the Police Commissioner and a number of Deputy Commissioners, the Deputy Commissioner of the Detective Department admitted, in reply to a question, that at least six years' experience was needed for qualifying an officer to be placed on detection of city crimes. Unless the top men of the Calcutta police have requisite knowledge and experience of the city crimes and criminals, the entire work of the police stations are bound to become inefficient.

A reference to the reports of Sir Henry Harrison, Sir Stuart Hogg, Sir John Lambert, Mr. David Lyall and many other police administrators of high reputation will reveal that all previous proposals for amalgamation were turned down on the ground that it would lower the efficiency of the administration and foster friction and jealousy within the force. The present talk of amalgamation, together with the influx of district police men in all the ranks, has already generated jealousy and friction within the force threatening its integrity and discipline. The recent arrests of a clerk at the office of the Assistant Inspector-General of Police, dealing with transfers and postings of the force, on a charge of bribery, and of six armed police constables brought from the districts into Calcutta on a charge of robbing a passerby on a highway, while on patrol duty in a police lorry, indicates the level of indiscipline to which the force has sunk at the very inception of this proposal.

Corruption and inefficiency is still going on in the Civil Supply department. Dr. Ghosh's Ministry has not been able to fulfil its promises regarding the eradication of those evils from that department. Given proper encouragement, information would have been forthcoming from inside the Civil Supply Office regarding the collusion of certain officials of the department with the black-market. Indeed right at the outset of its tenure the Ministry received such information, but no action was taken against the officials concerned. In another case a junior officer of the Enforcement Branch brought a flagrant case of black-marketeering directly to the notice of the Civil Supply Minister. Big men were involved and they had influence, so the result was that the zealous officer, who had detected the transaction and tried to urge the Minister into taking action *was summarily dismissed by the Deputy Commissioner in charge as a disciplinary measure*, the grounds for dismissal being that this junior officer had gone over the heads of his immediate superiors and laid information directly with the highest authorities. After the orders for dismissal were passed, the victim went to the Civil Supply Minister and asked for protection and redress, pointing out that the Minister concerned had himself asked all officials to go to him directly when such serious cases of moral turpitude involving corruption and black-marketing were involved. The Minister pleaded inability to intervene and the officer was reinstated only after there was considerable adverse comment in the press.

As with the anti-corruption drive, that for procurement has misfired, due to there being no strong hand at the head to enforce action in either direction, to encourage and promote honest officers and to put down and punish the dishonest ones. Black-markets are flourishing as a result and procurement and destribution is lagging behind in every direction. Today, when the harvest has just come in, there is scarcity and cutting down of rations to below the minimum subsistence level in all the rationed areas. And the same is the story about all the controlled materials, and the consumer is being victimised everywhere in every way.

As in the Secretariat and the Police, appointments have been made by Dr. Ghosh in other departments without due regard to the ability, experience or qualifications of the officers appointed. The general result has been a down-grade movement, without any hopes of betterment in the near future. A Public Service Commission for Bengal has been appointed at last, but the personnel of that body also seems to have been chosen with more emphasis towards acquiescence towards Dr. Ghosh's dicta that anything else. In the Education Department, Dr. Ghosh has turned matters topsy-turvy at the bottom, stopped the functioning of the two colleges for the training of primary education teachers, and has held up the functioning of the Sargent Scheme without replacing it with any well-laid-out plan of primary education for the province. He has looked upon higher education with a step-motherly eye and there is a distinct divergence of opinion between Dr. Ghosh and the University and college teachers. Here, as in all departments, Dr. Ghosh has been seeking for and being guided by yes-men. A most unworthy person, with extremely doubtful

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political antecedents, was appointed Secretary to the Advisory Committee on Secondary and Higher Education set up by Dr. Ghosh's administration. This gentleman has now been appointed as the Secretary of the Public Services Commission. This appointment is typical of Dr. Ghosh's attitude of irresponsibility towards the people of West Bengal, as the sole point in favour of this ex-Radical Democrat is that he happens to be matrimonially related to that political stooge of Dr. Ghosh who made room for Dr. Ghosh in the West Bengal Legislature.

What surprised us most is the exclusion from Educational Committees of Dr. Ghosh's Administration of Sj. Anathnath Basu, an acknowledged authority on education and who has gained knowledge as a delegate to the UNESCO about the latest improvements in educational methods of the world.

In the posting of surplus officers who have opted for West Bengal, the very approach has been wrong. Instead of fitting persons to services, a policy of fitting salaries to the vacated posts was adopted. The result has been that accountants have gone where clerks were needed and Sub-Registrars have been posted where auditors are required. In the Sales Tax Department, nearly sixty tax officers and inspectors have gone over to East Bengal. Qualified auditors and accountants were required to replace them, and a large number of them came from East Bengal. But because their salary was less than that of the outgoing officers, and because the salaries of Sub-Registrars and Sub-Deputy Collectors were the same, the latter have been posted there. With no knowledge of audit and accounts, it is impossible for them to prove useful at the Sales Tax Office with the inevitable result that while the taxes will continue to be collected from the consumers, little of it will go to the public exchequer. It is also doubtful whether persons on the wrong side of life will be able to master a new subject which requires years to learn. Consultation with the heads of the departments as regards the kinds of officers they require and the fitting of men to the departments at their own pay would have solved the entire problem. But Dr. Ghosh is impervious to reason and advice. He has declared in many press conferences that he is guided by "the grey matter in his head" and he is determined to continue to do so. Meanwhile, during the five months of his regime, the people have become exasperated and serious concern has arisen in public mind about the dangerous risk the province is running in entrusting the administration in him.

At the present juncture, the foremost duty of the Government is to arrange for military education and prepare for defence. He seems determined not to do either of them. East Bengal refugees are pouring in this province, he is not prepared to face this fact and to distribute the refugees all over the province in a planned manner but wants to evade responsibility by mere denials. He has also withheld information of the arrival of East Bengal refugees from the Central Government in spite of the fact that in Greater Calcutta alone, during the past few weeks, the number of ration cards have gone up by a million. Immediate considerations of defence, relief to refugees and future programmes of reconstruction all require that Dr. Ghosh with his group, impervious to all reasons and advice, must vacate office for the safety of the people.

The Birbhum bye-election referred to above, through which Dr. P. C. Ghosh, the Premier of West Bengal, was returned to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, had its lessons for Dr. Ghosh, if he only had the capacity to assimilate them. The main lesson was that the days of political jobbery are slowly coming to an end. In this election, his rival who has no political record whatsoever and is not even a native of the Birbhum district, being only a senior lawyer in an obscure district bar, scored nearly 11000 votes out of a total of about 33000 against the sitting Premier of West Bengal, who was a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, and Birbhum is a staunch Congress District to boot! For comparison, we would merely state that a year ago Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, a veritable titan amongst the non-Congress leaders of India, barely managed to get one-tenth of the total votes cast, when he was defeated by one of the obscurest of Congressmen of Bengal. In the Birbhum election, Dr. Ghosh came within an ace of defeat, being saved at the very last moment through the full weight of the A.-I.C.C. and the B.P.C.C. being thrown in his favour through an *Ukase* being issued by Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, calling on all the faithful to ward off the defeat of the Congress.

When Dr. Ghosh realised that his position was shaky, he turned for assistance to the Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, who in an appeal to the voters, declared, "Knowing as I do the worth and work of Shri Prafulla Chandra Ghosh I feel that to oppose him in this election would be doing a distinct dis-service not only to West Bengal but to United Bengal." Thus, it will be seen that in certifying the "work and worth" of Dr. Ghosh, in order to get him through, even the Congress President had to come down to the level of doing election propaganda for him.

But Dr. Ghosh had incurred so much unpopularity during his theree-month regime for his high-handed methods, his patronage of the worst elements at the Administrative and Police headquarters and his failure to inspire confidence in his Government, that it seemed that even the Congress President's *Ukase* was not having its desired effect. He next turned to those very men whom, only two months ago, he had unceremoniously removed from the Ministry. Shri Jadabendra Nath Panja, the first Finance Minister in his Cabinet, went to the constituency and in spite of his ripe old age did yeoman's service in turning the tide of unpopularity in favour of Dr. Ghosh. The leaders of the Hooghly district, whose sympathy he had alienated by refusing to listen to their advice in the final formation of the Cabinet, also came to his rescue and appealed to the voters to vote for Dr. Ghosh. The Communist Party also mobilised their full strength and worked in co-operation with the Congress workers. It is also worth mentioning that almost all the newspapers of Calcutta gave full support to Dr. Ghosh, and some of the Ministers went there for conducting the election propaganda in person.

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Foreign Capital

Mr. N. V. Gadgil, India's Minister for Works, Mines and Power revealed in a speech at Madras that the Government of India were actively considering the question of encouraging foreign capital either through the agency of foreign firms or foreign governments in the execution of major projects in the various provinces. Mr. Gadgil said that he was aware of prejudices in certain quarters about the utilisation of foreign capital and talent and declared, "These prejudices were valid before August 15 but now that we are free, whether it is foreign talent or capital both are going to be completely under our control and will be made available and acceptable on our own conditions. I do not think, in the present circumstances of the world, there are countries which can afford to neglect both or either of foreign capital and talent."

He also said that there were two limiting conditions in the way of our industrial advancement and added, "One is shortage of technical man-power and the second is that of finance. By speaking in an unorthodox manner, I refuse to believe that the second one is really an impediment. The question of encouraging foreign capital is engaging the attention of the Government."

Two different things have here been unnecessarily mixed up. India can have no objection in bringing foreign experts. They will come here and work under stipulated conditions under terms of the contract mutually agreed upon and will have no option to go beyond that. Service of foreign experts need not be feared. But it is not so easy with the import of foreign capital. Entry of foreign capital in undeveloped countries has invariably been accompanied with foreign control ultimately leading to foreign domination. China and India are both burning examples of what mischief foreign capital is capable of doing. India has been politically free, but her economic freedom is yet to be attained. The foreign agency houses still continue to follow their predatory economics of exploitation and unfair competition unchecked by the Central or Provincial Governments. Mr. Gadgil has spoken of keeping foreign capital under control, but till the Government of India has succeeded in putting a stop to the predatory economics of the foreign Agency Houses, the hopes held out by him of future control of fresh capitals from abroad will not be convincing.

Capital, in every country, has only one aim, amassing of bank balances for the few at the cost of the many. Indian capitalists are no exception. It did not take them probably more than a few hours to forget that they owe their fortunes to the protective duties enjoyed by them for decades together, the enhancement of cost having been borne by those very consumers who later on were mercilessly fleeced during the war and post-war years. Most of them now seem eager to let in foreign capital to be worked jointly with them for the merry exploitation of the masses. With the protection clauses for British capital in the Government of India Act wiped out, British capital has no other alternative but to combine with its Indian *confrere* in order to gain a foothold in this country. The same is the American game.

We believe that Mr. Gadgil's view of shortage of Indian capital is not borne out by facts. Profits subject to tax are officially stated to have increased manifold between 1938-39 and 1943-44 from Rs. 377·6 millions to Rs. 1344·9 millions. There is no doubt that actual profits are much higher. There are no means of knowing the amounts of hidden profits, secret reserves, capital accumulation and various other methods of making secret profits, which have escaped taxation. Large-scale tax evasion has been admitted by Government

The paid-up capital of companies in India rose between March, 1939 and 1942-43 from Rs. 2903·9 millions to Rs. 3163·8 millions. Later figures are not available.

The colossal amount of idle capital can only be gauged from the weekly returns of the Imperial Bank and Scheduled Banks. Total deposits in Scheduled Banks have risen between 1938-39 and November, 1947 from Rs. 2378·3 millions to Rs. 10752 millions.

Between May, 1943 (when the capital issue control was enforced) and September, 1945, fresh capital issues for Rs. 2600 millions were sanctioned. War bonds have not been popular. The tendency of the capitalists have been to avoid war loans intended mainly for drawing extra money from the market and this accounts for the enormous increase in idle money at the banks. As against a huge deposit of Rs. 10752 millions, advances account for Rs. 3685 millions and bills discounting for only Rs. 154 millions.

Higher concentration of capital and management is the last thing that should be desired in a country which is predominantly agricultural. At the end of the war, we find that 18 Agency Houses of foreign origin control 601 subsidiaries which is nearly 70 per cent of the total concerns in India and 7 Indian Agency Houses have 225 subsidiaries under them.

We believe that the most urgent need of Indian industries today is freedom from the grip of both foreign and Indian agency houses which has been the most dangerous engine for the drainage of the people's life blood for conversion into the huge bank balances of the capitalists. For a planned industrialisation suited to our own basic economic and social structure, we think, there is already enough capital in the country itself for a start.

"Peace in Industry"

The world has been getting used to the use of military terminology to describe events in civil life. War in industry has become a familiar thing, and after the combatants, capital and labour have wasted the national wealth in their quarrel, there is a period of uneasy peace as in the world of nation-States. In India also we have the same phenomenon. The Industries Conference, held at New Delhi on December 18 last, passed a resolution on "peace in industry" for three years at least. We do not see the value of this peace. For, during this truce, the combatants will be thinking more of the defence arrangements for the impending war than of serving society of which both are limbs and instruments. This particular resolution demonstrates once again that the Central Government of the Indian Union has been living from hand to

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mouth, having no definite policy that they can try to implement in the immediate future. They have been tolerating profiteers and black-marketeers; they dare not touch them. Pandit Nehru in his opening speech at the Conference was mildly critical of "the employer class" who during the war years "did not behave well." He did not appear to understand how "in spite of the tremendous and heavy taxation" in India, this class made "vast fortunes". He assumed that those who were present at the Conference, representatives of the Government, of capitalism, of labour, were all "honest people," and seemed to suggest that "honest people" failed to reconcile differences as distinct from dishonest who "sooner" made up their differences. This excursion into human psychology has not, however, taken us nearer a solution of the dispute between capital and labour, and the three years' truce resolution may prove to be as ineffective as the appeasement policy of the Congress High Command towards the "Pakistanis." This attempt to balance themselves between capital and labour takes us nowhere except to futility. This prospect does not taste well in the context of the freedom that we have acquired. With capital and labour failing to meet the consumer goods necessity of the country, the Government should not wobble.

Minority in Sindh

There is an impression in the country that things have been happier with the minority community in Sindh than in the other provinces of "Pakistan." Premier Khuro of the province has been loud in his protestations that the minority of 15 lakh Hindus have nothing to be afraid of, although 3 lakhs of them have already left their hearth and home. It is true that the bestiality that broke out in West Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier Province has been absent. But pressure of a more insidious character has made the life, honour and possessions of Sindhi Hindus wholly unsafe. The resolution passed by the Sindh Assembly Congress Party at its meeting of December 11 last described conditions that have made the future of the minority in Sindh dark indeed. The following restrictions have been placed on the officer class amongst Hindus:

> No Hindu Government servant could draw anything from his Provident fund as a loan.
>
> No Hindu Government servant should be given any advance for any public works, *e.g.*, for purchase of motor car or for building a house, etc.
>
> No Hindu Government servant should be given any leave, privilege or casual, except in case of *bona fide* illness but even then that leave should not exceed a week or ten days.
>
> No Hindu Government servant should be allowed to commute his pension or part of his pension.
>
> No Hindu Government servant should be appointed as Head Clerk of any department.
>
> No Hindu Government servant should be appointed as confidential correspondence clerk of any department.
>
> No Hindu should be appointed in the Central Investigation Department.
>
> In order to prevent Hindu Government servants from leaving Sindh it is reported that the Government is considering the question of taking *photographs* of Hindu Government servants and passing on the same to the police to prevent Hindu Government servants from leaving Sindh. Hindu Government servants are also being warned to send for their families otherwise suitable action would be taken against them.
>
> Wholesale notices have been issued against Hindu *Khatedars* in several talukas in the province, prohibiting them from disposing of their agricultural produce before payment of land revenue, thus throwing them in financial difficulties as land revenue is always paid after disposal of field produce.
>
> Shops and godowns belonging to members of minority communities are being sealed, under the Economic Rehabilitation Ordinance, without proper enquiry whether the owner of a shop is running it or not.

The Muslims are a minority in West Bengal. Have they anything like this to complain of?

Oriya-Biharee Rivalry

While Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has every reason to feel pleased with the "merger" of the Orissa and Chhatrisgarh States into the Indian Dominion, the quarrel that has started between Bihar and Orissa over the Seraikela and Kharsawan States will be taxing his patience. Here it is not a case of irresponsible "rulers," but of two Congress Governments. We have been witnesses to the tragedy at Kharsawan where about 40 aborigines were killed and a hundred wounded by the firing of Orissa police in connection with a demonstration behind which the hand of Bihar leaders could be detected. This, at least, is the impression left in the mind by a perusal of the statement issued by the office of the Regional Council of Orissa and C. P. States, affiliated to the All-India States Peoples' Conference. It is summarized below:

> According to information received here, the ruler of Seraikela has been "trying to wriggle out of the agreement" with the Dominion Government which he has signed, and to "set up the Bihar Government against the Orissa Government," in regard to taking charge of the administration of his State.
>
> The recent propaganda in the press and activities of some of the Ministers of Bihar, the Note adds, are attributed to collaboration between some leaders of Bihar and the ruler of Seraikela. The Prajamandal leaders of Seraikela and Kharsawan resent the activities of the Bihar leaders who had never interested themselves in the agitation of the people in the States, "but are now collaborating with the ruler to frustrate what has been achieved after years of struggle."

The statement also charges Bihar leaders with egging on the Momin organization, the organization of the occupational classes amongst Muslims of Bihar, to take a hand in the game. Mr. Ansari, President of the Zamiat-ul-Momin of Bihar, is a Minister in the province. We do not like the look of things. Provincialism has too long been tolerated by Congress leadership. It is time, something is done to scotch this evil, if after communalism, provincialism is not to wreck the Indian Union's integrity.

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Greater Maharashtra

The ambition for a greater Maharashtra, the formation of a Province in the Federation of India sheltering the majority of Marhatti-speaking people, has been consciously moving the thoughts and activities of the Marhatti people since the agitation against the Partition of Bengal when our people had put up a strenuous fight for the integrity of their cultural autonomy. Speaking at the 16th session of the Brahan (Greater) Maharashtra Parishad, Shri Balawantrao Kher, Premier of Bombay, promised co-operation in this ambition but wanted the matter to be left to the Constituent Assembly of the Indian Union. Maharashtrians may not appear to be playing today any significant part in India's political evolution. But the people from whom came Balwant Gangadhar Tilak, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Vishnusastri Chiplunkar, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale, cannot have exhausted their reserves of capacity. And in the Federation of India they are sure to make their weight felt in the near future. The Greater Maharasthra that they desire will be a stepping-stone towards this greater goal. Shri Balwantrao Kher spoke of "two Maharashtrians making a quarrel" wherever they congregated, and a Maharashtrian being "too much an admirer of his own culture and history to be able to get on smoothly" with those who do not belong to his tribe. This is not a particularly Mahashtrian foible. The Bengalee, the Biharee, the Oriya, the Andhra, the Tamil, the Kannadiga, the Malayalee and the Punjabee share the same foible and appear to gloat over it as a virtue. But out of these divergent characteristics will have to be hammered out a unity of purpose that can bind all these together. During the British regime our instinctive hatred of that had been a cement to our divergences. Now we have to reason out a new philosophy of associated life.

Assam's Problem No. 1

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is a realist. Therefore, do we find it a little difficult to interpret a statement in his Gauhati speech made during his recent tour in Assam that "Assam has fortunately no complex problems as in other provinces." Since the referendum in Sylhet basketfuls of complaints have been emptied out on his table at New Delhi, and Sardarji has promised his "personal attention" to many of these. These raise the whole question of the constitution of the province of Assam as it is today, divided by rivalry between 26 lakh Bengalees and 23 lakh Assamese-speaking people. The representatives of the latter are in power today and are trying to establish their rule over the province's life. A secret circular dated October 22, 1947, throws a little light on this matter. The circular had the name of Shri Nanda Kishore Singha, speaking on behalf of the Cachar Kalyan Samiti. Here is the English rendering of the circular :

> You know that under the leadership of the Revenue Minister of Assam (Shri Bishnuram Medhi) and with the monetary help of the Assam Jatiya Mahasabha the agitation for *Bangal Kheda*—drive away the Bengalees—has been going on all right. In Cachar also we have been getting results in our efforts to oust Sylhet traders and others from the Hailakandi Sub-division and further up. The Muslim League Party are also with us. If you desire to get possession of the *bazars* (market-places) of Kalain, Bihara, Barkhala and Shealtek, then organize a Kalyan Samiti and a Defence Party. There need be no anxiety for finance in this behalf.

A deputation on behalf of the Cachar District Committee presented a Memorandum to Sardar Patel on January 4 during his short stay at Calcutta. Paras 4 and 5 of this Memorandum high-light the present position. In para 4 is quoted from a speech by Sir Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam, on the occasion of the last session of the Assam Assembly, the first held after the Sylhet Referendum. Sir Akbar's sentiments show that the old spirit of accentuating differences in India that animated members of the bureaucracy is still present amongst those who have inherited "British" traditions. We can only pity Sir Akbar's crude attempt to curry favour with the dominant party in Assam. We quote below the two paras :

> 4. That our Committee has been watching the activities of the Governor and the Government of Assam, with no small misgivings. We are not an Assamese-speaking people, our dialects being Bengali and Hindusthani. The Governor in his recent speech in the Assembly on the 5th November, 1947, referred to us as "strangers" and practically sought to rouse the feelings of the "natives of Assam" (by which he apparently meant people speaking Assamese dialects) against the Bengalees. We quote the following passage from his speech to explain the position.
>
> Sir Akbar Hydari said : "The natives of Assam are now masters of their own house. They have a Government which is both responsible and responsive to them. They can take what steps are necessary for the encouragement and propagation of Assamese language and culture and of the language and customs of the tribal peoples, who are their fellow citizens and who also must have a share in the formulation of such policies. The Bengalee has no longer the power even if he had the will to impose anything on the people of these hills and valleys which constitute Assam. The basis of such feeling against him as exists is fear—but now there is no cause for fear. I would therefore appeal to you to exert all the influence you possess to give this stranger in our midst a fair deal, provided of course he in his turn deals loyally with us."
>
> 5. That in present Cachar 75 per cent speak Bengali, 14 per cent speak Hindusthani, 9 per cent speak Manipuri while the rest constitute 2 per cent. This fact has been ignored and the Government of Assam is trying to impose Assamese language upon us. The Government is refusing facilities of Government contract, admission to schools and colleges and Trade Licenses and Permits to Bengalees and Hindusthanis whose forefathers settled in Cachar even over half a century ago, only for the reason that they were not "Assamese" in the sense that they do not speak Assamese dialect. Efforts are being made to make Assamese the Court and State language of the district, though not even one per cent of the people know or speak Assamese dialect. Our position in the circumstances is becoming intolerable.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's complacence about Assam may not last long.

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"Rescued Women"

Attacks on women and their honour has been characteristic of the disturbances that coincided with the Direct Action Day of the Muslim League on August 16, 1946. Under the protection of Mr. Huseyn Saheed Suhrawardy's Ministry the Muslim League enthusiasts started the game in Calcutta. Cases of women being snatched from trams and buses were not unknown. Then came Noakhali, and 50,000 men and women were forcibly converted to Islam. With the peace campaign started under the initiative of Gandhiji and some other organizations, the overwhelming majority of these reverted to their parental religious fraternity. Then followed Bihar where Muslims were the sufferers. The nadir of degradation was reached in the Punjab, West and East, where women have suffered at the hands of Muslims and Hindu-Sikhs respectively. The number of women affected run into thousands; 25,000 to 30,000 is a conservative estimate. Their fate and future have become a "problem" especially to Hindus and Sikhs. Muslim society has a certain elasticity in matters like this while in Hindu society, men and women, have developed a particularly sensitive feeling about it. The deputation of Indian social workers, mostly women, who were sent to West Punjab have reported that many "women and girls refuse to return because they are convinced that their families, friends relations and society will not treat them fairly," that being the gist of a letter that has appeared in a New Delhi daily. The writer has called for "an unequivocal declaration on the point." Gandhiji has given it. But will his voice stir the individual conscience that count in the matter? The leaders of the orthodox Hindu community in Bengal representing all the Pundit Samajes did issue such a verdict after Noakhali. And we have reasons to believe that it carried some weight. Not all individuals were satisfied, we know. In the Punjab, the leaders of Hindu society should not be found wanting. The crisis will test the strength of their social habits. And in the new India they cannot prove to be less responsive to the appeal of sufferers who have suffered for no fault of their own.

India and the "States"

The "merger" of 39 States in the Central Province and Utkal is a landmark in the path of India's integration, threatened by many queer conceits and ambitions. Fourteen Chattrisgarh States agreed on the midnight of December 15 last to cede to the "Dominion Government full and exclusive authority and jurisdiction and powers for and in relation to the governance of the State," and they transferred the administration of their States to the Dominion Government on the 1st day of January, 1948. The one-clause Preamble to this Agreement said :

> Whereas in the immediate interests of the State and its people, the Raja . . . is desirous that the administration of the State should be integrated as early as possible with that of the Central Province Government in such a manner and through such agency as it may think fit.

By this act of renunciation, the rulers of these States, the Raja or the Rani, do not cease to be rulers, it is only expected that they will accommodate themselves to the new dispensation under which they will reign but not rule. They are guaranteed their personal privileges, status and dignity as they were before August 15. In Utkal except the State of Mayurbhanj, 25 States have accepted the arrangement. This "merger" has been hailed as a triumph of Indian statesmanship, transcending what Dalhousie achieved by his "Doctrine of Lapse"—States' territory going to the Crown in the absence of legal succession to rulership. It is hoped that the Deccan and Guzarat States will emulate this example and contribute their share to the cohesion of India. Hyderabad remains a headache. The spirit of the Nizam's Government becomes blatantly offensive in the Ordinance that has made the Indian rupee a "foreign currency" circulation of which is punishable with fine or a month's imprisonment. It is for legal *pundits* to say whether or not the Ordinance contravenes the terms of the Agreement signed on November 29, 1947. Whatever be the legal position, it is not possible to regard the Ordinance as a demonstration of a friendly spirit. Hyderabad cannot gain anything by this pin-prick into India. It is in strange contrast to what the rulers in Hyderabad's neighbourhood did on December 15 renouncing their privileges. All honour to them !

Burma

As we go to the Press, Burma has been celebrating the day of her freedom from British control, of her declaration as a sovereign Republic. Dr. Rajendra Prasad President of India's Constituent Assembly, has flown over to Rangoon to represent the Government of India. He also happens to be the President of the Indian National Congress. At the Rangoon function he will thus be representing both the Government and the people of India. And he has carried to the Burmese people the message of *Maitreyi* represented by sapling of the Bodhi Tree under which Gautama, the Sakya Prince, had attained supreme Enlightenment. This gift renews the kinship of Burma with India—the country whose Buddha has been the central inspiration of Burma's life for about 20 centuries. On this joyful occasion we share the feeling of tragedy that must be hovering over Rangoon as they surveyed the seats of Burma's leaders and missed therefrom the faces of U. Aung San and his murdered fellow-Ministers. Generations of Indians have helped to mould Burma as a modern country through good report and evil. In remembrance of that service we share Burma's proud joy with the hope that the unity of thought that the Buddha had helped to forge between India and Burma will reach a new flowering in the days to come.

Indians in British Territories

The question whether the Indian Union will maintain its connection with the British Commonwealth is being discussed with a certain amount of anxiety by men and women of Indian birth who for generations have been living in various countries and islands of the British Empire and Commonwealth. The *Social Reformer*

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(weekly) of Bombay has started a discussion on the subject by an article written by a "Kenya Indian". It appeared in its issue of December 20 last. His article on East Africa will illustrate the position of all Indians. The writer summarized the position thus: "A majority of Indian citizens, a substantial number of British subjects or British protected persons (some of whom will possess double nationality), a few stateless persons, and a few 'Pakistanis' (assuming Pakistan also leaves the British Commonwealth)" will comprise the Indian community in East Africa, for instance. The territories in East Africa comprise Kenya, a colony, Tanganyika, a mandated territory, Uganda and Zanzibar, British Protectorates. Those who were "British subjects" by birth or "British protected persons" because they were born in British India or in the Indian States will lose their "British nationality" if India elects to cease her connection with the British Commonwealth. They will come under the definition of "citizenship" proposel by the Constitution Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly:

> At the date of the commencement of this constitution, every person domiciled in territories subject to its jurisdiction who has been ordinarily resident in those territories for not less than five years or either of whose parents was or were born in India, shall be a citizen of the Federation provided any such person being a citizen of any other State may, in accordance with the Federal Law, elect not accept the citizenship hereby conferred.

Under the proposed definition, citizenship depends on domicile with the added requirement of either residence or of parentage. Those who were born in East Africa of Indian parentage can claim to be "British nationals" thus having "double nationality"—Indian citizenship by virtue of their parentage and "British nationality" by virtue of their place of birth. Thus if and when India elects to secede from the British Commonwealth, the following changes in the status of Indians in East Africa ensue:

> (*a*) Those born domiciled in India. These will qualify for Indian citizenship and will not possess British nationality. It will . . . comprise the major portion of the Indian community in East Africa, though perhaps a considerable number of Muslims, especially Ismailis, may claim East African domicile and seek to become naturalized British subjects.
>
> (*b*) Those born in India but domiciled in East Africa. These will lose British nationality if India leaves the Commonwealth and will not qualify for Indian citizenship : they will thus be Stateless.
>
> (*c*) Those born in East Africa but domiciled in India. These will be British subjects by birth or British protected persons and will also generally qualify for Indian citizenship, thus possessing double nationality.
>
> (*d*) Those born and domiciled in East Africa. These will possess only British nationality.

This is an illustration of the situation that will face Indians resident in British territories whose prosperity they have helped to build up. Remembering that "British nationality" has not saved Indians from indignity and discrimination, as in South Africa, there need hardly be anxiety about the worsening of Indian status in British Commonwealth and Empire. About four million men and women of Indian parentage will be affected by the impending change. It will be the look-out of India's Foreign Office to watch over their honour and the protection of their material interests. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru confessed in the Central Legislature that he has not been able to do much for them as yet. We can only hope that India will be able to assert herself in discussions about Indians' status in the various countries of the world. Sovereignty will have no meaning without a satisfactory solution of this ticklish question.

All-India Women's Conference

A mid-19th century British poet sang of the woman's cause being man's. Since then the "mere man" has lost his self-assurance, and the woman has lost faith in his chivalry and capacity to help. Therefore, we have, all over the world, separate women's organizations to help build up a brave new world out of the debris of the mis-shapen man-made world. The All-India Women's Conference owed its birth to some such inspiration. And presiding over its 20th session held at Madras on December 29 last. Shrimati Anasuyabai Kale recalled our attention to the many inadequacies of our social life. Since the emergence of Gandhiji into the leadership of our national movement, women in India have been taking an increasing part in activities outside their homes ; they have been found at the forefront of our battle for national emancipation. Many of the disabilities that handicapped their freedom have vanished not by any act of State but under the pressure of a new consciousness that women have duties apart from and in addition to rocking the cradle. And Indian women along with their sisters in other parts of the world have shown that the intimate knowledge of life's mysteries with which they are endowed can play a great part in simplifying the problems of the modern world. Shrimati Anasuyabai drew particular attention to "the alarming increase of population" that is at "the root" of many of our problems ; she would have us, the people and the State in India, "regulate this abnormal increase." This and many other problems she would put in charge of a Ministry of Social Affairs, both at the Centre and the Provinces whose duty it would be "to equalize the status of all masses"; to "remove caste distinction and untouchability"; to "safeguard social security and justice"; to advance "adult education and literacy," raising "the consciousness of the masses to assert their rights." This Ministry would codify "a new Manusmriti" in consonance with modern ideas and in response to the needs of the citizens of a free State which aspires to give a new ideal and lead to the world. Shrimati Anasuyabai Kale has set up certain standards which the State in India must reach if her people were to have a worth-while life.

"Indo-Ceylonese Problems"

Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon, came over to New Delhi to hold parley with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in order to straighten out relations between India and his island. These have got twisted owing to conflicting appreciation of certain facts of

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modern Ceylon and Malabar and Tamil Nad. On his way home, Mr. Senanayake declared at Madras that "there would be no more Indo-Ceylonese problems." In the happy prospect held forth before us, it is necessary that we should understand what the trouble was about. This can be simplified thus. Ceylon has a population of about six millions, of which one million claim Indian parentage. The mainland of India and the island being near neighbours from time immemorial there has been crossings over from India to Ceylon.

The trouble started from the middle of the 19th century when British capital started to open out the island to the world's markets, when British capital started tea and coffee cultivation, and much later rubber cultivation. These new industries required the services of labour which the island could not supply. Perhaps, the simple wants of the island people could not drive them to hire themselves into contracted labour which the unemployed amongst Tamilians and Malayalees were glad to avail themselves of. With the turn of the century unemployment amongst the Ceylonese appeared, and they began to notice that "foreigners" were taking off the cream of their land. The Tamilian and the Malayalee being the weaker amongst the foreigners as compared to the British, the resentment of the native population burst upon the former. This was the same "problem" that appeared in Burma to poison relations between the two countries—India and Burma. Along with labourers in gardens came workers in the port of Colombo, both of them holding a monopoly of the labour market of Ceylon. Professional men and traders followed. This alien element in the island's life stirred the first signs of Ceylon's nationalism. This element did not get absorbed into the island society, India's peculiar social polity of castes standing in the way of such a consummation. This is, in a nutshell, the story of the "Indo-Ceylonese problems."

With the awakening of Ceylonese eyes to the reality of their economic helplessness, they started to push the Indians out of their island. As the latter desired to maintain their Indian nationality, the "problems" became subjects of political controversy. Indians contended that the creators of the island's wealth could not be discriminated against, that without being Ceylonese nationals in the constitutional sense, they should be accorded voting rights and other signs and symbols of citizenship. The Ceylonese refused to accept this plea of "double citizenship." Though we have not got the details of the satisfactory settlement between Pandit Nehru and Mr. Senanayake, it appeared that the latter has scored his point. And he is satisfied. But will the Indians in Ceylon be satisfied? How this settlement will affect the position of Indians in Burma, in Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's realm has yet to be seen. It will test the wisdom of the countries concerned.

Sugar Racket

In his post-prayer speech of December 16 evening Gandhiji quoted certain figures to indicate that there had been a distinct tendency towards a fall in prices of things de-controlled recently. He did it on the authority of the figures given him by one Shri Brij Krishna Chandiwala. We quote this part of the speech and the opinion expressed in the last line:

> The price of *gur* has fallen to eight annas a seer from a rupee. Price of sugar has fallen from Rs. 34 to Rs. 24 a maund. One rupee now bought 1½ seers of pulses instead of 14 chhataks. The price of gram has fallen from Rs. 24 to Rs. 18 per maund. The black market price of wheat had been Rs. 34 per maund. It has come down to Rs. 24 . . . The results had so far falsified the fears. The poor seemed to be better off without the control.

We do not know the name of the happy place which was the recipient of this windfall. If it be New Delhi, we can understand the motive that had led the traders and manufacturers to practise a certain amount of decency. But in Calcutta a sugar magnate has been advertising that his two stores would be selling sugar at Re. 1 a seer. In Patna, they say, sugar has been selling at Re. 1 and as. 2 a seer. These two instances ought to convince Gandhiji that he has been depending on a class of people to make a success of his de-control campaign who have ever been found to exploit a social necessity. In his *Hind Swaraj* written in the days when Bengal had made Swadeshi almost a religious duty, did he not describe how a cloth mill-owner of Western India regarded Bengalees as so many fools that were fair game for his tribe? The Indian people by their eagerness to advance Indian manufacturers imposed on themselves protective duties for these. During the last fifteen years they must have paid the sugar industry not less than Rs. 200 crores. And how has the trade responded to this generosity? How has the mill cloth industry behaved during the last eight years? Gandhiji should not have forgotten their crime.

Economy of the U.S.A.

The richest country in the world appears also to be hastening towards an economic crisis. The President of the United States in his message of November 17 last to the Congress recommending 537 million dollars interim aid to France, Italy and Austria referred to the "ominous threat" of inflation, "spiralling prices and living costs." Mr. Truman gave the world an idea of the rise in living costs that has occurred in his own country:

> Since the middle of 1946, fuel has gone up 1[illegible] per cent; clothing prices have gone up 19 per cent; retail food prices have gone up 40 per cent; and the average for all cost of living items has risen 23 per cent.
>
> The housewife who goes to buy food today must spend 10 dollars to buy what seven dollars bought a year and a half ago.
>
> The cost of living is still climbing. In the past four months it has risen at a rate of 16 per cent a year.
>
> Wholesale prices are rising, too. They affect every industry and trade, and they are soon translated into retail prices.
>
> Since the middle of 1946, wholesale textile prices have gone up 32 per cent; metals have gone up 36 per cent; building materials have gone up 42 per cent; and wholesale prices on the average have gone up 40 per cent.

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Mr. Truman's message referred to other instances of inflation in his own country that go to show that it has come to be a world phenomenon. In seeking for authority from the Legislature to combat inflation, he stressed the necessity of imposing "price ceilings on vital commodities in short supply"—food, clothing, fuel and rent; raw materials of industry also come under this category. All the powers that he seeks are intended to "stamp out profiteering and speculations" in these areas of the people's life. Since the outbreak of the Second World War, the world has been made familiar with the vicious circle of rising prices, of difficulties created for the house-holder as his income cannot keep pace with rising prices. The maladjustment created thereby forces the primary producers of food and the raw materials of industry to push up the prices of their commodities. Labourers engaged in agriculture and industries, even those who ply the pen, demand higher wages and pay. And the controllers of these departments of social life are forced to yield to these demands, thereby helping to start a cycle of higher prices for all consumer goods-products of agriculture and industries. Follow fresh demands for higher wages and pay. The process is being repeated, and we cannot see the end of its power of reproduction. The ordinary man and woman of the world are in general mute victims of this exploitation. He and she may not understand the beauty of it all; but he and she feel in their bones its cruelty.

I. N. A.

At the end of 1945 the Indian National Army, organized by the Netaji and led by him into the fields of Arakan, Manipur and Kohima, was the rallying point of a great recovery from the frustration of 1942 and the years following. With the I.N.A. slogan on their lips, the Congress won the 1946 election. But where are they today when so much is heard of the organization of National Militias, of Home Guards, of Territorial Armies? And we also hear that the organization of these bodies is held up because of want of trained personnel. We along with many in the world have often wondered—but never have had a satisfactory explanation—of the cause of the I. N. A.'s eclipse. We have read that the C. P. and Berar Ministry have been utilizing the services of I. N. A. officers to train their Home Guards, starting with 1200 trainees. But what of the other provinces? So far as the I.N.A. men are concerned, there appears to be a total atmosphere of studied silence. Col. P. K. Sehgal of the I. N. A. in an article in the *Teleprinters* describes what he told a Havildar in the Indian Army who had "shyly" asked his name and questioned him why the I. N. A. were not heard of nowadays.

> I could not tell him that for some strange and inexplicable reason the National Government of India had no use for the services of the I. N. A. officers and men who had dared to take up arms against British imperialism to free their Motherland from the bondage of foreign slavery. Therefore, I told my Havildar friend that our Government was so preoccupied with other affairs that they had no time to consider our cases for being retaken into the Indian Armed Forces.

We have heard that the Army High Command has been responsible for this hush-hush policy to which the I. N. A. has been subjected. But why should the Indian public also appear to be indifferent and forgetful? In these days of Militia and Home Guards, the Provincial authorities might show a more human attitude to those who offered the supreme sacrifice for the Cause. Or are the Congress Governments inclined to follow the age-old policy of neglect towards war-veterans?

Governors in Free India

In a recent issue of the *Harijan* Gandhiji took note of the objection raised by Principal Narain Agarwal to the continuance of Governors for Provinces in free India. The point was sought to be made that as Governors will, under the new constitution being framed by the Constituent Assembly, be the choice of the majority party securing the suffrage of the people under adult franchise, and the leader of the party will be elected Premier, there is hardly any sense in dividing authority between a Governor and the Premier. Principal Agarwal emphasized his objection on financial grounds, the honorarium of Governors and the paraphernalia of their office. Gandhiji sympathized with this particular point. But he appears to think that it would be "bad economy to do away with provincial Governors and regard Chief Ministers as a perfect substitute." He spoke of the "detached position" of Governors, of their being able to "see things in their proper perspective" and their preventing "mistakes by their Cabinet." We are afraid that Gandhiji has not been able to devote attention to the significance of events that have happened in Bihar, for instance. Governor Daulatram wanted to prevent mistakes by the Ministers, and he has had to quit. In Bengal, the Governor has not been able to maintain a "detached position" in the matter of the Security Bill; he is *ek dil* with the Premier in believing that there is wisdom in the Bill. These two instances go against the retention of the Governors as mere figure-heads; if they want to prevent mischief by Ministers they are made to go; if they observe philosophic reticence and a certain air of cynical amusement in relation to the Ministry, they become but rubber-stamps. Why waste money on them?

Asoka Chakra (Wheel)

The Charkha, the spinning wheel, has been associated with Congress activities since Gandhiji emerged into the leadership of our national organization. It found the central position in the Tri-colour flag of the Congress. It was, therefore, expected that the Charkha would occupy the same place of honour in our national flag. But the flag that has been accepted by the Constituent Assembly does not have the Charkha as it has been familiar to us these twenty-five years or more. Instead, the Asoka Chakra (wheel) has been adopted, and in recommending its adoption, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru said: "We are, of course, convinced that the great symbol of the wheel (of the

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Charkha) should be on the flag—not the rest of the *Charkha*. The essential part of the *Charkha* is the wheel. So, we thought that the *Charkha* emblem be the particular wheel of Asoka, instead of just any wheel." Prof. A. S. Wadia writing to a Delhi weekly has pointed out Punditjee's misapprehension by saying that:

> The wheel carved on the capital of Asoka's Lion Pillar at Sarnath is neither a *Charkha* nor Buddha's famous *Chakra* or 'wheel of life' of twelve spokes symbolising his twelve *Nidanas* nor for that matter any wheel at all but the age-old mystic circular emblem of the Blue Lotus (nymphaea caerulea) commonly known as *neel kamal*.

Then he goes on elaborating the mystic meaning of this lotus-symbol, and thinks that 'its adoption as the central emblem of the National flag of India was no happy hit or lucky coincidence but a veritable flash of genius." Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru is no mystic, and he has not taken the public into confidence with regard to the influence that moved the Flag Committee of the Constituent Assembly to adopt the Asoka wheel. Prof. Wadia's thesis would show that the members of this particular Committee knew not what they were doing.

Scottish Nationalism

While further afield in Asia Britain is trying to liquidate her imperialism—its signs and symbols at least—nearer home, beyond the Tweed, dissatisfaction with the "merger" effected after the death of Good Queen Bess has become vocal. The nature of this dissatisfaction is elaborated in a memorandum addressed to the United Nations Organization by the Council of the National Party which has been characterized as a "Claim of Rights." The relevant portion is quoted below:

> In every one of the countless wars, in which Scotland has been involved since the union with England, Scottish man-power has been exploited to an extent far in excess of English, proportionately to population, and with no benefit to Scotland. Further, though Scotland as a territory has much ampler resources to supply the needs of her inhabitants than England can find for her inflated population, the people of Scotland have been reduced to lower levels of living than the English, as is seen from official figures of slum housing maternal and infantile death-rates, unemployment, and many other social and economic statistics. This inveterate discrimination against Scotland has steadily increased with the centralisation of economic power in England, no matter which British, and thus predominantly English, political party has been in power.

This is a charge-sheet that rings familiar to us, as we have broadcasted something like it against the Britain constituted of England, Scotland and Wales. We can sympathise with the feelings given expression to therein. But we cannot forget the significance of the well-known tag which said that the British empire was acquired by the Irish soldiery, administered by the English for the benefit of Scotsmen. Clive Street in Calcutta sprawls as a standing witness to the canniness of Scots. And remembering its opposition to Indian Nationalism, we can hardly believe that Clive Street, for instance, will let go its grip on the life of the area south of the Tweed. But, as we live in revolutionary times, we may live to see the Scots undergoing such a transformation thus setting free the Englishman from his thraldom.

Palestine Pot Boiling

The Labour Government in Britain has announced its decision to withdraw from Palestine by the middle of this year. The process of the evacuation of their civil services and military formations will follow in successive stages. Curiously enough this liquidation of the imperial system has the support of Mr. Churchill who had been recommending that his country should place the Mandate over Palestine on the lap of the United Nations Organization. Mr. Attlee has for once abided by the advice of political rival. But even now candid friends of Britain are a little suspicious of the sincerity of the British gesture, I. F. Stone writing in the *P.M.* of New York, a centre-of-the-Left paper, explains the reason why. The Arab League being a British creation, the British cannot persuade the world to believe that they have had not hand in accentuating the hostility of this League. I. F. Stone explains:

> This brings me to the real point of this Arab "threat." The British have a bad record in the East in so far as minorities are concerned. They stood by as Iraq massacred the Assyrian Christians and they helped Iraq crush the past Kurdish revolts. Everywhere the British have supported the Muslim ruling class against Christian, Jewish and Muslim minority groups.

We who have a vivid recollection of British policy exploiting the Muslim minority in India for its own purposes can appreciate the scepticism of American observers. In connection with Palestine the British may be soothing Arab sensibilities and the sentiments of the majority, because the dynastic ambitions of Arab rulers lean on them for various reasons. And the hope may be lurking in the hearts of British die-hards that U.N.O. will find it difficult to implement its decision on partition of Palestine, and they being in possession will be recalled to straighten out the affair. In the *United Nations World* Ladislas Fazago indicated the British personalities who are still present in this area of the Mediterranean world who can play the dual game with some hopes of success. These two persons are Brigadier Patrick Andrew Clayton, "spiritual father of the Arab League," and Brigadier John Bagot Glubb, commander-in-chief of the Transjordan Arab Legion, consisting of the Transjordan Frontier Force, "the best trained and equipped military organization of the Middle East," and the Desert Patrol, "an elite guard recruited from the warrior sons of desert Sheiks" riding on camels or Bren-gun carriers with equal ease forming the "formidable Glubb Task Force that could spear-head the drive against the Jews." Clayton and Glubb are said to have got inside the Arab skin as Lawrence did during the First World War. They are "unofficially responsible to Whitehall—but it is a moot question as to how far His Majesty's Government is willing or able to curb their influence." But there cannot be two opinions that if the British desired to play fair, they could control Clayton and Glubb as they did Lawrence when they withdrew their support from Sheriff Hossain of Mecca, to whom they had pledged their word about rulership of the Hedjaj within which lie Mecca and Medina.

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PLASSEY, 1757

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By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt.

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Plassey, the Ground and the Rival Hosts

Clive's camp was a mango-grove called the *Lakshabagh* (or the Park of a hundred thousand trees), 800 yards by 300, with the trees planted in regular rows, and surrounded on four sides by an earthen embankment, which served as a good breast-work, while the thick branches gave protection from the enemy's shots overhead. The north-western corner of the grove was only 150 yards from the Ganges, which thus guarded its left flank, while the village of Plassey, 1,100 yards behind, protected the rear. About 200 yards north of the grove, on the bank of the river stood the Nawab's hunting-lodge (known as "Plassey House"), a brick building surrounded by a masonry wall which Clive immediately occupied and the roof of which served as a good observation post. Four hundred yards north of the hunting-lodge and again close to the river bank stood a large tank and 100 yards north of it a smaller tank, surrounded by high earthen banks, as usual in Bengal. Here were posted about 45 French helpers of the Nawab, under Monsieur de Sinfray with four light field-pieces, served by his men with remarkable accuracy. Still further northwards, some 500 yards beyond this French party and 400 yards east of the river stood a large dry mound, covered with jungle, which was held by the Nawab's own men and guarded the main entrance to his camp. A redoubt in the southern line of his entrenchments, a little west of this mound, formed the defence of the main entrance on its western side. From this point the trenches ran in a long line curving north-eastwards, with many openings to allow the troops to issue for battle from their respective quarters. The site of the Nawab's camp is called *Mangor-para* in a Dutch letter from Qasimbazar.

Between the shelter of the French tank and this big dry mound, was massed the most effective portion of Siraj-ud-daula's army,—indeed the only men who fought for him, under the faithful Mir Madan (Chief of Artillery), Mohan Lal Kashmiri, and other men of honour. This was the vanguard of the Nawab's troops and numbered 5,000 chosen Mughal horse and 7,000 infantry (Rajputs and Pathans), with two heavy guns; and these alone were actually engaged in that day's battle.

The vanguard formed a short north-to-south line, behind the French tank. Making a sharp angle to this line, on the left of it the other troops were drawn up in a huge semi-circle, to the east and south in three vast columns, under Yar Lutf Khan, Rai Durlabh and Mir Ja'far, placed further and further away from the English in this order. But all these troops were "outside the combat" on that eventful day. Each column had its own artillery placed on its two flanks, instead of all the guns being grouped together in one strong battery.

The Nawab's forces made a most impressive show, as after issuing from their camp they drew up on the plain north-east of the village of Plassey, in a vast arc, over two miles in length, almost surrounding the British army and threatening to drive it into the Ganges which flowed on its left. Taking horse and foot together they numbered nearly 50,000 men, but only some 12,000 men forming the vanguard or the right wing and 12 pieces of cannon took any part in the battle.[1] The Nawab's infantry possessed little or no discipline . . . and most of the men were armed with swords, pikes, bows and arrows! His cavalry was of a superior description, both men and horses being of northern origin and large size. (*Broome*, 143).

Siraj had 53 pieces of artillery, mostly of heavy calibres, 32, 24 and 18 pounders. These were mounted on large platforms furnished with wheels, and drawn by 40 or 50 yoke of powerful oxen, assisted by elephants; an elephant followed each carriage, pushing it forward with his head, whenever it came to any difficulty. On these platforms were conveyed not only the guns and carriages, but the ammunition, stores and gunners also. (*Broome*, 142.) "Their cannon moved along, and in front of their main body, in such manner that their whole front was almost covered with the bullocks that drew them." (Clive.)

This huge many-coloured crowd of men, horses, and elephants was faced by a thin line of red coats and white cross-belts, some 600 yards in length, the white faces (950) in the centre and the brown faces (2,100) in the wings with six very light guns in front.[2] But there was to be no clash of steel that day, no hand to hand cavalry fight, so dear to the heart of every Indian soldier of that age.

The British portion of Clive's army was made up of 950 European infantry and 150 artillerymen (including 57 sailors), with a number of lascars to assist. His Indian troops were 2,100 sepoys, all infantry, partly Madras men (called Telingas) and partly the Bengal Native Infantry (First Battalion) popularly called the Lal Paltan. This last had been raised as recently as January, after the recapture of Calcutta, by enlisting men of Bihar, Oudh, the Doab and Rohilkhand, and it contained Pathans, Rohillas, Jats, Rajputs and Brahmans (the "Pandes" of the Sepoy Mutiny), but the majority of the men in the ranks were Muslims,

1 As Jean Law writes: "With the exception of some 50 Europeans who were with M. Sinfray, and two or three chiefs who commanded bodies of cavalry, all the rest of the army stood with folded arms or only showed that they were on the side of Siraj-ud-daulah by the promptitude with which they took to flight. Fear pervaded the whole army before the action commenced. Every one was persuaded that Siraj-ud-daula was betrayed, and no one knew whom to trust." (Hill, III, 212). Except the vanguard under Mir Madan and Mohan Lal, and its 12 guns, the rest of the Nawab's artillery (under the three traitors) did not fire a single shot during the day.

2 Broome (p. 142) gives 900 Europeans (infantry, artillery and naval gunners) and 200 Topasses *i.e.*, Portuguese Eurasians serving with the British infantry, a total of 1,100 besides Indian Lascars to assist the artillery; 2,100 sepoys, eight six-pounder guns and two howitzers. *Hill* (I, xxcvi) reduces the numbers of the Europeans and the Topasses by 100 each.

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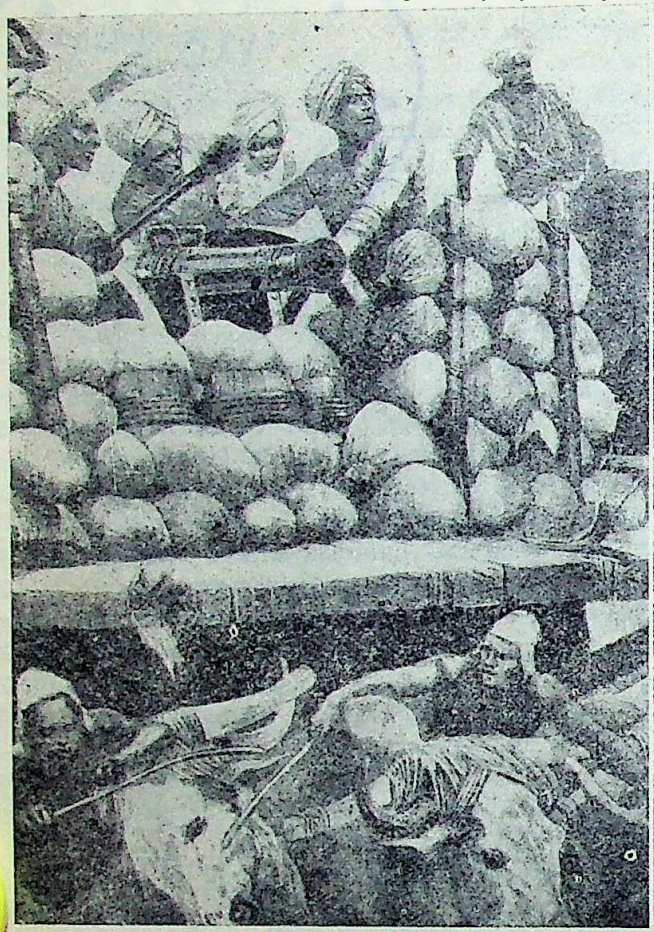

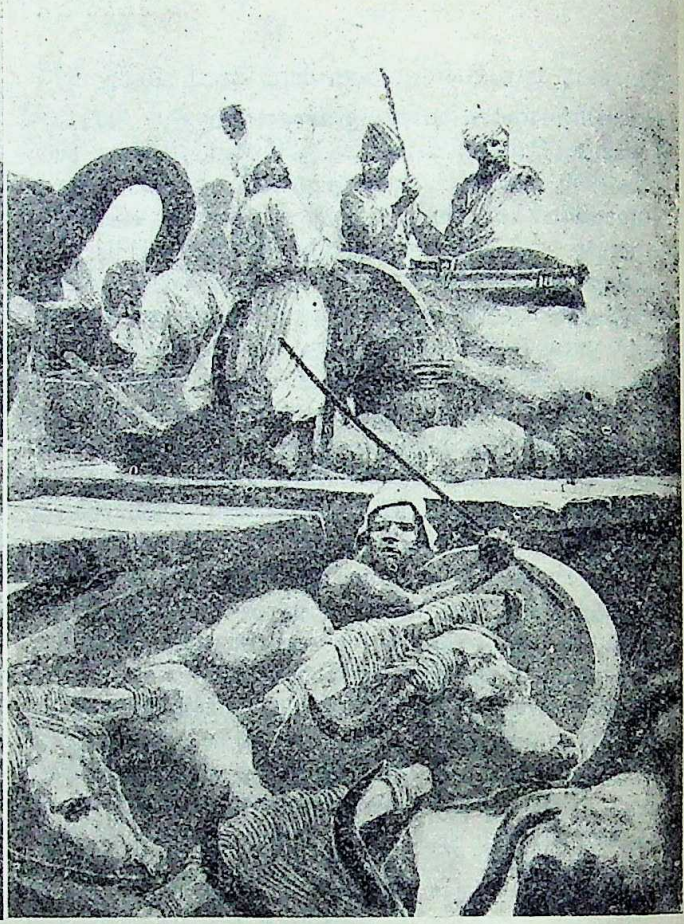

The Battle of Plassey, June 23rd, 1757
The Nawab's artillery on its movable platform
From a picture by R. Carton Woodville, R.I.

many of them disbanded soldiers of the Indian princes. (*Broome*, 93).

The battle line of Clive was thus formed : in the centre were placed the Europeans, in four battalions, under Majors Killpatrick, Archibald Grant, and Eyre Coote, and Captain Gaupp. On the two wings the sepoys were posted in two divisions, with three six-pounder guns on each flank of the Europeans, a little ahead of the infantry. They were drawn up in the plain in front of the mango-grove, in a line about 600 yards in length, from west to east with the river on their left.

Battle of Plassey

Thursday the 23rd of June, 1757, exactly one year and two days after the Nawab's capture of Calcutta, witnessed a battle which was destined to revolutionise the life of India, and, indirectly and slowly that of the eastern hemisphere, though when judged as a trial of arms military critics are apt to slight it as a mere skirmish or distant cannonade.

At eight o'clock in the morning, both hosts were in position. The first blood was drawn by white men from white men. The French opened fire from the big tank only 200 yards from the English line and killed one grenadier and wounded another of the Bengal European Regiment. This was the signal for the whole attacking force to join in the action, and a heavy cannonade began from the Nawab's line, most of which was badly aimed and did little mischief. The English at once replied with their six-pounders, which took effect on the dense masses of the enemy and kept them back, but were too short in range to silence the Nawab's artillery. In half an hour the British lost 30 men in killed and wounded, and Clive retired his men to the grove, where the trees protected them overhead and the embankment in front.

The smart and accurate fire of the English guns from the embrasures made in the mud wall of the mango-grove, killed a number of the enemy's gunners and caused several serious explosions among their carelessly exposed munitions. Hence the falling back of the English line did not embolden the Nawab's cavalry to charge.

Three hours passed in this static cannonade. And then, shortly after 11 a.m. a thunderstorm burst with tropical fury, turning the sandy plain of Plassey into a mud swamp. The Nawab's artillery was now put out of action as their uncovered gunpowder had been damped by rain while the English had carefully kept their powder dry. When the rain ceased, Mir Madan ordered the long-waited-for gallant charge in the hope of overwhelming the English by numbers, thinking that their guns had been similarly rendered useless by rain. But the rapid fire of grape-shot from the English guns at close range wrought havoc among the advance-

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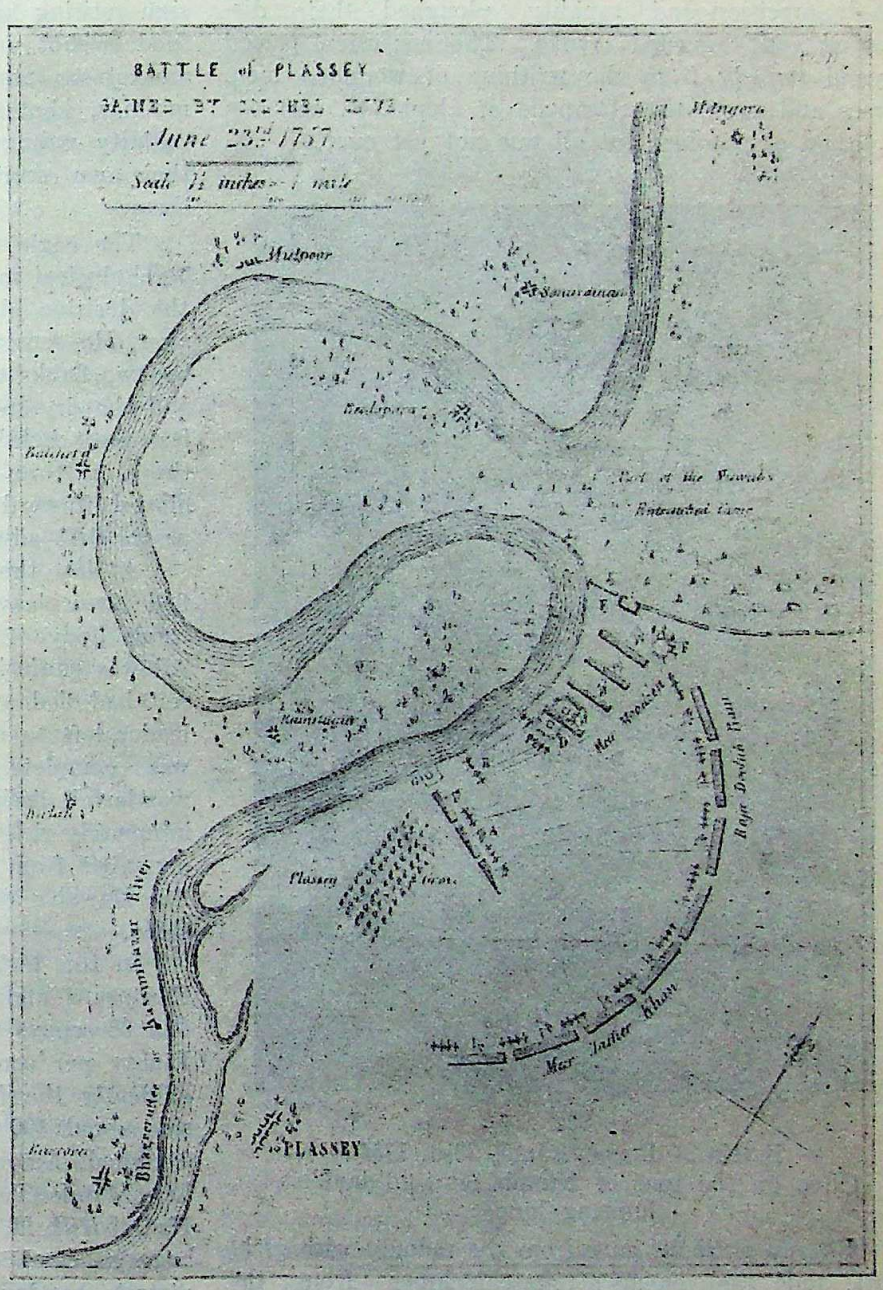
ing crowd of Bengal cavaliers. Here at the head of the charge fell Mir Madan, Bahadur Ali Khan (the son-in-law of Mohan Lal and commander of the *bahalia* musketeers), Nauwe Singh Hazari (captain of artillery), and some other high officers. The advance was checked and the cavalry turned their faces towards their entrenchment.

It was now two o'clock in the afternoon. Clive on learning of the enemy's flinching, came out of the hunting-lodge and found that their cannonade had entirely ceased and the men were yoking their oxen and slowly retiring towards their camp. Treachery had been at work in the Nawab's army. On hearing of Mir Madan's fall, Siraj-ud-daulah had called Mir Jafar to his tent, appealed to his loyalty, by laying his turban at his feet and saying, "It is for you to defend my honour." Mir Jafar swore on the Quran to fight the English, and advised the Nawab to withdraw his troops from the field and fight with renewed vigour next morning under his leadership. On coming out of the Nawab's tent to his own troops in the field, he sent a letter to Clive telling him of the Nawab's helplessness and despair and urging the English to advance at once and seize the camp.

His treacherous advice had begun to work. The troops in the field, while shaken by Mir Madan's fall and the repulse of their vanguard, received orders that the engagement was suspended for the day, and began a withdrawal. But the handful of Frenchmen kept their stand at the most advanced post facing the English. Such was the sight which had made Major Killpatrick on his own initiative order an advance by a small English detachment. Clive came upon the scene immediately after this forward movement had started; he took the command himself, and launched an assault upon Sinfray's isolated position in force. The Frenchmen were outnumbered; but limbering up their guns they retired in good order and made a second stand in the redoubt guarding the entrance to the Nawab's camp.

Having seized the French tanks, Clive planted all his field-pieces there and began to throw shots into the enemy's camp. Here he halted for about two hours keeping a keen eye on the vast enemy position before him and watching for his chance. Soon there was a return of the tide; the Muslim retreat stopped. All the Bengal army was not made up of Mir Ja'fars and Rai Durlavs; there were in it many men of honour, Rajputs with their inborn contempt of death and Shias nursed on the chivalrous traditions of Persia, who would not yield without one more struggle.[3] The shower was over, they had eaten their afternoon refreshments in the camp and now began to come out again from the entrenchment with dry gunpowder from their stores, to renew the combat, even though they had no supreme leader to inspire and guide them. But the ground beneath them was rain-soaked. As



A. Position of the British Army at 8 in the morning
B. Four guns to check the fire of the French Party at the tank D.
C. The Nawab's Army
D. A tank from whence the French Party cannonaded till 3 in the afternoon, when part of the British Army took post there and the enemy retired within their entrenched camp
E. & F. A redoubt and mound taken by assault at ½ past 4, and which completed the victory
G. The Nawab's hunting house

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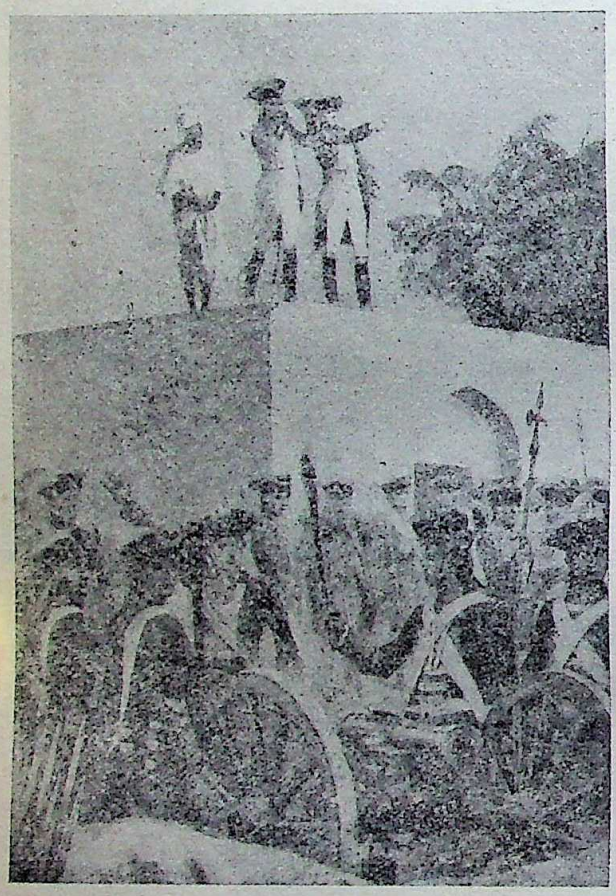
their horses were floundering in the mud and the clumsy wheels of their heavy gun-platforms were sinking in the ground, and their draught oxen refused to make any advance under the lash, the English cannon fired from only two hundred yards' distance with deadly precision and rapidity, ploughed their disordered and crowded ranks. The confusion passed beyond remedy from the writhing of wounded men, horses and oxen, the stampede of elephants, and the explosion of powder. But all was not yet over.



Battle of Plassey, June 23rd, 1757
Clive on the roof of Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah's hunting lodge

"Sinfray plied his guns from the redoubt with great spirit, and the enemy's matchlockmen from the entrenchments and the hillock east of the redoubt, maintained an irregular but unintermitting fire. Their cavalry also made several bold attempts to charge, but were as often repulsed by the rapid and deadly fire of the British field-pieces. It was here that the contest was most obstinate, and on this occasion the chief loss of the English was sustained." (*Broome*, 148).

But, in truth, by this time the Bengal army was really spent. In their centre and left, the vast cavalry hordes of Mir Ja'far, Durlav Ram, and Yar Lutf were seen retiring further and further away without having fired a shot during the whole day, while Clive's musketeers, now lodged close behind the nearest mounds, kept up volley firing with a precision and rapidity unknown to our indigenous forces. Many of their own comrades were seem to be on retreat behind them.

The eagle eye of the British General seized this psychological moment. Clive sprang forward to deliver the decisive blow. His halt at the French tanks was over. He sent two strong detachments to advance on his two flanks to dislodge the defenders of the redoubt and the dry jungly mound east of it;[4] these were the last posts held by his enemy outside their camp. At the same time the main body of the British army moved forward more slowly in support of the right or the left advance as might be found necessary.

At last the struggle was over. The Nawab's army fled away leaving their guns behind, and then the whole body of the victors entered the entrenchments. All was confusion and flight within. The Nawab himself had fled away soon after 4 p.m., there was no leader left to conduct an orderly retreat. The victory was complete by 5 o'clock. Clive's soldiers, with wonderful discipline, did not stop to plunder such an immensely rich camp, but pushed onwards to Daudpur six miles from the field, that night, in order to seize the Nawab's capital before he could rally his forces there.

In this historic action, the British lost only seven Europeans and 16 sepoys killed, and 13 Europeans and 36 sepoys wounded, a total casualty figure of 72.[5] Eighty per cent of this loss fell on their artillery,—evidently the feat of Sinfray's men. On the Nawab's side about 500 men were killed and a due proportion wounded. Among the wounded officers were Mohan Lal, Manik Chand (a Bengali Kayastha), and Khwaja Hadi [*Hill*, II, 426]. But all his artillery (53 pieces), baggage, camp equipage, stores and cattle fell into the victor's hands; nothing could be carried away. But as there was no oppositoin there was not after Plassey the carnage that usually follows a rout; all the Bengal losses were suffered in the open field.

The Contrasted Tactics

The tactics of the battle of Plassey are quite easy to follow when we bear in mind the difference between the two sides in armament and war training (especially the vitally important elements of discipline

3 "The Nawab's soldiers could not understand how so small a British force could overwhelm so powerful an army as their own; so, declining to accept defeat, they brought up large bodies of cavalry, who had not hitherto taken an active part in the engagement; and who having obtained dry powder from their entrenchment, poured a heavy fire on the mound which Clive had just captured from the French." (Innes, *Hist. of Bengal Europ. Reg.*, 63).

"When Mir Jafar counselled the Nawab to suspend the fight for that day and recall his troops from the field, Mohan Lal refused to retreat on the ground that it would lead to a rout. But Mir Jafar stuck to his own advice and left the decision to Siraj-Daulah" (Syed text, 229).

4 "The (British) detachment at the first tank, with some *sepoys in front*, being ordered, accordingly rushed on, fired on the enemy when they got to the top, and drove them off with . . . precipitation." (Clive in *Hill*, II, 436)

5 *Broome*, 149. But *Hill* (Vol. I, ccii) gives Europeans, 4 killed and 15 wounded; sepoys 15 killed, 38 wounded,—total 72. The official return after the battle, signed by Major of Brigade, John Fraser, gives 76 killed and wounded and four missing, a total of 80. (*Hill*, II, 425).

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among the men and leadership among the junior officers). Only 12,000 men with 10 guns fought 3,200 men with 8 guns. Clive's policy after the first half-hour (in which he lost 30 men from the French-directed artillery) was to keep his men under cover and fire his guns from embrasures fully shielded by earthworks. Mir Madan, on his part, followed the stereotyped Mughal war-plan of first making a big-gun cannonade for overpowering the enemy's inferior artillery, throwing the opposite cavalry into confusion, and if luck assisted blowing up their munition in the field; then after such a preparation for about two hours, launching his own massed cavalry in one charge, riding down the enemy forces, and winning the day by one stroke.

Such tactics had succeeded in Indian warfare in the 17th century and even in the 18th, when both sides had indigenous armament and leaders; but they proved futile when opposed to the discharge of grape from smaller but very mobile and rapid-firing guns aimed with deadly accuracy from close range, and highly trained musketeers (not clumsy match-lock-men) firing by platoons with the shock effect of machine guns.

Clive handled his small force (entirely infantry-men and foot artillery) with judicious economy. After the first half-hour (when they were exposed and suffered nearly half the casualties of their side for the entire day), he carefully kept them back from exposure. And when in the afternoon, he did again issue into the open plain, every step was taken under artillery protection, and every advance was made in the form of a dash from one protective embankment (round some tank) to another, where a halt was made under cover and his artillery brought up alongside and employed in pounding the enemy in their nearest post in front, so as to prepare the ground for the next advance of his infantry.

The Nawab's troops, after the failure of their first old-style charge under Mir Madan at about 2 p.m., learnt a lesson and changed their tactics by using every ground cover available and shooting down the English sepoys from behind such covers as long as they could hold them.

Unlike the English, the Nawab's troops had no grape-firing guns to support their infantry, and, indeed, no artillery help whatever in the afternoon's fighting, except Sinfray's guns in the Redoubt at the angle of their entrenched line. The musketry fire of the British-led sepoys was far superior to that of the Nawab's *bahalias*. In the final stage of the battle, as the British advance was headed by the sepoys, their white infantry suffered no loss, and their only casualties were among the sepoy infantry and white artillery men.*

The End of Siraj-ud-daulah

From the lost field of Plassey, even before the last struggle had ended, the craven Nawab deserted his soldiers and followers and fled away alone about 4 p.m., on a swift camel, with a few servants and arrived at his capital at midnight. All was terror and confusion in Murshidabad. No real attempt could be made to organise a defence, as the soldiery had lost

Lal Paltan
Grenadier Sepoy

heart and gone utterly out of hand. Above all Siraj-ud-daulah knew not whom to trust. So, overcome by fear and urged by his women, he resolved on a flight to Patna. In the night of 24th June, he escaped unnoticed from the city attended by a trusty eunuch and his devoted wife Lutf-un-nisa Begam. The capital of Bengal was left without a magistrate or a master, because Mir Jafar who had reached it on the day after the battle, kept himself confined to his own house and refused to assume the government. But Clive entered the city on the 29th and took up his residence in the Murad-bagh near the palace of Siraj. Later, in the afternoon, he went to the palace of Hira-jhil, where Mir Jafar was in residence, and

* Clive's letter—"Our four guns from the top of the (first) tank, being a rising ground, played upon the enemy, (who covered the plain with their numbers and at no very great distance), with vast success. They (*i.e.*, the Nawab's troops) had got possession of the second tank (really, the dry mound on one side of the tank entrenched to the Nawab's camp) with horse and *bargandazes* or gunmen,—as many as could cover themselves from our cannon, behind it, and from thence with their musketry wounded several of our men . . . The enemy endeavoured to use their guns, but we took care to fire on those parts which put them into such confusion that we received but few shot." (*Hill*, III, 435).

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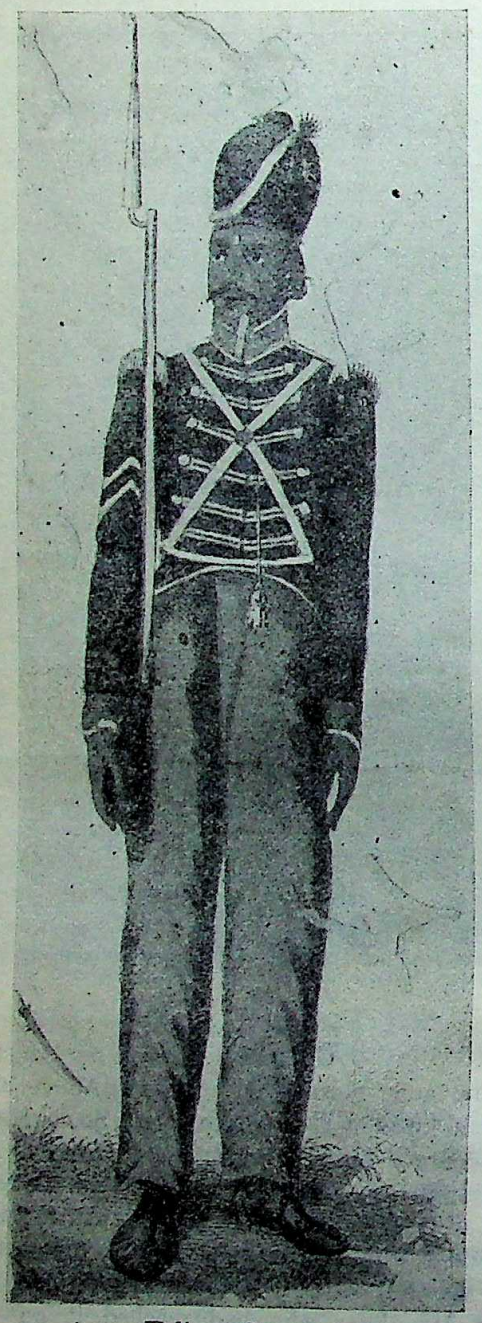
"there in the presence of all the Rajahs and great men of the Court, he led Jafar Ali Khan by the hand to the royal seat (*masnad*), seated him on it, and saluted him as Nawab of the three Subahs, upon which his courtiers congratulated him and paid him the usual homage." (Clive, in *Hill*, Vol. II, 437.)

Thus ended Muslim rule in Bengal ; the foreign master of the sword had become its king-maker.



Telinga Sepoy

The fallen Nawab fled by road to Bhagwangola on the Padma and there took boat for going up-stream and reaching Patna and his French allies under M. Jean Law. A little below Rajmahal, he alighted from his boat (30th June) to ask for a meal to be cooked for him. Though he had disguised himself in mean clothing, he was recognised by a Muslim faqir, named, Dana Shah, whose ears and nose he had ordered to be cut off in the days of his power. This man informed the governor of Rajmahal, who seized Siraj-ud-daula and sent him under guard to Murshidabad. Here the fallen monarch was brought with great secrecy at night on 2nd July. Mir Jafar could not decide what to do with him, but left him in the hands of his son Miran and retired to sleep. This brutal youth had Siraj murdered in prison[6] that very night without the knowledge of the English.

His executioner was Muhammadi Beg, a low fellow, whom Siraj's father had brought up and mother given in marriage. The fallen monarch abased himself to the ground, made frantic appeals for mercy, and promised to live in harmless obscurity if only his life was spared. But all his efforts proved futile. No time was given to him to pray and prepare himself for facing the Great Judge. Then with his last breath he cried out, "I am being killed in retribution for my unjust murder of Husain Quli Khan."

Next morning his mangled body was placed on an elephant and paraded through the streets of the capital as a mark of public degradation (*tash-hir*). Men noted with horror that when the elephant came to a halt for a few minutes at the place where Siraj had caused Husain Quli to be murdered three years earlier, some drops of blood fell down from his dead body on the very same spot. Thus was proved divine justice. When the corpse reached the bazar in front of Siraj's old residence, and a public clamour arose, a noble matron in dishevelled dress, without shoes on her feet, without a veil to cover her head, was seen to rush out of the palace and approach the elephant beating her breast and uttering cries of anguish. It was the mother of Siraj. She learnt of her darling son's fate for the first time from the noise outside, and broke out of *parda* with her weeping train, to have a last look at his mortal remains. But it was not to be. This daughter of a king, wife of a vice-king, and mother of another king was driven back to her home with blows by the ruffianly guards of Khadim Husain, a General, who had been watching the scene from his balcony opposite. And Khadim Husain had been cherished in youth by Alivardi. His gratitude to his benefactor only paralleled that of Mir Jafar. (*Siyar* text, 232.)

Ignoble as the life of Siraj-ud-daulah had been and tragic his end, among the public of his country his memory has been redeemed by a woman's devotion and a poet's genius. For many years after his death his widow Lutf-un-nisa Begam used to light a memorial lamp on his tomb every evening as long as she lived. The Bengali poet Nabin Chandra Sen in his masterpiece *The Battle of Plassey*, has washed away the follies and crimes of Siraj by artfully drawing forth his readers' tears for fallen greatness and blighted youth.

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6 Miran also murdered Siraj's sole surviving brother Mirza Mahdi and his dead brother Akramuddaulah's son Murad-ud-daulah, thus extinguishing the entire male line of Alivardi's descendants. We know nothing further of Mirza Ramzani, a younger brother of Shaukat Jang (of Purnia), mentioned in the *Siyar*.

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Reflections

When the sun dipped into the Ganges behind the blood-red field of Plassey, on that fateful evening of June, did it symbolise the curtain dropping on the last scene of a tragic drama? Was that day followed by "a night of eternal gloom for India," as the poet of Plassey imagined Mohan Lal foreboding from the ranks of the losers? Today the historian, looking backward over the two centuries since then, knows that it was the beginning, slow and unperceived, of a glorious dawn, the like of which the history of the world has not seen elsewhere. On 23rd June, 1757, the middle ages of India ended and her modern age began.

When Clive struck at the Nawab, Mughal civilisation had become a spent bullet. Its potency for good, its very life was gone. The country's administration had become hopelessly dishonest and inefficient, and the mass of the people had been reduced to the deepest poverty, ignorance and moral degradation by a small, selfish, proud, and unworthy ruling class. Imbecile lechers filled the throne; the family of Alivardi did not produce a single son worthy to be called a man, and the women were even worse than the men. Sadists like Siraj and Miran made even their highest subjects live in constant terror. The army was rotten and honey-combed with treason. The purity of domestic life was threatened by the debauchery fashionable in the Court and the aristocracy and the sensual literature that grew up under such patrons. Religion had become the handmaid of vice and folly.

On such a hopelessly decadent society, the rational progressive spirit of Europe struck with resistless force. First of all, an honest and efficient administration had to be imposed on the country and directed by the English, if only for the sake of the internal peace on which their trade depended and the revenue by which its necessary defence force could be maintained. Thus, while the English rulers kept protesting that they were merchants and not rulers in Bengal, the civil administration, no less than the armed defence, of the country was forced upon them. In the space of less than one generation, in the twenty years from Plassey to Warren Hastings (1757-1776), the land began to recover from the blight of Quranic rule. Education, literature, society, religion, man's handwork and political life, all felt the revivifying touch of the new impetus from the west. The dry bones of a stationary oriental society began to stir, at first faintly, under the wand of a heaven-sent magician.

It was truly a Renaissance, wider, deeper, and more revolutionary than that of Europe after the fall of Constantinople. Bengal had been despised and thrown into a corner in the Vedic age as the land of birds (and not of men), in the epic age as outside the regions hallowed by the feet of the wandering Pandav brothers, and in the Mughal times as "a hell well stocked with bread." But now under the impact of the British civilisation it became a path-finder and a light-bringer to the rest of India. If Periclean Athens was the school of Hellas, "the eye of Greece, mother of arts and eloquence," that was Bengal to the rest of India under British rule, but with a borrowed light, which it had made its own with marvellous cunning. In this new Bengal originated every good and great thing of the modern world that passed on to the other provinces of India. From Bengal went forth the English-educated teachers and the Europe-inspired thought that helped to modernise Bihar and Orissa, Hindustan and Deccan. New literary types, reform of the language, social reconstruction, political aspirations, religious movements and even changes in manners that originated in Bengal, passed like ripples from a central eddy, across provincial barriers to the furthest corners of India.

Finally, after less than two centuries of rule the British have left Bengal free, and better fitted to keep that freedom in the modern world than the Romans had made Britain when they abandoned their imperial domination over the white island, more permanently civilised than the Hellenistic world on the dissolution of Alexander's empire, and more peaceful and progressive than the American colonies of Spain when they shook themselves free of European rule.

Has not Bengal, unknown to herself, been working through the ages to reach this consummation? Her storied past, as narrated by her own sons, shows how the diverse limbs of the country and warring tribes and sects of the people were fused into one by the silent working of time and common political life, till at the end of the Muslim period a Bengali people had become a reality. But not yet a Bengali *nation,* for the prerequisites of a nation were then wanting. Two centuries of British rule and the neighbouring example of British society have now ground down large sections of the Bengali people to that uniformity of life and thought which alone can create a nation. It is for the future to perfect this good work.

In June, 1757, we crossed the frontier and entered into a great new world to which a strange destiny had led Bengal. Today, in October 1947 we stand on the threshold of the temple of Freedom just opened to us. May the course of the years 1757 to 1947 have prepared us for the supreme stage of our political evolution and helped to mould us truly into a nation. May our future be the fulfilment of our past history.

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CONTINENTALISM IN WORLD POLITICS

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By BUDDHA PRAKASH, M.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S.

Today, the world is buried under the debries of wars. Two terrible conflagrations burning from one end to the other have left the world a heap of slag and cinder. Broken myths, burnt creeds are scattered all around this ghastly graveyard of Western civilization. The victors are as much perplexed as the vanquished.

> "Over wide areas," said Mr. Churchill in his speech at Zurich on 19th September, 1946, "are a vast quivering mass of tormented, hungry, careworn and bewildered human beings who wait in the ruins of their cities and homes and scan the dark horizons for the approach of some new form of tyranny or terror. Among the victors there is a babel of voices, among the vanquished the sullen silence of despair . . ."

This babel of voices comes from a heap of ruins which sepulchres the culture of economic nationalism.

This word 'economic nationalism' is a convenient catchphrase to designate a particular epoch of culture which prevailed in the world up till now and which is now passing through the grooves of change into another new phase of human life. This culture was the product of the impact of industrialism and democracy on the drive towards unity and closeness, which characterized many countries of Europe in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Mercantilism, the then prevailing system, tended to divide the economies of European countries into numberless monopolies and preserves, which dealt a crushing blow to their unity and integrity. But as the onset of industrial revolutions broadened the horizons of people and made them conscious of the need of a bigger field of production and distribution, which conveniently coincided with cultural and linguistic units known as nations, these divisions began to disappear. The Union of Great Britain had been accomplished under the Stuarts. Her descendants achieved the same in 1788 beyond the Atlantic by abolishing all commercial barriers between the States. A few years later the French Revolutionary government did away with all the provincial tariff frontiers, which had hitherto broken up the economic unity of France. In the second quarter of the 19th century, the Germans achieved an economic zollverein which proved the percursor of political union. In the third quarter, the Italians by achieving political unity secured economic unity at the same time. Alongside of this movement of unification was another trend of free international commerce, which also justified the existence of nation states. The doctrine of comparative costs was devised to demonstrate that the full benefit of laissez-faire economy and international division of labour could be reaped for all partners within the existing order of competing national economies. This insistence on national states in an environment of free co-ordination of the productive resources of the world, awakened in some undeveloped and underdeveloped states a passion for fully exploiting their productive potentialities so as to meet the competition of the developed states on a footing of equality. Hence an era of economic rivalries set in and the incentive towards free trade, which was supported by Pitt, Peel, Cobden and Gladstone in England, by the United States between 1832 and 1860 and France under Louis Phillipe and Napoleon III was thwarted by a hectic pursuit of tariff-protectionism and trade-restrictions. A significant mark of this turn of tide was a new school of economic thought, the "historical national school" expounded by Adolf Wagner, which contended that the economic position of the individual instead of depending on so-called natural rights and inherent capacities is largely conditioned by the national environment in which he lives and works. In 1872, the leading economists of the school held a conference at Eisenach and issued a manifesto which declared war on economic liberalism and referred to the national German State "as the great moral institution for the education of humanity." By 1879 Bismarck had publicly avowed his faith to the tenets of this school and soon France, U. S. A. and England followed suit and the world was split into water-tight units separated from each other by high tariffs and protective duties.

This drive towards national states was sped up by the dynamism of democracy. Hitherto government was a purely dynastic affair and diplomacy and war the sports of kings. Hence when two countries went to war, it were only the particular chessmen, the sailors and soldiers, who fought, whilst the rest of the populations remained unaffected. A famous passage in Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* relates how the author went to France during the Seven Years War and was helped and greeted by a French nobleman. But after the wars of American Independence and French Revolution, the idea of soverignty underwent a radical change and the shapeless swarming masses speaking through elected representatives wielded the reins of government. Hence the slightest tussles directly affected the masses, whose exhaustless strength was ruthlessly exploited by interested parties for their own benefit.

In fact, democracy implies an agreement on fundamentals over which everybody can afford to bicker. This background of intrinsic concord is provided by a common linguistic and cultural tradition which is strengthened by uniform economic needs and homogeneous political interests and entrenched by a contiguous geographical habitat. This circumscribed sphere of fraternity vitally knits up the amorphous passions of the masses to a basic understanding on which the stability of a sound government essentially rests. Hence dmeocracy working within the framework of parochical state becomes a sort of nationalism and the mysterious ghost raised by it goads the ideas and actions of men in one common direction. Thus a spirit of peace and blessing, when confined in

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narrow pitcher becomes a gruesome genie of disaster and destruction.

The democratic ideals thus mixing with the realities of competitive economics, gave birth to economic nationalism, which from the seventies of the last century onwards has been the lodestar of world politics. This system, too, had its own advantages. It keyed up the productive processes of the world to the highest pitch. It led to the fullest utilization of all potentialities of production in a vain attempt to achieve economic self-sufficiency. Thus, highly technical methods like subventions, export bounties and dumping systems hightened the tempo of production drive all over the world and the miraculous designs of Dr. Schacht had the ingenuity of magic. But the productive sources of the world having been tapped, the epoch of economic nationalism lost its raison d'etre. Its inner contradictions became apparent and its explosive contents brought about two ravaging wars which have smashed the fabric of this culture. Hence new needs arose and opened new horizons and new situations have fostered new perspectives. Beyond the fumbling frontiers of nations we glance at a wider landscape, in which the growing shades of declining nations fade in a vast expanse *viz.*, continentalism.

Continent, too, is as arbitrary and obstreperous a name as nation. Recently an interesting controversy arose over the meaning of "Europe" to which the American Secretary of State, Mr. George C. Marshall in his speech of June 5, 1946, at Harvard University, promised financial assistance. Explaining his standpoint the learned Secretary remarked that "Europe is everything west of Asia." This interpretation was challenged by Senator Vandenberg on June 13, but, even leaving his arguments aside for a moment, we are entitled to question as to why Europe hankers for Iranian and Arabian oil, Egyptian cotton, Australian wheat and Indian raw materials, if she claims to be so complete and self-contained. Likewise if America is a separate continent, why has she smashed the shell of her isolationism with the Truman Doctrine and is meddling with the affairs of far off Turkey and Greece ? Again, if Asia is a perfect self-sufficient unit, why do the Indian leaders, despite Gandhiji's remonstrances look to the West for initiative and inspiration ; why do the Chinese dress their wounds with the red plaster marked with the hammer and sickle or the green plaster with the dollar mark on it? Evidently the concept of continent is as obsolete as that of nation. Yet due to some recent developments in international relations, continentalism, in place of nationalism, has become the dominant feature of world politics.

The victory of the allies and the cessation of hostilities following it have brought into light the chasms in their ranks which were formerly covered by a community of danger. The same play of power-politics which had pulverized the solidarity of Europe sprang up again. The spoils of victory, particularly Germany, became the apple of discord for the voracious victors. At Yalta it was agreed upon to give the eastern half of Poland to Russia and, as a tentative plan, to give a large slice of eastern Germany to Poland. Now Poland, backed by Russia, insists that such an apportionment should be made final. The situation has been aggravated by the division of Germany into four zones of allied control. In the Soviet zone of Germany, as John Foster Dulles, who accompanied Mr. Marshall to Moscow, remarked, the dominant political party and the labour unions are already subject to Soviet will and the Communist influence is spreading in the English, French and American zones also. Among the delegates that are trifling over the broken fragments of German economy at Frankfurt, the Christian democrats, having Communistic inclination, figure prominently. To counteract this tendency the English and American zones are economically and politically coming together and the French zone is also likely to coalesce with them since France has been promised coal deliveries from Ruhr at Moscow by Bevin and Marshall. Thus a western Germanic bloc has been created under the tutelage of the democratic powers. In Italy Gasperi has devised a liberal regime, which is in line with the democratic countries. On the other side, Russia is spreading her tentacles far and wide. With Poland fastened with a puppet government whose wires are pulled from the Kremlin, Russia has advanced up to the heart of Germany. She has also spread her net over the Balkans. In Yugoslavia, queer creation of the Versailles peace-makers, there is a peculiar racial and religious ferment which Russia has turned to her advantage. The whole manoeuvre was so organized that in the elections to the Constituent Assembly in November, 1946, King Peter received only 10 per cent of the votes as against the 90 per cent of Marshal Tito's, who is a Soviet trained leader of the urban proletariat. Rumania is ridden with a pro-Soviet monarchy presided over by King Mihail, who is a prisoner of the Communistic government. Bulgaria, though fighting with Britain and the United States underwent a *coup d'etat* at the hands of the Communist-dominated Fatherland Front and declared war on Germany at the instance of Russia. Last September she voted to establish a republic. Hungary suffered a ravaging purge by the Communists recently. General Dirmyes, whose party polled only 17 per cent of the votes in the last elections, has usurped the government with the support of Soviet bullets by swashbuckling the Small Holder's party which had won a majority of seats. These Communist-aided terrorists abetted the resurrection of reactionary forces in Greece and as proved by the U.N.O. Inquiry Commission, were at the back of the boundary squabbles there. Their menace is also felt by Turkey. Towards Asia, as Mr. Acheosn complained, Soviet Union dismantled industries in Manchuria, obstructed economic and political unification of Korea and has not returned it to Chinese administration. Thus a big Soviet bloc, extending from the Pacific to the Danube, has come into existence.

In Asia, the Middle East claims a separate continental status. The Pan-Islamic movement has now,

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after the dissolution of the Caliphate, found expression in the Arab League and the Greater Syria scheme of King Abdullah. The Turko-Iraqi treaty, which has been recently negotiated is a step ahead towards the success of these designs. Yet at present the Middle East is a muddle of medieval institutions and modernist ideas, old remnants of Pashadom and feudalism and hot Khamsins and Majlises and noisy streets of Cairo are buzzing, in a confused quire, with whispers of Communist menace, imperialist domination, oil supremacy, American capital, Palestine problem, Islamic unity and many other shapeless watchwords. In this welter America has thrown the bait of dollar and England that of Pakistan, while Russia employs Muslim diplomats and consuls and sends cultural missions to promote goodwill. Yet, apart from this diplomatic dash-grab the Muslims visualize a pan-Islamic bloc from the Atlantic coast of Morocco to the stream of the Ravi. In India, the secession of Muslim majority areas from the Union of India may give some articulation to these bustlings.

The rest of Asia may organize a Sino-Indic bloc embracing the whole of Central Asia and the Far East. The Inter-Asiatic Conference held in New Delhi on April 22 is a symbol of such development. At least this is a likely and desirable phenomenon in the context of present-day world politics.

Similar and even more far-reaching changes are visible in American circles. Ever since the first World War, U. S. A. has come out of the groove of Monroe Doctrine. The economic repercussions of that war were so severe as to precipitate the great depression of 1929 and stress the economic interdependence of the world. In the second World War also President Roosevelt participated with a view to maintaining the balance of power in Europe. But though this war has been won the balance of power is more disturbed than ever before. In America herself, there has been tremendous development in industry and production. Giant industries to manufacture armaments have now been dissolved and diverted to the production of consumption-goods. Hence there is an over-production of consumption-goods which has flooded the absorptive capacity of local markets and threaten a sharp shrinkage of prices and consequently of profits. This inevitably results in the sterilization of capital, general break-down of credit and confidence, financial instability, failure of banks and currency, great unemployment and the usual downward spiral of slump-conditions which predict the liquidation of capitalist economy. To forestall these terrific contingences there must be a sure market to absorb these surplus goods and maintain price standards. As a result of the present war, the economies of the world and especially of European countries have been so depleted that they cannot afford to pay dollars in exchange for American goods. Hence America made large loans of dollars to these countries in order to enhance their purchasing capacity for her goods. During the war, the Lend-Lease advances, loans of goods to England and other countries and generous aids to relief organizations such as U.N.R.R.A. masked the situation. But now the war is over and the same financial problems stare her in the face. Recently it was revealed during a discussion in the Senate that a huge quantity of potato has been destroyed in Alabama, to keep up the prices under the Congressional price support programme. But this ludicrous policy too, has its limitations. Besides being a shocking display of moral bankruptcy, as Senator Johnson indignantly remarked, it stultifies the very existence of capitalist economy. Hence the only course open to America is to create markets for her surplus product by importing goods and services from the outside world, which is impracticable in the present war-worn conditions and in the face of the Republican policy which has imposed tariffs on wool import, or to make loans of dollars and indirectly of consumption goods and capital requirements. The "Truman Doctrine" whereby America promised 400 million dollars for Greece and Turkey as a counter-stroke against Communist designs, is a step in this direction. But this is a meagre solution as compared to American problems. Moreover, it is simply a move in the game of power-politics. Hence its base has been widened by Marshall Plan of June 5, which promises to be a directive against "hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos" of European countries and by President Truman's move to conciliate Canada and Latin America. Thus a huge Euro-American bloc chiliastically called "democratic" bloc is envisaged in which the mighty resources of U.S.A. would spread and work.

In this way we have seen Euro-American democratic bloc, Pan-Islamic bloc, Communist bloc, Sino-Indic bloc—African spaces to be the playground of these rival blocs for sometime to come—coming into existence and replacing parochial nation states. This continentalism differs from the empires of the past inasmuch as this is not based on coercion and annexation and the idea of ruler and ruled, which underlay them. Furthermore, it differs from the wheezes of interested idealists like the Holy Roman Empire, Napoleon's anti-Russian Western bloc, Hitler's anti-Semitic Aryan zone and Churchill's "Iron Curtain," inasmuch as it is pressingly dictated by existing economic and political conditions and hence promises some success. Mr. Marshall has clearly enunciated that his plan hinges upon the freewill and freedom of the countries coming in its purview. "It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this government," said Mr. Marshall, "to undertake to draw up unilaterally a programme designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe." Still the plan envisages aid to only those countries which are immune from the influence of Russia. As President Truman addressing the Canadian Parliament on June 11, said :

> "We intend to support those who are determined to govern themselves in their own way and who honour the right of others to do likewise. We intend to uphold those who respect the dignity of the individual, who guarantee to him equal treatment under the law."

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Thus this plan is also fated to be lost in the hurly-burly of power-politics. Leaving aside all these considerations, it is certain that continental politics are as obsolete as nationalistic politics. The world is speedily driving towards unity and interdependence and to contemplate divisions and demarcations is anachronistic. They may hamper the wheel of progress for some time, yet the propulsion is so irresistible that they would be ground to dust and the wheel reach its goal. Continentalism has proved a clog on the wheel of this progress. It has racked such genuinely international organizations as U. N. O., which promises some peace to the world. The Military Staff Committee of U. N. O. which consists of the five major powers opines that the armed forces, which are to be at the disposal of the Security Council should be just sufficient to meet the requirements of the small powers, meaning thereby that they should not be able to compell and coerce any major power. Even if they can, the veto of the recalcitrant member sets it to nought. Likewise the veto renders the provisions for the pacific settlement of disputes laid down in Chapter VI of the U. N. Charter infructuous. Though it is provided that parties to the dispute should refrain from voting yet their satellites act on their behalf as recently happened in regard to the dispute in which Albania was deemed to be responsible for the killing by mine-field of 42 British seamen in the Corfu Channel. The Security Council, hag-ridden by the spectre of the veto, has not yet been able to solve such easy questions as that of the ownership of Trieste, much less the future of Italian colonies and the drafting of peace treaties. Thus it is undoubted that U. N. O. has proved as abortive as the League of Nations. To boot, all conferences to arrive at compromises have failed and recently the Marshall Plan has been foiled at the Paris Conference. Add to these the ubiquitous unrest of labour all over the capitalist world and the inner suspicions of the allies and a picture of world chaos comes before the eyes.

Continentalism, as a device of power-politics, is, as has been seen, based on fear complexes and shy suspicions. It eschews that spirit of fraternity and co-operation which the linking of democracy to industrialism engenders. Instead, it fosters an atmosphere of hatred and animosity. The result is that America is strengthening her navy and England working on radio-active cloud and bacteriological bomb. The plant at the Chalk River in Canada is providing radio-active substance for atomic cloud warfare and the Long Range Weapons' organizations in Australia experimenting on guided projectiles. Russia is also preparing herself for these eventualities and if these tendencies go on developing, there would be a global annihilation of mankind and its civilization. Hence, it is imperative that these moves of power-politics should be given up and a true international outlook developed, if humanity is to survive.

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PROPORTION OF MUHAMMADANS IN INDIA THROUGH CENTURIES

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., F.R.S.S.

The fifteen subahs over which Jelaluddin Muhammad Akbar reigned at the time of his death in 1605 were (1) Kabul, (2) Lahore (Punjab) including Kashmir, (3) Mooltan including Sindh, (4) Delhi, (5) Agra, (6) Awadh (Oudh), (7) Allahabad, (8) Ajmer, (9) Ahmedabad (Gujarat), (10) Malwa, (11) Bihar, (12) Bengal including Orissa, (13) Khandesh, (14) Berar and (15) Ahmednagar. The map of the regions over which he reigned is given in Vincent Smith's *History of India* on page 365. It extended from Kabul to Dacca, with a pocket of independent territories corresponding to the present North-Western Frontier Tribal areas. The eastern half of Central India, Central Provinces and the Chota Nagpur Division of Bihar were outside the Empire. Chittagong was acquired long after his death; and probably the present districts of Tipperah and Noakhali were excluded.

The late Mr. W. H. Moreland in his *India at the Death of Akbar* has given a rough estimate of population at the time:

"We are justified in concluding," says he, "that there must have been at the least somewhere about 100 millions of people in India in order to carry out the activities disclosed by contemporary authorities."

He finds that the population of northern plains from Multan to Monghyr must have been well over 30 millions and probably little less than 40 millions at the period to which the statistics relate. The population of the five Muhammadan Deccan Kingdoms and the Empire of Vijaynagar put together was over 30 millions. Moreland writes:

"To my mind the available information suggests that the population of the southern territories was at least thirty millions, and probably substantially more."

Although Moreland's estimate gives us an idea about India's population about 1600 A.D., it is at best a rough guess. His method of calculation for Northern India between Multan and Monghyr (Population=cultivated acres × labour necessary to cultivate each acre), though open to several criticisms, inspires more confidence than that of Southern India for which the size of the contending armies at the battle of Talikota (1565 A.D.)—with a large discount for exaggeration—was used. But it is a useful guess, from which we may draw certain broad conclusions.

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Feristah has stated that the population of India was 600 millions at the beginning of the Muhammadan conquest. His estimate of population may be wrong; even if he has *over*-estimated the population *twice* or *thrice*, it shows that the population was very much greater at the beginning of the Muhammadan invasions than at the death of Akbar. During centuries of invasions, constant oppression and misrule, and wholesale massacres during the Pathan period, the population of India dwindled. This broad fact emerges from the comparison of the two estimates, however erroneous or full of fallacies the individual estimates may be. At that time there were few Muhammadans in India either by immigration or by conversion—forcible or voluntary.

The population of India as recorded in the Census of 1941 is 388 millions. In spite of the famine of 1943-44, and the malaria epidemic of the following year, the continued scarcity of foodgrains for several consecutive years, and the communal massacres and consequent disruption of family life, the population now is over 400 millions. So in course of three centuries and a half (1600—1950 A.D.) India's population has increased by *four* times.

The recorded census increase during the last *seventy* years (1872—1941) has been 184 millions. India's population has increased from about 100 millions in about 1600 A.D. to 204 millions in 1872—an increase of 104 per cent in 270 years. This works out to an average increase of 3.8 per cent per decade. On the other hand, during the latter period, the average increase per decade has been 13.1 per cent—more than 3 times the earlier rate.

A further interesting fact that emerges is this. The present population of the region from Multan to Monghyr is five to six times that of Mr. Moreland's estimate. The population of the Deccan has not increased as fast. This we think to be mainly due to the comparatively infertile soil—infertile when compared with the Gangetic valley.

The present population of the regions over which Akbar's empire extended is roughly 237 millions. (See Appendix I). There has been no census in Afghanistan, but its population has been estimated to be 70 lakhs. Modern Afghanistan includes regions beyond the Hindukush and extends further west towards Iran or Persia. Subah Kabul of Akbar's time extended over only a fraction of the present Afghanistan—it included only the Kabul valley and Kandahar. So we estimate 2 millions to be the present population of the region covered approximately by Akbar's Subah Kabul. Of the remaining 14 Subahs of his Empire, the population of the cis-Indus areas, generally spoken of and referred to as Hindusthan, has been estimated according to the 1941 Census to be 236 millions; and that of Sind and the trans-Indus area to be 8 millions.

The total population and the number of Muhammadans in the several areas are estimated to be as:

Area	Total Population (in lakhs)	Muslims (in lakhs)	Percentage of Muslims
cis-Indus	22,68	6,43	28.4
trans-Indus	85	68	80.0
Kabul	20	20*	100.0*
Akbar's Empire	23,73	7,31	30.8

The Emperor Jehangir wrote an autobiography called the *Toozuk-e-Jehangeery*, or *Memoirs of Jehangeer written by himself, and containing a History of the Transactions of the First Thirteen Years of his Reign*. He ascended the throne on the death of his father Akbar in 1605. So it contains an account of the Empire as between 1605 and 1618 A.D. or as in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Major David Price of the Bombay Army published a translation of the *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir written by himself* in London in 1829. At pp. 28-29 occurs the following passage:—

> "In the practice of being burnt on the funeral pyre of their husbands, as sometimes exhibited among the widows of the Hindus, I had previously directed, that no woman who was the mother of children should be thus made a sacrifice, however willing to die; and I now further ordained, that in no case was the practice to be permitted, where compulsion was in the slightest degree employed whatever might be the opinions of the people. In other respects they were in no wise to be molested in the duties of their religion, nor exposed to oppression or violence in any manner whatever. For when I consider that the Almighty has constituted me the shadow of his beneficence on earth and that his gracious providence is equally extended to all existence, it would but ill accord with the character thus bestowed, to contemplate for an instant the butchery of nearly a whole people; for of the whole population of Hindustaun, it is notorious that five parts in six are composed of Hindus, the adorers of images, and the whole concerns of trade and manufactures, weaving, and other industrious and lucrative pursuits, are entirely under the management of these classes. Were it, therefore, ever so much my desire to convert them to the true faith, it would be impossible, otherwise than through the incision of millions of men. Attached as they thus are to their religion, such as it is, they will be snared in the web of their own inventions; they cannot escape the retribution prepared for them; but the massacre of a whole people can never be any business of mine."

The proportion of the Hindus to the Muhammadans was then as 5: 1. This is not a casual statement. For at p. 15 Jehangir records a conversation he had with his father, the Emperor Akbar. Akbar is recorded to have said:

> "My dear child," said he, "I find myself a puissant monarch, the shadow of God upon earth, I have seen that he bestows the blessings of his gracious Providence upon all his creatures without distinction. Ill should I discharge the duties of my exalted station, were I to withhold my compassion and indulgence from any of those entrusted to my charge. With all of the human race, with all of God's creatures, I am at peace; why should I permit myself, under any consideration, to be the cause of molestation or aggression to any one

* We are not unmindful of the fact that there are and were Hindus in Kabul. As recently as 1898, there was a region known as Kaffiristhan, where all the inhabitants were Hindus. They were forcibly converted Muslims by the Amir Abd-ar-Rahman. But to be on the safe side we have assumed *all* Kabulis to be Muslims.

† "It is curious to remark, that the same proportion appears to exist at this day, since Bishop Heber, in his interesting Journal observes, that the Mahommedans in India bear to the Hindus the same proportion as the Protestants to the Roman Catholics in Ireland." The footnote is of Price.

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Besides, are not *five parts in six of mankind either Hindus or aliens to the faith* (italics ours); and were I to be governed by motives of the kind suggested in your inquiry, what alternative can I have but to put them all to death ! I have thought it therefore my wisest plan to let these men alone."

Taking the remarks as to the proportion of Muhammadans to apply not to the whole Empire, but to Hindusthan alone, where they are the weakest we reach certain interesting conclusions. The proportion of the Muhammadans in Hindusthan *i.e.*, in cis-Indus empire was $\frac{1}{6}$ or 16.6 per cent of the population. The proportion was more or less constant during Akbar's and Jehangir's reigns. Price has noted in his foot-note the proportion was much the same at the time of Bishop Heber's Travels (1822-1826). This is remarkable. For over two centuries and a quarter when the Muhammadans were the rulers for the most part of the time, with the proselytising and oppressive reign of Aurangzib occupying the middle of the period, it is strange that the proportion of the Muhammadans in the population remained constant at about 17 per cent of the total.

The proportion of the Muhammadans in India taken as a whole, and in British India has changed as follows:

Year of Census	India	inter-censal diff.	British India	inter-censal diff.
1881	19·74	..	22·60	..
1891	19·96	+0·22	22·40	—0·20
1901	21·22	+1·26	23·24	+0·64
1911	21·26	+0·04	23·51	+0·27
1921	21·74	+0·48	24·07	+0.56
1931	22:16	+0·42	24·69	+0·62
1941	23·81	+1·65	26·84	+2·15
1881-1941	4·07		4·24	

In Northern India *i.e.*, in the cis-Indus or Hindusthan area of Akbar's Empire their present percentage is 28.4. In 1881 it would come down to 24.2; if the same rate of relative increase has taken place during the previous *sixty* years *i.e.*, 1821-1881 as during 1881—1941, their percentage would come down to 20.0 per cent about 1820,—a figure not much different from the 17 per cent estimates of either Bishop Heber or of Emperors Jehangir and Akbar having regard to the nature of the estimates. This is rather remarkable.

Even assuming that Bishop Heber has not been able to distinguish between a pure Hindu and a semi-Hindu-ised nominal convert to Muhammadanism, the relative increase of the Muhammadans has been from 17 per cent in or about 1600 A.D. to 20 per cent in 1825 A.D. *i.e.*, a difference of 3 per cent only during 2¼ centuries; while their relative increase during the last sixty years (1881-1941) has been as much as 4·2 per cent. Their previous rate of relative increase was 3/225=·133 per decade compared with 4·2/60=·7 per decade now. Or in other words, during the British period they have *increased* their relative rate of increase by (0.7/.133 =5.2 times) *five* times. The relative increase from 17 to 20 per cent. may be due to wholesale forcible conversions. That there were numerous conversions of the poorer classes of Hindus during Aurangzib's reign is an well-attested fact.

The following facts about his dealings with the Hindus are taken from Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's one-volume *History of Aurangzib*. He forbade the building of new temples, and allowed no old temples to be repaired. In 1669 he issued a general order "to demolish all the *schools* and *temples* (italics ours) of the infidels and to put down their religious teaching and practices." He did not spare the great shrines that commanded the veneration of the Hindus all over India,—such as the second temple of Somnath, the Vishwanath temple of Benares, and the Keshava Rai temple of Mathura. In 1674 he confiscated all the lands held by Hindus as religious grants. He re-imposed the hated *Jaziya* in 1679. The rates of taxation were fixed at 12, 24 and 48 *dirhams* a year for the three classes—the poor, the middle class and the rich,—or Rs. 3⅓, Rs. 6⅔ and 13⅓. On the poor, therefore, the incidence of the tax was at least 6 per cent of their gross income, and annually took away from him the full value of one year's food as the price of religious indulgence. *Jaziya* meant for the Hindus an addition of fully one-third to every subject's *direct* contribution to the State. In 1665 the *mahsul* or customs duty on all commodities brought in for sale was fixed at 2½ per cent of the *value* in the case of Muslims and 5 per cent in that of Hindu vendors. In 1668 he forbade all Hindu religious fairs throughout his dominions. In 1695 all Hindus, with the exception of the Rajputs, were forbidden to ride *palkis*, elephants or thoroughbred horses, or to *carry arms*.

The officially avowed policy in reimposing the *jaziya* was to increase the number of Muslims by putting pressure on the Hindus. The official history written from State papers at the instance of Aurangzib's favourite secretary puts it :

> "All the aims of the religious Emperor being directed to the spread of the law of Islam and the overthrow of infidel practices, he issued orders that *jaziya* should be levied from the *zimmis* in accordance with the Quranic injunction 'till they pay compensation out of their hands in humility'."

The taxed person, be he rich or poor, must come on foot and make the payment standing, while the Muslim receiver should be seated; and according to some theologian he must spit upon the face of the tax-payer. The result was as the contemporary observer Manucci noticed:

> "Many Hindus who were unable to pay turned Muhammadans, to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors . . . Aurangzib rejoiced."

It is difficult to estimate how many turned Muhammadans; but we may safely assume that a large number turned Muhammadans during this and subsequent reigns.

The population increased from 100 millions in 1600 to 204 millions in 1872 *i.e.*, at the rate 3.8 per cent per

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decade. The relative increase of the Muhammadans during almost the same period was from 17 per cent to 22.6 per cent *i.e.* at the rate of 0.2 per cent. During the last sixty years the population has increased from 204 millions to 388 millions *i.e.* at the rate of 15.0 per cent per decade; and during the same period the relative increase of the Muhammadans has been at the rate of 0.7 per cent per decade. The relative increase during the latter period has been more than 3½ times the former. On a cursory examination of the figures, it would appear that their (Muhammadans') relative increase was *slower* while the population increase was *slower*; and greater when the population increase is *great*. This is to some extent true. But a closer examination shows that during the earlier period, the relative increase (0·2 per cent) was 5.2 per cent of the population increase (3.8 per cent); and during the latter period it was 4.7 per cent only. This indicates that their relatively larger increase is not solely due to social factors, such as polygamy, re-marriage of widows *etc.*, but dependent upon other factors, such as *Pax Brittanica*, and their occupying more fertile lands as in Eastern Bengal, and the canal-irrigated lands in Western Punjab and Sind.

Appendix I

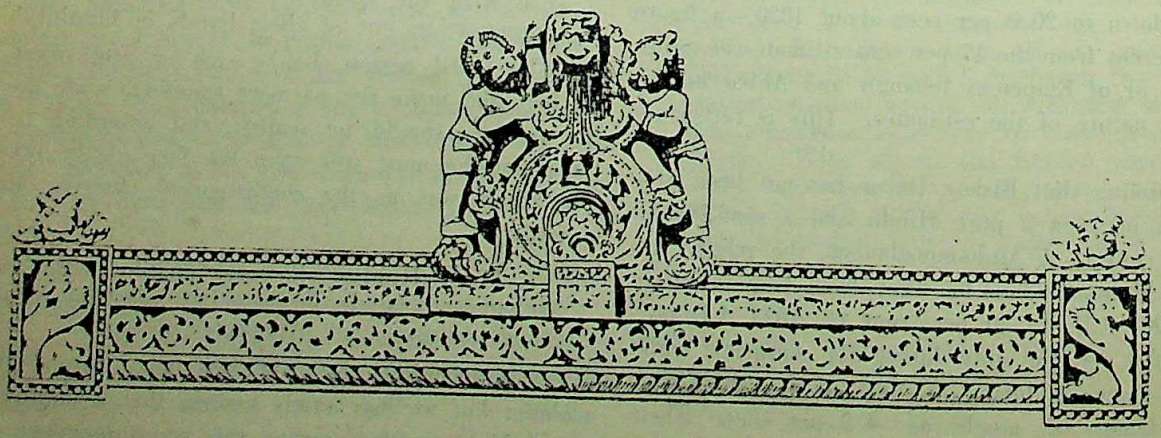
We have taken Akbar's empire to comprise the following areas. The total population and the number of Muhammadans are given against them according to the 1941 Census. We think we have represented Akbar's empire substantially accurately.

Cis-Indus or "Hindusthan"

	Total population in 000's	Muslims in 000's
Bombay City	14,90	2,51
Northern Division	52,77	5,61
Ahmednagar	11,42	61
East Khandesh	13,28	1,49
West Khandesh	9,12	48
Nasik	11,14	68
	112,63	11,38
Bengal, excluding Chittagong Division	518,28	266,13
United Provinces	550,21	84,16
Punjab	284,19	162,17
Patna Division	72,66	7,05
Tirhoot Division	119,60	16,81
Bhagalpur Division	95,98	17,83
	288,24	41,69
Berar	36,05	3,35
Nimar	5,13	60
Betul	4,38	8
Wardha	5,19	21
	50,75	4,24
Cuttack	24,31	73
Balasore	10,29	36
Puri	11,02	26
	45,62	1,35
Ajmere	5,84	90
Delhi	9.18	3,05
Baroda	28.55	2,24
Gwalior	40,06	2,41
Punjab States	55,04	22,51
Punjab Hill States	10.91	47
Rajputana	136.70	12,98
Western India States	49,04	6,00
Central India States (½)	37,56	2,20
Kashmir Proper	17,27	16,26
Nander, Parbhani and Aurangabad districts of Nizam's dominion	28,36	3,30
Total	22,68,43	6,43,44

Trans-Indus India

Sind	45,35	32,08
Baluchistan	5,02	4,39
Baluchistan States	3,56	3,46
N.-W. Frontier Province	30,88	27,89
Total	84,81	67,82
Afghanistan	20,00	20,00
Grand Total	23,73,24	7,31,26



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INDIA'S ROLE IN EARLY CIVILISATION

By G. N. DAS, M.A., LL.B.

No civilisation can lay claim to greater antiquity than the civilisations of the East comprising Egypt, Mesopotamia and India. Here indeed were laid the foundations of our political, economic, cultural and communal life while the contemporary population of Europe and the Far East lived on hunting and food-gathering. Here indeed took place for the first time the cultivation of plants, the domestication of animals, the rise of city life, the invention of the plough and the wheel, the development of pottery and metallurgy, the advent of writing, the making of textiles—all basic factors of civilisation. That they represent nothing short of a revolution unparalleled in human history before or since, admits of no doubt.

> "Every material thing invented since could disappear from the world, and the good life would still be possible."[1]

Egypt

The earliest civilisation of Egypt was cradled on the banks of the Nile. Its date is a bone of contention amongst Egyptologists. It obviously ended with the institution of the Egyptian Calendar in 4241 B.C. and the advent of the First Dynasty, *circa.* 3500 B.C. Its starting-point may be taken, with T. E. Peet, as being round about 4000 B.C. Petrie's date of 8000 B.C. is by no means above doubt.[2]

Mesopotamia

The earliest civilisation of Mesopotamia was associated with the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is divided into three cultural and chronological periods: (1) the Obeid, (2) the Uruk and (3) the Jemdet Nasr, in the order of succession. They take their names from typical sites.

The authors of the proto-historic civilisation of Mesopotamia seem to have been the Sumerians. They are thought to have arrived in the earliest (Obeid) period from the continuity in the material culture of Mesopotamia.

A word about the date of this civilisation. Its beginning is now dated to about 3000 B.C. At Uruk seventeen successive layers of proto-historic remains have been found beneath the layer of the earliest historiral times. The date 4500 B. C. has therefore been roughly assigned to the beginning of the proto-historic civilisation in Mesopotamia.

India

Turning to India, recent excavations have made it clear that in early times the Indus valley had no less than four successive cultures. The initial phase is represented at Amri, Pandi Wahi, Gazi Shah and a few other Sind sites. This phase is called the Amri period after the site of the first discovery. Above the Amri culture is that discovered at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, called the Harappa culture. Above the latter is the culture first found at Jhukar and better represented at Chanhudaro. The Jhukar culture is followed by the culture of Jhangar.

The age of the 'Indus civilisation' is of paramount importance. Marshall has opined that it represents the Chalcolithic civilisation. 'Chalcolithic' is the name usually given to an age in which arms and utensils of stone continue to be used side by side with those of copper and bronze. The culture has however to be more accurately dated. Here the typically 'Indus' seals of square shape with Indian pictographs, found in different sites in Elam and Mesopotamia, come to our rescue. Some must be assigned definitely to the pre-Sargonic period : this is indicated by the animal file and the distribution of the text around the circumference of the seal, and not parallel to its axis as on the seals of Agade and later periods. King and Hall assign 2700 B.C. on archaeological grounds to Sargon and Naram-Sin. The Indian seals of Lagash and Umma disappear from history before 2000 B.C. A cylindrical seal found by Frankfort at Tell Asmar (ancient Eshnunna) shows the animals peculiar to the Indus region, namely, the elephant, rhinoceros, and *gharial*, which were unknown in Sumer. Other finds include etched carnelian beads, kidney-shaped inlays, and specimens of knobbed pottery—all of the Indus valley pattern. Frankfort has assigned them to about 2500 B.C., for they were found in strata assignable to the time of the dynasty of Akkad. At Tell Agrab, Frankfort has found in a temple ascribed to 2800 B.C., a variety of votive offerings including fragments of a vase with the figure of a Brahmani bull of the Indus type. From these pieces of evidence it has been rightly inferred that the Indus civilisation must go back to an age before 2800 B.C.

Now, the excavations have brought to light seven 'structural' layers, that is to say, three of the Late Period, three of the Middle, and one of the Early, the layers underlying the latter being submerged in the subsoil water. The analogy of sites in Troy, Cnossus, Athens and Rome would point to an interval of a thousand years between one layer and another. But Marshall would have us believe, from the possibilities of decay and destruction in the Indus valley and from the uniform nature of antiquities from varying levels, that a space of about five hundred years is all that can be allowed for one layer apiece. He has provisionally assigned the seals referred to above to the Middle Period and has accoordingly suggested that the occupation of Mohenjodaro would fall

1 T. K. Penniman, "Origins of Civilisation in the Afrasian Dry Zone," *Antiquity*, No. 74, June, 1945, p. 96.
2 *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, p. 247ff.

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approximately between 3250 and 2750 B.C. He has, however, admitted that

"When this civilisation reveals itself to us, it is already fully fledged, and we are bound to postulate for it a long period of antecedent evolution . . . . How long, one can only surmise, but it is safe to say that a thousand years would have been all too few for such a result."[3]

Nor is this the only reason for ante-dating the Indus culture. It has been shown that the Amri culture corresponds to the Obeid culture of Mesopotamia, with the result that the Indus and Mesopotamian civilisations tend to converge. Now, the authors of the Obeid culture were the Sumerians who dominated lower Mesopotamia at the advent of the proto-historic period. The Old Testament refers to a people who "journeyed from the East and came into the plain of Shinar" (which is lower Mesopotamia). Speaking of the Sumerians, Hall says that

"They were decidedly Indian in type . . . . it is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very like a Southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages). And it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race."[4]

Further, Frankfort writes:

"It seems to me most significant that statues from Mohenjodaro show some of the same fashions in use in India as we meet with in Mesopotamia. It appears that the beard was worn while the upper lip was shaved; the hair was sometimes tied up in a chignon at the back of the head, and kept in position by a fillet, as we see in the gold helmet of Meskalamdug from Ur, and on Eannatum's stele of Victory. Now fashion in ancient or primitive civilisation is not to be taken lightly. It is recognised as a venerable link with the past; it proclaims the ethnic or national affinity of the individual. Fashion does not spread, under such circumstances, as a mere result of commercial contact. Consequently the similarities on coiffure, beard and moustache between statues from Mohenjodaro and those from pre-Sargonid Mesopotamia betray some sort of intimate ethic relationship between the leading classes in those two regions."[5]

It has further been pointed out by Mackay that B. S. Guha's measurements of the skeletal material

"lend some support to the suggestion that the people of Mohenjo-daro were more or less closely akin to some of the early inhabitants of Sumer, as represented Al-'Ubaid and Kish. The skulls of his Group A ag fairly closely in size and shape with skulls found those two sites."[6]

As the Sumerians represented a foreign element Mesopotamia,

"The possibility," according to the earlier view Marshall, "is clearly suggested of India proving mately to be the cradle of their civilisation which its turn, lay at the root of Babylonian, Assyrian Western Asiatic culture generally."[7]

The Sumerians might have migrated to lower M potamia by the sea and this is curiously enough co borated by the Sumerian legends which locate the land Paradise, where the gods first blessed mankind civilised life, at Dilmun on the Persian Gulf.[8]

Further additional evidence for the dim antiquity the Indian culture is provided by the probable origin cultivation and the invention of the wheel in India. investigation of plant genetics, which is an invalu source in pointing to the origin of civilisation, was un taken by Vavilov, the head of the U.S.S.R. Departmen Applied Botany and Plant Breeding, and his colleag Their researches showed that bread wheat originated centre near the Punjab—"the fold between the Hi kush and the Himalayas."[9] This is taken to be "the so of Indian and Mesopotamian wheats, and of the more portant varieties grown in Europe and North Am today."[10] Moreover, "rye, carrots, turnips, and some of beans, lentils, flax, and cotton, seem to be of Af origin."[11] Secondly, Harappa has provided the first exa of a wheeled vehicle. It is a two-wheeled copper ch open both front and back, and with a gabled roof an driver seated in front.

"As an instance of a covered chariot this is first example from the Indus valley sites, ante-dating earliest use of a wheeled vehicle in Egypt by se centuries. The various examples of war-chariots on mosaic standard at Ur (Cir. 3500 B.C.) are all wheeled and without a roof, nor is there any roo the somewhat carefully modelled terracotta chari Ishtar with a high dash-board from Emete Ursag."[12]

Such indeed has been India's contribution to civi tion in the past. May her contribution to the progress civilisation in the future be equally great.

3 Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. 103.

4 *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 1932, p. 173.

5 "The Indus Civilisation and the Near East," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year* 1932, Leyden, p. 11.

6 *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. I, pp. 648-9.

7 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1923-24, p.

8 *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, p. 360.

9 J. B. S. Haldane, *The Inequality of Man and other Essays*,

10 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

12 M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100.

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THE UPANAYAN SAMSKAR IN MITHILA

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By KRISHNA KANTA MISHRA,
Allahabad University, Allahabad

I had an opportunity this summer to attend an Upanayan ceremony in Mithila (North Bihar). The whole thing is a huge affair, yet it is so interesting and delightful that even a stranger can understand the significance of each and every custom observed during the Upanayan ceremony (the Sacred-thread ceremony). On the other hand, though ignorant of the culture of Mithila, he will never be deprived of the pleasure, which an ordinary inhabitant of Mithila usually gets.

Introductory

The Upanayan of a Brahmana boy is generally done between the age of seven to ten in Mithila. The implication is that, when the boy attains the first stage of maturity, he should undertake Upanayan. It is expected that after his Upanayan, the boy will devote most of his time in studying the various scriptures, law-texts, etc.

The would-be boy-*brahmachari is* seen coming out after putting the basket near the deity

Preparation Day

This is an auspicious day fixed up by the astrologers of the village (in consultation with the head of the family) some ten to fifteen days before the Upanayan actually takes place. On that day in the early hours of morning, the father of the boy (or the eldest member of the family) invites the elders and respected men of the villages to his place. And in that gathering he writes a formal invitation to his household deity in red-ink. This is done, as without the consent of this presiding deity nothing is done in Mithila.*

In the meantime, the women invited by the head of the family assemble in the courtyard, expecting the boy every moment from the assembly of men outside. They begin singing songs for the occasion since the dawn of the day.

The boy in the bamboo-garden : the Brahmin, in the rear, with an axe, is ready to cut the bamboo tree

The boy having a basket, specially arranged (to be put near the deity) and accompanied by the females of the family and the village, proceeds to give the formal invitation to the deity, written out by his father or by the eldest member of the family as the case may be. At this time he is seen wearing his usual daily clothes, except an old *paga* (head-dress), in order to indicate to the people in general that he is the would-be *brahmachari*.

A group of women with the boy in the bamboo-garden

The boy having put the basket near the deity, sets out to the bamboo-garden to cut bamboos for the *mandap* (a verandah-like house). He has throughout all his movements (outside his house) an iron knife with a nut affixed thereto. This is due to the fact that the iron-knife serves for the protection of the boy

* This is in formality only and no formal acceptance of the proposals by the deity is ever conveyed to the family members.

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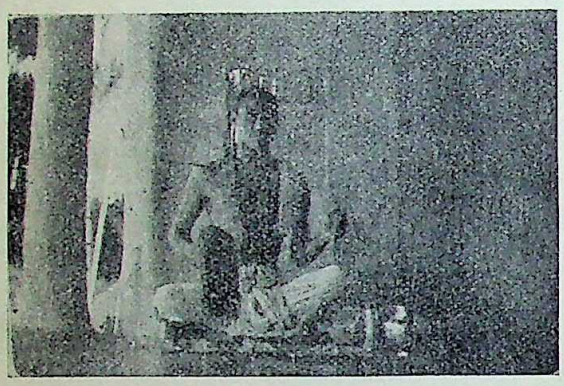
from ominous elements of nature, and the nut specifies the auspicious occasion.

With a group of ladies, he reaches the bamboo-garden. After a little anointing of the bamboo-trees (chosen specially for the purpose) the boy himself strikes a blow on them. Though he ought to cut them himself, but as he is too young, only the Brahmana members of the society cut them. After that he returns to the courtyard, and his business for the day finishes.



A member of the family worshipping the deity before the *balidana* ceremony

On the same day, formal invitations in well-composed verses, typical of Mithila, are issued to all the relatives of the family. Ladies sing songs and the village-band is in attendance throughout the ceremony.

Between the Preparation Day (known as *Udyoga*) and the Upanayan Day, the guests pour in large numbers.

Acharya and the boy before the Upanayan : *havana* is being performed

The Interval

And the boy has to undertake a sort of massage of barley-flour mixed with mustard oil daily in the afternoon. This is done in order to purify the body of the would-be *brahmachari*. The boy is also forbidden to go round the village during the interval. In the meantime, the Mandap is prepared by the Brahmanas of the village. The pillars of the *mandap* are tastefully and artistically painted by the females with numerous sketches of Rama, Sita, Saraswati, Brahma and others.

The head of the family during the interval becomes busy with the purchase of necessary grains etc. for the great ceremony. The smiths, the carpenters and other men are ordered to prepare articles necessary for the occasion. The whole house seems to be humming with a peculiar noise, probably caused by the buzz-buzz of the workers engaged in the preparation of food, and in the various activities.

The Preliminary Rites

On the first Tuesday,* just before the Upanayan Day, the women along with the boy go to a near-by pond, where they take new mud for the erection of the stove-like fire-places, which is used during the various rituals of the Upanayan ceremony. After their return sprouting grams and mustard oil (sometimes coconut oil too) are distributed practically all over the village.

On the second night before the Upanayan day, the sickle-like weapons are worshipped. They are meant for the *balidana* (sacrifice) to be done the next day.

The *Brahmachari* receiving *diksha* (initiation) from his Acharya

The Kumaram Day

This is the last day when the boy is in his *Kumaravastha* (i.e., in his childhood). He can up to now take food wherever and in whichever manner he likes. He is allowed to indulge in all the funs and games of the childhood, but the day following, he is no more to break the sacred laws of *brahmacharya*.

In the morning, the bathing of the boy follows the worship of the deity by the Acharya of the boy. After this, the *balidana* takes place. This is not preferred by the modernized inhabitants. But it has to be done as the orthodox class of Mithila cannot accept otherwise.

However, the day's business comes to a close with a big feast to the relatives and members of the family in the night. The food provided is a typical one and we cannot find it elsewhere.

The Upanayan Day

In the second half of the night before (*i.e.*, just before dawn) of the Upanayan day, the boy undergoes

* It is usually a couple of days ahead of the Upanayan Day.

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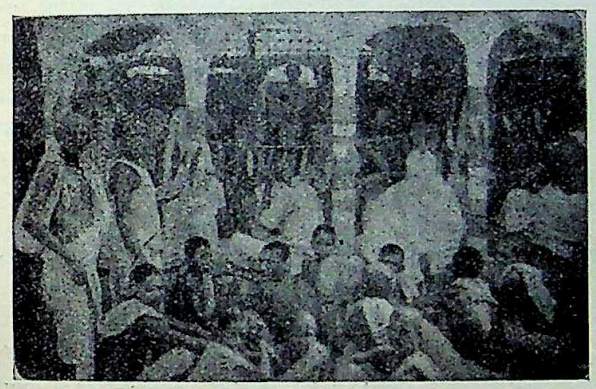
a minor custom. Some mango leaves are tied round the knot of the boy's head. And, thenceforth, he is forbidden to take food mixed with salt for four days, and he is to wash his teeth in the morning with a mango-stick. All these signify that before becoming a *brahmachari*, a regular course of purification has to be undergone by the boy.

On the day, generally, coloured dhoties and sarees and also ready-made clothes are distributed among the relatives and members of the family, prior to any performance of rites. The whole atmosphere presents an air of joviality. Red, yellow, orange clothes everywhere, with beautiful decorations of the archives of the house, with buntings and coloured papers, add to the beauty of the place and occasion.

At the fixed hour, the whole process of Upanayan begins. The things prepared by the various smiths and others are put up on the *mandap*.



The Upanayan in full swing : decoration of the *mandap* can be also seen

In performing the entire ceremony it takes nearly four to five hours. The *Brahmins* of the village are invited. Their reception is well attended all the while, by distributing betels and nuts. Besides, the village-band, folk-dances and folk-songs provide amusements to the invitees.

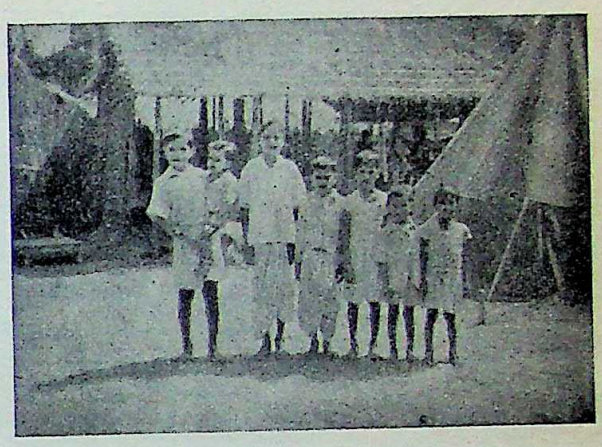
The most thrilling and delightful scene is witnessed when the boy (after his bath with holy water) assumes the *palasha danda* (*palasha* stick) and *megha-dambara* (umbrella) and other things appropriate to the occasion. Then instantly one can see the lustre of the 'Great Entry in the Brahmacharya' shining forth from the boy's forehead. In the evening, the whole village is invited to a grand feast. For the whole night, variety entertainments are arranged for the guests.

The Four Days

Before the concluding day, the *brahmachari* has to pass his days in strict *brahmacharya*. He is to perform *Sandhya* (recitation of Vedic mantras) three times a day. He is to take food without salt—specially prepared for him. In the evening, he receives *ashirvada* from his elders.

The Fourth Night

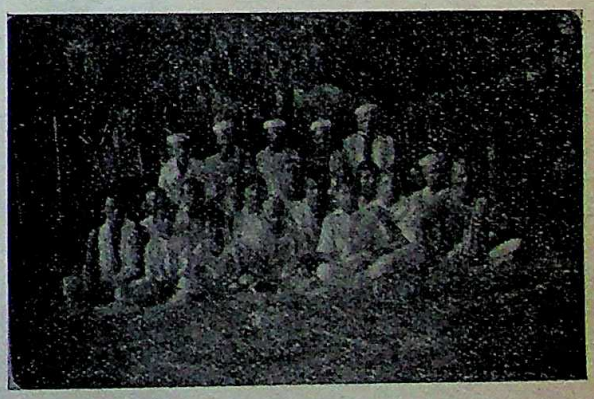
It is so called, as after this very night the boy becomes a full *brahmachari*. The day passes with *balidana* again to the household deity in the morning. In the night, the boy goes around the houses of his aunts and others in the village, begging *bhiksha* (alms). The idea in collecting *bhiksha* is that it would support the boy on his journey to the Ashram of his *guru*, as he is commissioned by the sacred scriptures to proceed to *guru's* Ashram just after the Upanayan ceremony.



A group of children, assembled on the occasion, is eager to take sweets

Conclusion

And thus the whole thing comes to a close. It is held in some quarters that the head of the family has to give a grand feast again to his near relatives, after a few days, on account of the successful termination of the whole ceremony. But this did not happen in the present case.



A group of male guests who attended the ceremony

The remarkable feature, which I noticed throughout the ceremony, was the importance held by elders to carry every minute detail of the rites with due observance of the customs. On enquiry, it was pointed out to me that such things, thus observed, have their scientific value. And many of them really have.

The Upanayan ended, and I too had to depart from there amidst memorable scenes—sisters, daughters, relatives taking leave of their relatives weeping. The place where one day thronged the feet of every traveller was now presenting a calm, serene and solemn

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FLOATING HOSPITAL SERVES U. S. CHILDREN

A Floating Hospital which combines the facilities of a hospital, play school and pleasure boat, serves under-privileged New York City children and their mothers on summer days from July to September each year. Sponsored by St. John's Guild, a non-sectarian charitable organization, the Floating Hospital provides a day's recreation—a seven-hour cruise on the Hudson River—along with medical and dental care for children under 12 who are ill, convalescent, or under-nourished, and a day's outing for their mothers. New York City's many hospitals, settlement houses and baby clinics co-operate by distributing free tickets to children most in need of a day's outing. Children in need of exceptional care receive season tickets.

Nap time and feigned or real slumber follow mid-day lunch for the young passengers

The Floating Hospital has been in existence since 1875. Before this war the cruise was on the waters of New York Bay. At 10 a.m. on alternative days the Floating Hospital picks up passengers at docks in the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn, which are on opposite sides of the East River. The Hudson River flows along the west side of Manhattan Island as far as the George Washington Bridge, which is approximately 12 miles from the river's mouth. The Floating Hospital returns by the same route, docking at 4-15 p.m.

The present ship is the fourth to be used as headquarters for the Floating Hospital in its 70-year history. It is a 186-foot barge, equipped with diesel engines to supply power for sanitation lighting, but pulled by a tug. Built in 1935, present Floating Hospital is especially designed to non-sinkable, even if split amid ships.

The staff responsible for the welfare of juvenile passengers includes a doctor, a dentist, trained recreation leaders, nurses, two social service wo ers, two policemen, two firem and a dietician. The doctor dentist operate well-equip clinics aboard ship. The do sees 40 to 55 small patients da The recreation leaders assisted Girl Scout Mariners, conduct program of supervised play, han craft classes, group singing, squ dancing and the showing films with juvenile appeal, s as "Mickey Mouse," and "P eye."

The six nurses assist the do and dentist and take care babies, for which cribs are p vided in a special area on second deck. They prepare babies milk and feed them fr bottles twice during the day.

Young passengers enjoying the antics of "Mickey Mouse" and other juvenile films shown daily in the Floating Hospital

The social service workers make a trip on al nate days, the one not aboard ship visits the ho of young passengers for whom the doctor has rec mended additional treatment. The policemen firemen are convalescent members of the New Y City police and fire departments, whose chief fu tion aboard the Floating Hospital is to help

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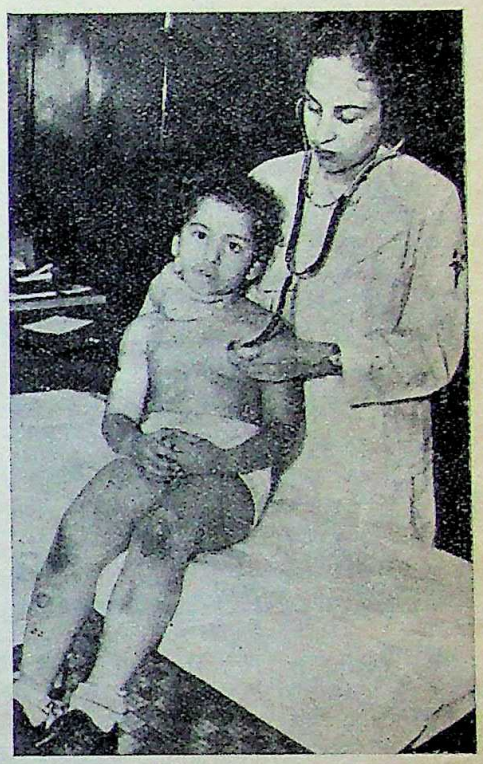
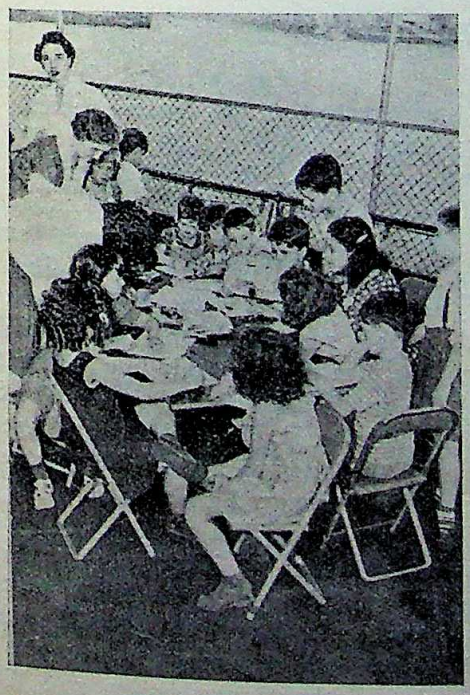
youngsters and their mothers enjoy the day's outing. The dietician supervises the preparing and serving of the noon lunch to all passengers. The lunch usually consits of two hearty sandwiches, a container of milk and fruit and cookies.

On occasions when groups from New York City

A New York City policeman helps distribute luncheon sandwiches to the Floating Hospital's passengers



In the medical clinic, the Floating Hospital's doctor gives a physical examination to young passengers



Handicraft classes, an important part of the Floating Hospital's program of rest and recreation, are conducted by trained recreation leaders

The head nurse examines the teeth of a young Floating Hospital passenger

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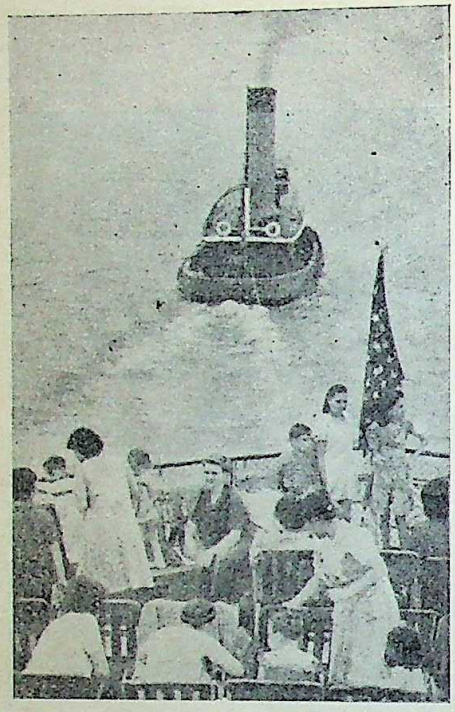
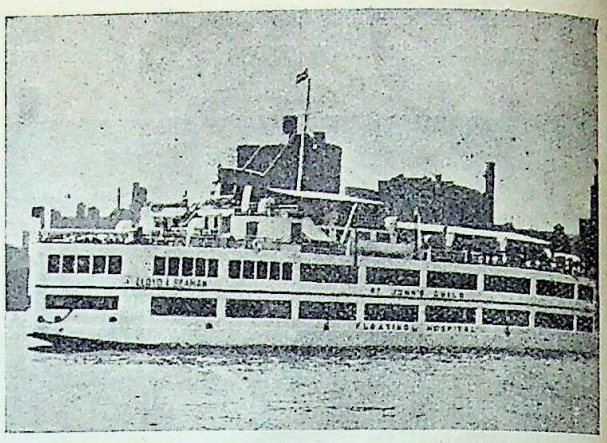


The Floating Hospital starts its seven-hour trip on New York's Hudson River, towed by a tug



Out on a day's cruise aboard the St. John's Guild Floating Hospital

nursery schools make the trip the dietician provides the pre-school age (2 to 6 years old) children with a hot lunch. The regular nursery school routine is followed, with the co-operation of the Floating Hospital.

More than 35,900 young New Yorkers and their mothers were passengers of the Floating Hospital in its 52 trips in the summer of 1944.—*USIS.*

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THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE CLUB

By S. BROOKE-WAVELL

From India, China, Africa, and even from distant Tongkin, students, intent on learning the techniques of a New Age, are pouring into England's Universities, ready to absorb all that can bring new life and power to the industries of their own countries.

When they arrive they are faced individually with a great national problem—where to find a house to live. From Waterloo or London Bridge they go in search of their Embassies, braving for the first time in a taxi the myriad traffic of London. Sometimes they are lucky—an official knows just the place. "A man left only yesterday after a fortnight," he replies. "Why not try there?"

But the problem does not always prove so easy. If our student is one of a party of 200 Indians it becomes very difficult indeed. India House does what it can. Hotels and boarding houses are telephoned and rooms secured. But what happens more often than not is that students are sent down to a very remarkable organisation in Croydon known as the International Language Club. Here, in the past, they have lived in tents, slept in corridors, shared billiard and ping-pong rooms. One emergency intake brought 120 Sikhs, Moslems and Hindus at two days' notice. A huge marquee was erected—to serve for a week as their temporary home.

But whatever the conditions of discomfort, students quickly detect an atmosphere of freedom and a true welcome. They become part of a large community numbering 450 people drawn from over fifty different countries. As soon as other students move out, they are found proper rooms in one of 35 houses. The emergency for them is over and they can settle down to normal life in England and their studies. Such has been the welcome to England of a very large number of students in the past two years. They have arrived puzzled, sometimes annoyed that things were not better, but they soon realise that war-damage has rendered many thousands of people homeless, many of whom today are living in far worse conditions than they.

Now what are the prospects for the immediate future? Will students continue to arrive in England in large numbers without anywhere to go? What does the British Government intend to do for them?

In recent weeks considerable Government support has been forthcoming from Government departments for an ambitious plan to develop a £1,000,000 International Centre for 3,000 students to replace the

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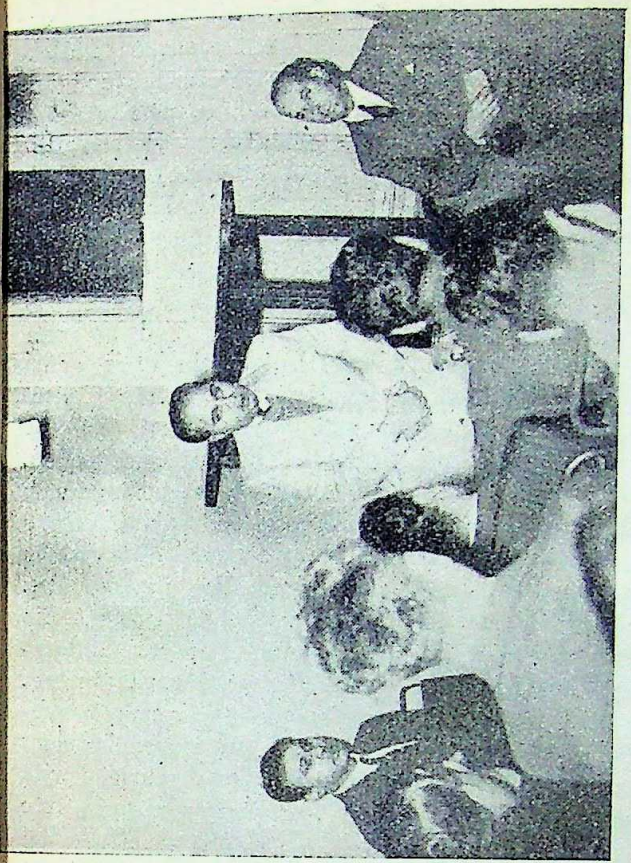
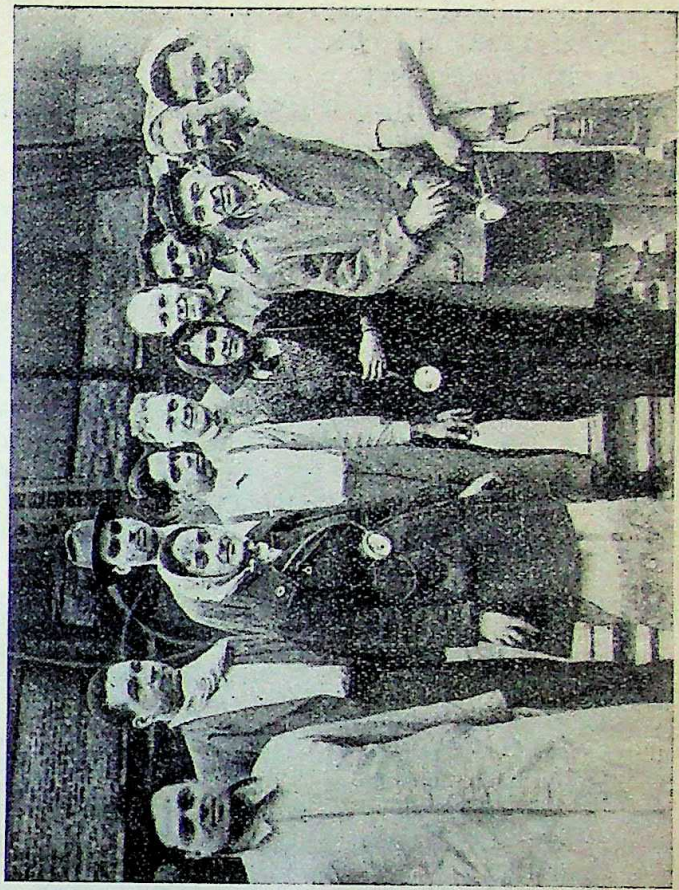
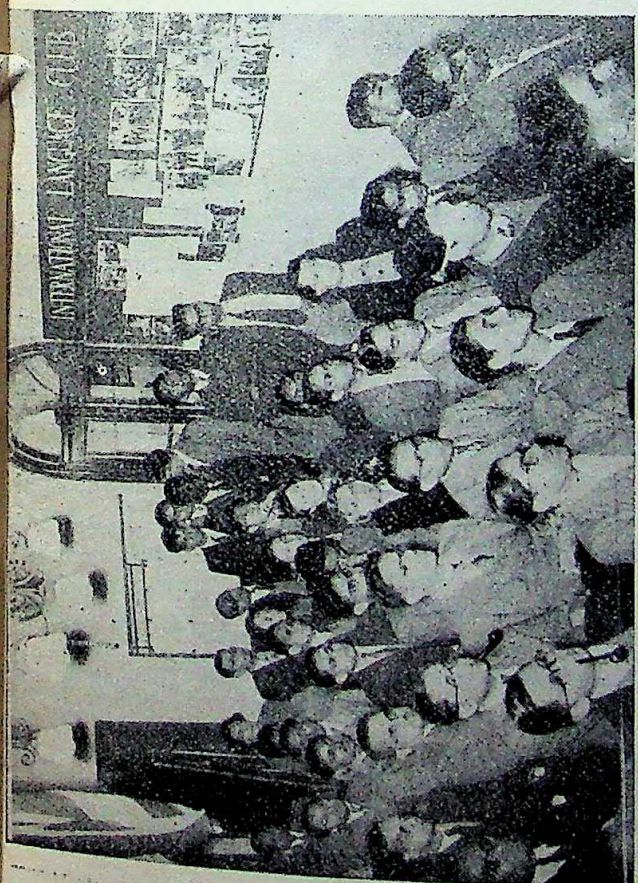


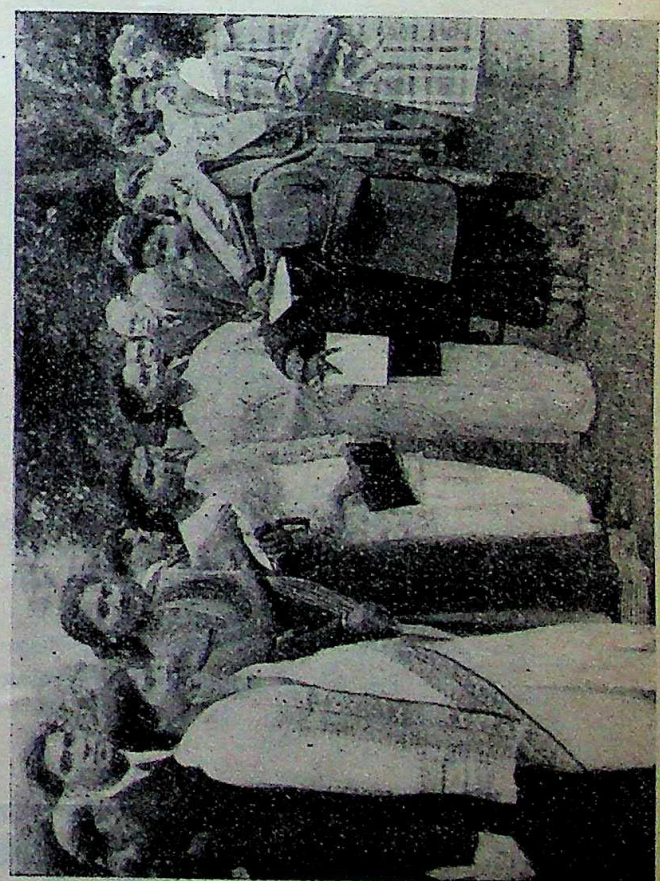
Mr. Ashoke Chatterji addressing the International Language Club on the "change-over" in India



Some of the members at a garden party



The International Language Club



At a garden party at the International Language Club

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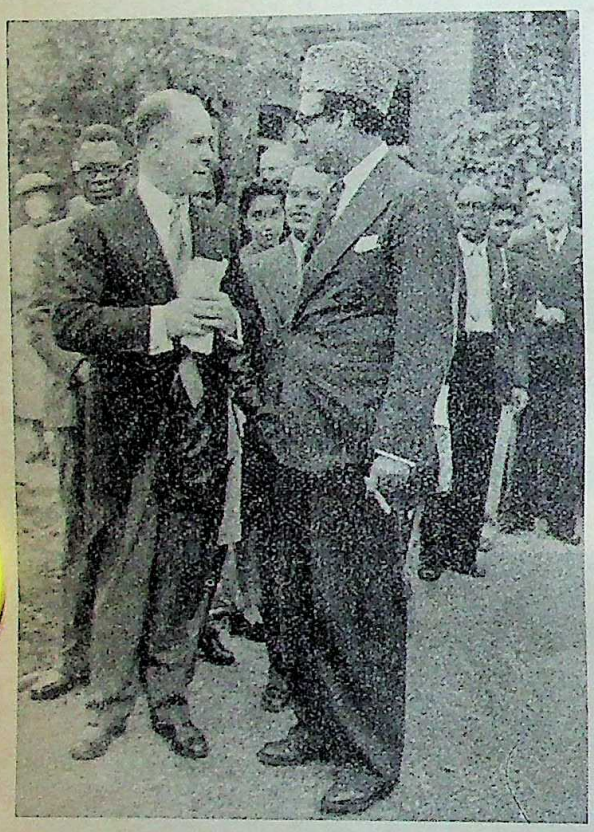
present International Language Club. In January, the Ministry of Town and Country Planning zoned a 9½ acre site for this purpose, and swiftly upon this decision Mr. Driscoll, the club founder, has produced plans which will go far to realise every student's dream. Driscoll, a 35-year-old ex-engineer, started nine years ago with the ambition to found an institution comparable in size to Rockefeller's International House in New York and the Cite Universitaire in Paris. Today he stands very close to the realisation of that dream.



The High Commissioner for Pakistan at the International Language Club

His new Centre will consist of three main ferro-concrete buildings of simple design, six stories high and equipped with a swimming bath, gymnasium, library and a theatre, cinema and Assembly Hall combined to seat a 1,000. The convenience of the student has been considered by planning single rooms which allow him to study without interruption.

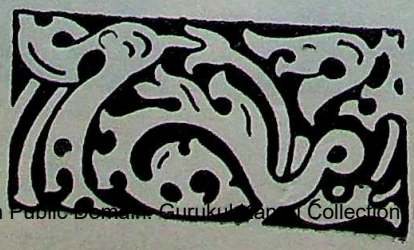
The social organisation of the Centre will have unique features which are far in advance of anything attempted by Rockefeller's International House or Cite Universitaire. Next to his own room an Indian student might find a girl from Sierra Leone and on the other side a Chinese Professor from Kunming. For, one basic rule of the foundation will be no segregation of nationality, colour or sex. In the past this freedom has been respected, and Mr. Driscoll sees no reason why it should not continue so in the future. In marked contrast to this was the colour bar in New York removed only recently, and the rigid separation into national groups of students from different countries which was the rule in Paris.

Once established in comfort at the new Centre the student of tomorrow will wonder what sort of reception he will get from the people of Croydon. Will they be colour-conscious, snobbish and reserved, or will they go out of their way to make friends? None of these alternatives is quite true. The people of Croydon will treat him just like anyone else. English people on the whole are not quick to make friends with strangers : in Croydon nine years' education has made a difference. Saris, sarongs, longyis, dhotis and turbans are no longer the romantic prerogative of the screen. Today they are a familiar sight in Croydon streets, where dark faces mingle with the white and almond eyes no longer surprise the blue !

In the evenings when Croydon people attend their societies, clubs, dinners or fireside discussion groups they will invite you to join them. They know they have much to learn of your problems and they may ask you to speak at their meetings. The Club has a panel of fifty student speakers which grows increasingly popular and supplies the needs of organisations throughout the South London area.

These people, then, you will find, are really willing to be friendly. Whatever you have thought in the past of the Englishman abroad in strange lands, you will find him a very different person in his own home. The International Club will be your first teacher in this. And Croydon will run it a very close second.

If you go to England very soon, go there to make friends. You will find many. If you are looking for colour prejudice, you will probably find that too. But if you go as a normal student with a natural sense of pride in your own country and people, you will be accepted for what you are—one of the world's people. And remember, while you are in England you can do much to educate English people, just as they are doing something to educate you.



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U. S. AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

Ten million Americans—not to mention many millions abroad—are in the market for new cars. It will be perhaps two years or more before a customer can walk into a showroom as in pre-war days, order the exact model he wants and expect fairly prompt delivery.

Production of passenger cars was stopped in the early part of 1942, and all manufacturing facilities were converted to war purposes. Production of trucks continued on about the same scale as before, but only a small part of the production was allotted to civilian use.

There were about 34 million cars in the United States at the close of 1941. Since then the number in use has been declining by about two million yearly, compared with an annual pre-war increase of 1,250,000. Besides these eight million automobiles that have been junked during the past four years, many cars now in service are past the retirement age. And the question asked daily of dealers everywhere, "When will I get a car?" still remains unanswered.

Finished cars coming off an assembly line in an automobile factory

Highest Dollar Value of Production

The U. S. motor vehicles industry stands first in value of production in the United States. There are about ten manufacturers of passenger cars and twice as many of trucks. Three firms produce about 90 per cent of the passenger cars and many of the trucks. A very large industry has grown up, composed of many firms supplying parts to the automobile builders. Important parts, such as frames, wheels, carburettors and radiators, are chiefly supplied by speciality makers. In 1939, the census reported 1,054 firms in the entire industry.

The reason why the U. S. auto-industry has grown to occupy the position it does is the large population and high income of the United States. Taking advantage of this, the auto-manufacturer has installed a vast amount of mass production equipment, the heavy investment in which is repaid by the low cost at which cars and trucks can be sold and the resulting great volume of sales. As a consequence of this cheap mass production American motor vehicles find sizable export markets in every country in the world.

The automobile industry, because of strikes and difficulties of reconversion, has got off to a slow start.

Between May, 1945, when the Government restrictions on automobile production were removed and February 1, 1946, only about 140,000 passenger cars were made as against more than 500,000 forecast. As for truck production, it dropped during 1945 to 663,578 units from 761,368, largely because of the change-over from military to commercial vehicles following V-J Day and work stoppages at the end of the year.

Labor-management difficulties in both manufacturers' and suppliers' plants constituted important factors in production delays. The month-long steel strike which was generally terminated on February 17, 1946, will affect steel deliveries for weeks to come. The strike in General Motors Corporation, which in normal years produces more than 40 per cent of the passenger cars and commercial vehicles sold in the United States, is still unsettled.

Retooling Takes Time

Materials and plant reconversion are still major problems. Retooling is extremely time-consuming and material shortages still plague manufacturers. For instance, motor vehicles were delivered to purchasers without window glass for a short time during the winter. Motor truck firms did this at the urgent demand of grocers, butchers and other clients in desperate need of vehicles. Dealers installed glass later when it became available. One company which ran out of glass for cab windows limited sales to southern states, where it was not cold at that time of year. When fuel pumps were unobtainable, another manufacturer installed a more expensive unit originally designed for use in a high-price passenger car.

Disposal of surplus cars released by the armed forces alleviates the situation only slightly. There are

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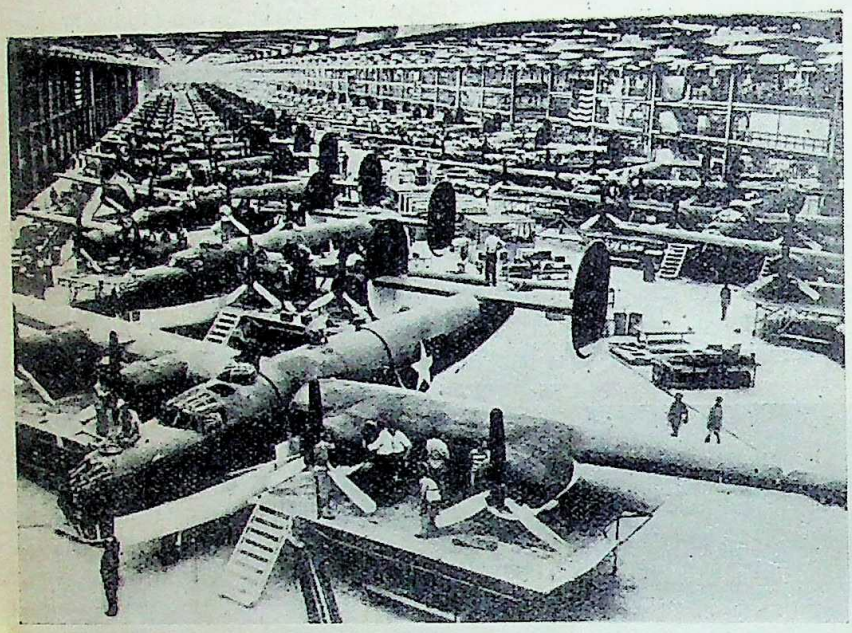
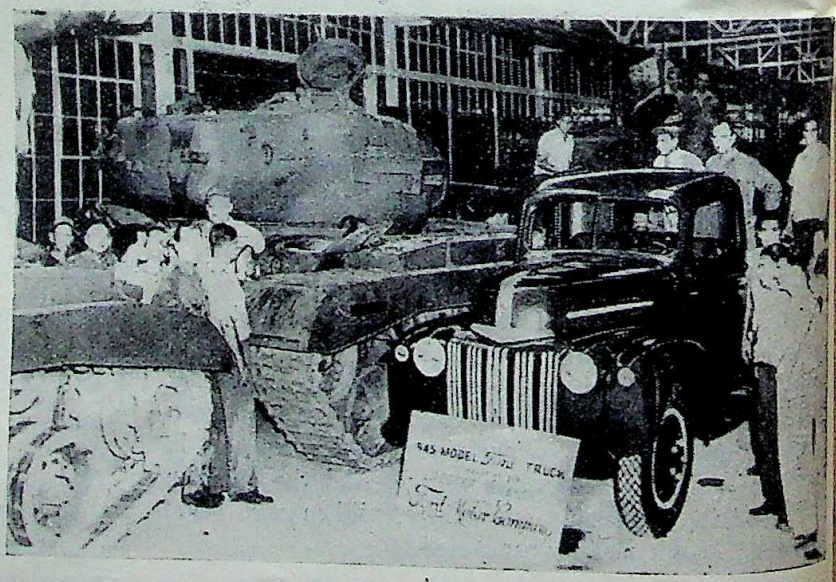
few passenger cars released; some trucks, jeeps and special vehicles, such as bomb service trucks are being sold as surplus, but for the most part they have to be converted for civilian use and in any case their numbers are inadequate.



Automobile factories converted to the manufacture of airplanes during the war are now back again to the peacetime pursuit of making cars

January production figures introduce a note of optimism into an otherwise gloomy picture. More than 58,000 passenger cars were produced during that month, approximately a 100 per cent increase over December and equal to two-thirds of the total 1945 production. January truck production of 54,864 units was almost double the December output. The latest production figures for February carry out the promise of the January figures, showing 30,000 cars weekly. In 1941, weekly production was 90,000 units.

This sharp spurt in automotive production despite the continuing strike at General Motors and partial stoppage at Fords through inability to obtain parts, offers an indication of what may be expected when industry gets into its full production stride.



The first civilian truck comes off the assembly line at the huge plant in Chester, as reconverted from the manufacture of Sherman Tanks

Auto-Plants are Being Expanded

To meet the tremendous demands for cars, trucks and buses, automotive companies are building 25 new assembly and manufacturing plants in a 1,000 million dollar program for reconversion, expansion and modernization. Structures are being erected in 11 states, from Massachusetts to California.

Some 8,400 of the newest type of production tools and machines also are being ordered for car manufacturing purposes. In addition, the industry is negotiating for several thousand Government-owned machines which can be converted to peacetime uses.

Under the new building program, five plants will be built in Ohio, four in California, three in both Michigan and Illinois, two each in Georgia, Missouri and New Jersey and one each in Massachusetts, New York, Delaware and Tennessee.

Currently, the job of reconditioning and installing machines in existing plants is about 10 per cent completed. The task involved moving more than half of the machine tools owned by the industry, an estimated 100,000 having to be repositioned. Simultaneously, thousands of presses, heat-treating furnaces, conveyors, paint spray booths and similar equipment were handled.

Six Million Cars a Year

When the program is rounded out the motor industry expects to employ more workers than at any time in its fifty-year history. Vehicle production is expected to attain a six million unit rate yearly, nearly double the average rate before 1941 and more than 1,500,000 above the peak year 1929.

The prices of cars rolling off the assembly lines are about five per cent higher than comparable 1941 models. Increases granted by the Office of Price Administration are mostly for engineering improve-

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ments. Another small rise in prices will result from the recently granted increases in the prices of basic steel.

There are no radical changes in the 1943 models for the simple reason that the basic dies used in the 1942 models are being used. Without adopting this expedient manufacturers could not have begun production in 1945. The principal change has been in the front end, particularly the radiator grill, which has generally become more massive and tends to give the cars a lower and broader appearance.

Mechanically, the new cars contain a certain number of improvements, and manufacturers' listings range from a modest 27 to over a hundred. Most of these are minor changes aimed at passenger comfort or ease of servicing. One of the manufacturers, however, features a front-wheel drive and utilization of space over fenders and running boards to enlarge seating capacity. Another change is in the new Ford V-8 engine, which develops 100 horsepower where the pre-war engine developed 90.

Ford Economy Car

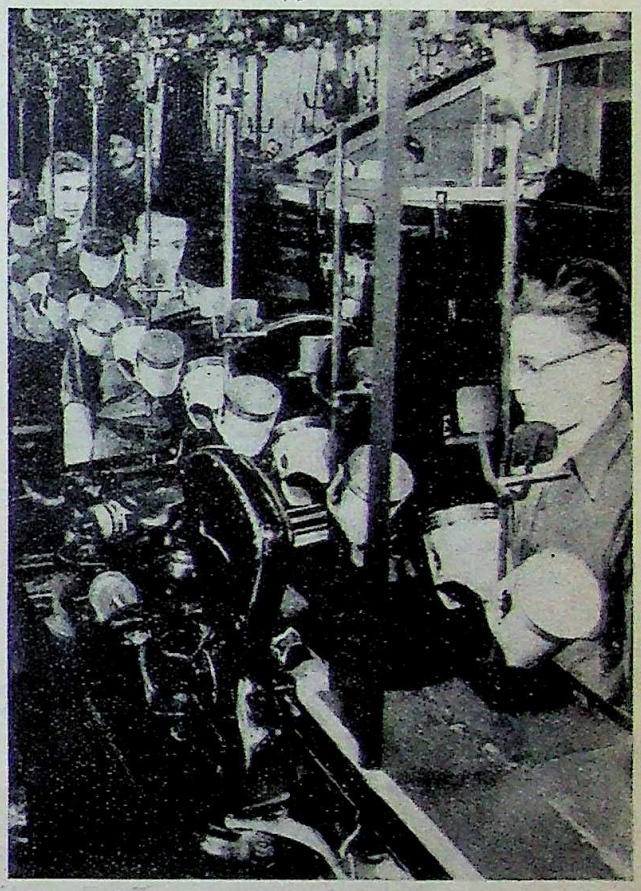
Substantial improvements and several new models will arrive only in 1947. Of special interest to India is the Ford plan to produce a brand new low-priced, light-weight, full-sized car. Economy will be the keynote of the projected car, which is still in the "hush-hush" stage. It is expected to sell in the neighborhood of 575 dollars (Rs. 1,800) in the United States. And if Ford builds a new car of this type the chances are that General Motors and Chrysler will do the same.

Willys is set to begin production of a full line of lightweight, low-cost, gas-saving passenger cars designed by Delmar G. Roos, cheif designer of the jeep.

The Willys plant at Toledo, where the jeep was "hatched," is now turning out the civilian version of this most versatile of vehicles. The civilian jeep is a combination light truck, tractor, mobile power unit that can be used to work farm or other equipment, and passenger conveyance which sells for 1 090 dollars. With 30,000 orders on hand and a promising foreign market, the company feels optimistic about the future of the jeep.

On exhibition at the company's Toledo plant is the current pride—the fire-fighter jeep, a compact fire-fighting machine which will sell for less than any regulation fire engine on the market. Painted red with brass fittings, the fire-fighter jeep is fully equipped with pump, hose, nozzles and extinguisher, and a 500-gallon-per-minute pump and two lengths of suction hose to draw water from reservoirs and creeks. It is designed for use in industrial plants and as an auxiliary unit for rural and urban fire companies. In the city it will be able to get to a fire and hold the blaze under control until heavier and less maneuverable units arrive.

Among its other accomplishments the fire-fighter jeep climbs stairs. Another light car manufacturer is Crosley Motors, which has a four-cylinder, four-seater car, with an aluminum turret on the top of its program. The makers state that the Crosley is capable of maximum speed of sixty miles an hour and can do fifty miles to the gallon through the use of lightweight engine.



Pistons in preparation

Shipbuilder Turns Auto-Manufacturer

An interesting development in the American auotmobile industry is the new automobile company started by Henry Kaiser, the shipbuilding wizard, and John Frazer, veteran automobile executive, who is president and general manager of the newly formed Kaiser-Frazer Corporation. The company has taken a five-year lease of the Willow Run plant in Detroit, which was turning out bombers during the war.

For the present, the Kaiser-Frazer Corporation plans to build two types of cars, the Kaiser and the Frazer. Both cars will be full-sized, six-passenger automobiles. Both will be more or less conventional in appearance.

The Frazer will sell in the medium-price field, roughly in the price bracket with Dodge. The company expects to begin delivering the Kaiser, a lower-price car that will sell for less than 1,000 dollars, by June. The Kaiser may possibly have a rear-end engine.

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BETTER AUTOS

The automobile industry is looking not only to greater quantity production but also to better automobiles that will perform more economically and with greater safety. The lessons learned in aircraft production will be applied in future automobile models.

The versatile jeep, a war development, has come to stay

Specific details of improvements that will go into the 1947 models are naturally being kept secret by manufacturers. But among the changes regarded as inevitable in the evolution of the auto-industry is the general adoption of automatic transmission to eliminate the gear shift and clutch pedal, reduction in weight and improvement in windshield and window design to provide a better view of the road.

It is taken for granted that the tremendous "know-how" in metallurgy acquired by American engineers during the war will soon result in tangible benefits to users of commercial and passenger vehicles. One of the departures from conventional auto-construction will be the use of plastics and light metals, particularly strong aluminium alloy.

Already inter-city buses with bodies and frames made almost 100 per cent of aluminium alloy are being manufactured. They will be an average of 1,000 pounds lighter, resulting in increased payloads and reduced operating costs. The new buses are being made with the aid of a number of aircraft manufacturing techniques. One of these is the use of soft metal dies, composed of a material with a lead base. It eliminates much handwork used prior to the war in cases where high-cost iron and steel dies were not economically justified.—*USIS.*

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KASHMIR, PAST AND PRESENT

BY PROF. N. B. ROY

KASHMIR, the land of Kashyapa or of Kashafmar, the legendary son of Brahma, enjoys the reputation of being "the paradise of the Indies." A land of lakes, clear streams, green grass, magnificent trees and sky-kissing mountains, its beauty has been so variously described that the very name of it conjures up before us visions of

"Hills, vales, woods, netted in a silver mist,
Farms, ganges, doubled up among the hills, . . .
And cottage gardens smelling everywhere
Confused with smell of orchards."

If the senic beauty of this land has formed the theme of writers and poets, the physical grace of its inhabitants, especially the beauty of the fair sex has been proverbial.

"The women of Kashmir," says the acute Frenchman Bernier, "are very handsome* and it is from this country that nearly every individual when admitted to the court of the Great Mogol, selects wives or concubines that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mongols." *Travels*, 404.

In the keenness of intellect, delicacy and urbanity of manners the Kashmiri Brahman has hardly any rival in India except the supple quick-witted Bengali Hindu who is also possibly his compeer in the art of making subterfuges and playing hide and seek; the Kashmiri artisan has been equally noted for his handiworks and manufactures which are marked by novelty of design and fineness of execution. The exquisite shawls and carpets, splendid lattice-work and wood-carving of the country captivate and delight even the fastidious westerner. During the time of Babur a jigha designed on a scarf by an Andijani

* Bernier relates that he discovered novel means of obtaining sight of the Kashmiri beauties, "I followed the steps of some elephants, particularly one richly dressed and was sure to be gratified with the sight that I was in search of; because the ladies no sooner hear the tinkling of the silver bells suspended from both sides of the elephant than they all put their heads to the windows. This is a stratagem with which I often amused myself in Kashmir, until a more satisfactory method of seeing the fair sex was devised by an old pedagogue . . . with whom I read the Persian poets. I purchased a large quantity of sweet-meats and accompanied him to more than fifteen houses, to which he had freedom of access. He pretended I was his kinsman lately arrived from Persia, rich and eager to marry. As soon as we entered a house, he distributed my sweets among the children, and then everybody was sure to flock round us, the married women and the single girls, young and old, with the two-fold object of pulling noses and receiving a share of the present."—*Travels*, 405.

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weaver is said to have set the fashion for a similar thing on scarves and shawls. They had a deft hand in varnishing and the art of imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood by inlaying with gold threads is said to have been carried by them to perfection. Their palanquins, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoon and various other things were also in use in every part of India owing to their fine workmanship and beauty. (Bernier's *Travels*, p. 402). The temples and mosques of this land are remarkable for their grandeur and individuality and bear evidence to the innate artistic temperament of the people. As a competent authority says, "The Hindu temple is generally a sort of architectural pasty, a huge collection of ornamental fritters huddled together, either with or without keeping, while the Jain temple is usually a vast forest of pillars made to look as unlike one another as possible by some paltry differences in their petty details. On the other hand, the Kashmirian fanes are distinguished by the graceful elegance of their outlines, by the massive boldness of their parts, and by the happy propriety of their decorations. They cannot, indeed, vie with the severe simplicity of the Parthenon nor with the luxuriant gracefulness of the monument of Lysicrates, but they possess great beauty, different indeed, yet quite their own." The geographical position of this valley in the map of Asia is also an aspect that arrests attention. Through her lies the way from India to Tibet, China and Central Asia. Merchants and missionaries have jostled together on their pony in their zigzag journey to the countries beyond her borders.

When the heir-looms of which the Kashmiris are proud *e.g.*, their arts and crafts, temples and mosques are called to mind, one feels tempted to believe that they must have attained to great political heights. But such a view would be entirely mistaken. History testifies that when the intellect outruns character, the sterner virtues are impaired. Look at the Florentines of Medieval Italy. The Kashmiris with all their intellectual and artistic gifts have been nonentities in Indian history. A Lalitaditya rose and fell like a meteor. Generally its population, though of strong build and muscular strength, have submitted to the alien ruling dynasties without much opposition or even grumble. The Mauryas, the Kushanas, the Hunas, the Turks, Chaks, Pathans, and the Sikhs held the political stage of this kingdom and its inhabitants submitted to them with the same passivity and resignation with which a Chinese offered fealty to the changing emperors of his country.

The lot however, of the common man in Kashmir was not the same in every age. During the Hindu rule he was better looked after; he could practise his religious rites without any restraint, enjoyed a certain status before his ruler, owing to the link of common religious and cultural ties. But when the Muslim conquest of the country took place, a violent change came upon the life of the Hindu population. The religion of Islam with its monotheistic creed is uncompromising in its hostility to idol-worship and any representation of the divinity in stone, metal and paint inflames the religious wrath of a Muslim. When the followers of this faith made themselves masters of this country, they found that the Hindu with his innate aestheticism, had turned every lovely spot—and which spot is not lovely in Kashmir—*e.g.*, a spring of water overshadowed by a chenar tree, a scarp of rock, a mountain torrent or a secluded glade, into a sacred site by putting a *badripath* (stone-seat of Mahadeo) and the phallic emblem.* It is not therefore strange that Islam took up here a violently crescentading character. In northern India the sharp edge of the Rajput sword, the immense number of the Hindu population and the long distances to be covered had forced the Moslem to the expediency of allowing to the Hindu the private exercise of his faith in return for the payment of *Jizya*. In Kashmir the Moslem ruler was not bound by any such restraint. The son of Kashmir can toil and endure but he lacks the fighting capacity of the Rajput, so that the Moslem rule has been one of sweat and tears for him. Even before the establishment of Moslem rule, the idea of proselytising mission to this country caught the fancy of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and he urged Shaikh Shamsuddin Yahiya go upon this errand. Sultan Firuz also directed his eyes to this direction and the people of Rajaur were converted to Islam by him. (E. & D., Hist. India VI, 376). But it was under the Kashmiri Sultan Sikandar that the destruction began of the priceless monuments of Hindu art and the forcible conversion of the people. "*Islam wa qatalhu*" (Islam or death) sums up his policy, and this pious monarch has gone down in history as (*butshikan*) idol-destroyer, an imitation Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna who has remained, in the eyes of Muslim clerics, the pattern of Islamic kingship. No wonder the legend, however fantastic it is, grew up that Sikandar had killed so many Brahmans that their sacred thread weighed seven maunds. The rule of Zain-ul-Abedin was no doubt a golden age for his subjects incuding the Hindus, whom he recalled from exile and granted full civic and religious rights. But it was so exceptional a phenomenon that the myth had to be invented of a *yogi's* soul being fixed into the dying Sultan's body, so that the Sultan became a *pucca* Hindu after his resurrection. Regarding this incident Nizamuddin Ahmad says:

> "The Sultan became so ill that people washed their hands of his recovery. At this time a Yogi appeared in Kashmir and said that I shall separate my soul from my body and put it into the Sultan's. The Sultan's attendants . . . took the Yogi . . . to the royal bedside . . . Thereupon the Yogi bringing his soul out of his body, by a science which he knew, joined it to that of the Sultan's. The Yogi had previously instructed his attendant chela to remove his body to the ashan (ashram?) and guard it there. When the disciple brought out the Yogi's body the Sultan's attendants hastened to the latter's side and found that he was in full health."

There were other Sultans like Sikandar, *e.g*, Fath Khan (1489-93) who is said to have "converted 24,000

* Abul Fazl records that in his time 45 places of worship existed to Siva, 64 to Vishnu, 3 to Brahma and 22 to Buddha, together with nearly 400 figures of serpent Gods in Kashmir.

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brahman families", and Ghazi Shah a good number of families to Shiaism.

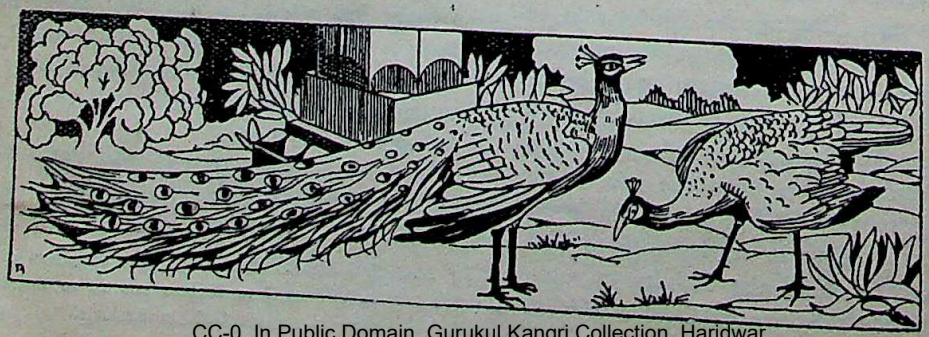
Under Akbar the Muslim state in India was secularised and the blessings of this new political order were shared by the Kashmiris too. But clerics lurked behind Jahangir's throne and to their influence may be ascribed the decree by which the Emperor barred the prevalent practice of Moslem girls being married into Hindu families and adopting the faith of their husbands. The long-standing usage continued to persist, and Shahajahan had to reinforce the original edict with penalty for the incriminating husbands. It was then discovered that as many as four thousand Muslim girls had entered the Hindu fold by this system of marriages (*Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, by Prof. S. R. Sharma, p. 106). During the same reign a Hindu chieftain named Jagu is said to have accepted Islam, at the desire of the Emperor, with all his kinsmen, and to have been honoured with the title of Raja Daulatmand. The puritanical Aurangzib has left bitter memories behind in Kashmir. According to Guru Khalsa Tawarikh by Bhai Gyan Singh (quoted in Gwasha Lal's *Kashmir*), Iftikhar Khan, the Viceroy of Kashmir, abducted Brahman girls and the Emperor pressed the Brahmans to embrace Islam. Chafing under shame and insults, the Brahmans approached Guru Tegh Bahadur with solicitations to save their religion. It is said that the Guru overcome with sympathy for them suggested that they should represent to the Emperor saying that they would have no scruple in accepting Islam, if the Sikh Guru discarded his own faith and became a convert to the Muhammadan religion. Naturally Aurangzib put all his pressure upon the Guru, who died a martyr. This version agrees in substance, if not in detail with the account of Tegh Bahadur's death given in *Sir Jadunath's Aurangzib, III, p.* 313, and is not therefore a figment of the Sikh writer's imagination.

Under the successors of Aurangzib, imperial authority declined leaving the subject population to the tender mercies of the distant officials. An incident of 1720 A.D. recorded in *Masir-ul-Umara* (Per. Text. III, 761-765) helps us to get a view of things in Kashmir. In that year the censor Muhtawi Khan *alias* Mulla Abdunnabi Khan pressed the Naib Subahdar Mir Ahmad Khan, to ban the public practice of Hindu religious rites, their riding horses and wearing armour. The Khan did not yield consent whereupon the Mulla began to insult the Hindus with fisticuffs (*shikanja*) wherever he found them. Once he fell upon the leading Hindu citizen Majlis Rai, he laboured him and his companions while they were feeding a number of Brahmans in a park of the city. As he could not get hold of the Rai, he went to the Hindu *mahalla* with his following and set fire to it. Next he invested the Naib Subahdar's house where the Rai had taken shelter but as the latter was not surrendered, he threw the whole city into a commotion by rousing the Muslim population to arms. The residue of the Hindu houses that had escaped fire were now pillaged and burnt and a veritable pogrom was enacted. The Rai was dragged out of his shelter along with his associates who were circumscised, some "having their particular limb (*azw-i-makhsus*) cut off." The Mulla then went to the Jama Mosque and himself assumed the reins of government under the title of Dindar Khan. The word Dindar means pious and verily no title more apposite than this befitted this defender of Islam.

After the Afghan conquest a tyranny of the worst sort was set up and the adage obtained currency, "*sar buridan pesh-i-in sang-dolan gul-chidanast*" (the cutting of head was to these stone-hearted, as the plucking of flowers). One Ata Muhammad Khan was so ferocious a libertine that the Kashmiri parents resorted to the device of shaving off the head and cutting off the tip of the nose of their daughters to save them from dishonour. Things did not improve materially under the Sikh rule. The former religious terror no doubt ended, but the economic pincers were possibly applied with greater rigour. Thus writes Moorcraft:

> "The number of Kashmirians who were to accompany us . . . proved here to be no exaggeration, and their appearance, half naked and miserably emaciated presented a ghastly picture of poverty and starvation. The Sikhs seem to look upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle."

Subjected to age-long tyranny the charming people lost their manliness and sense of self-respect. Hence when the greedy free-booter hurls himself upon the land and sweeps like a hurricane across the country, raping Baramula and sacking Gulmarg, the Kashmiri flies either in abject fear of his life or cowers before him. The old order is however dead in Kashmir and let us hope that the new dispensation under Sher-i-Kashmir Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah will regenerate the country and bring back the glory that was Kashmir under Zain-ul-Abedin.



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ANDRE GIDE

By Prof. SUNIL KUMAR BOSE, M.A.

THIS year, the much-coveted Nobel Prize in literature has gone over to the 77-year-old French novelist, Andre Gide. This ensures him a position he has already earned by the side of the literary giants of France. The Nobel Prize is due to be awarded to a writer who has produced literature with a predominantly idealistic trend. Gide is not an idealist of the type of Rolland, or even of the type of du Gard. His is a different world, entirely his own, a world of individualism. To call him a mere novelist, however, would be to detract from his many-sided achievements as a litterateur. If he is a novelist of a very high order, he is also a critic of great importance, and while he has not founded a school or created sensation like Bremond or Paul Valery, he has done a lot towards the development of his younger contemporaries, especially through his *La Nouvelle Revue Francaise*. He shows himself an adept also in the art of essay writing in his *Pretextes*, and is the author of several interesting dramas like *Saul*, *Oedipi*, etc. His travel books created a great sensation and earned a mixed reputation, and his two books on Soviet Russia drew the hornet's nest about his head. Gide has translated from some of the master writers of the world, namely, Shakespeare, Conrad, Blake, Whitman and Tagore. He has earned the distinction of rendering two Tagore's masterpices, *The Song Offering* and *The Post Office*. Leaving apart the qualitative value of his work, one is impressed by the range, variety and versatility of his literary output.

Andre Paul Guillaume Gide was born on 21st November, 1869. Having received his education in Paris, he made his debut into the literary world. *The Immoralist*, which may be said to be his masterpiece, has earned approbation of the reading public. This book, however, was preceded by essays in composition which have only developmental importance but not much value artistically.

The Immoralist may be said to be the masterpiece of Gide as well as a very formulary of his vision of life as it is. Gide, however, would claim detachment; he says in the preface : "I seemed within an ace of being confounded with him (the hero)." The book is the autobiography of a young man who, from his high pedastal of ascetic idealism, lapses, as a consequence of his illness and early premonition of death, into an aggressive type of hedonism and moral irresponsibility, so that, the rational character of life, of which he was an ardent worshipper, yields place to the vital anl instinctive. The young man convalesces nursed by his newly married wife, but his philosophy of life maintains the deep hedonistic tinge which it had taken on. At Biskra he appreciates the naive boy stealing things, and back at home, he throws all rationalism overboard admiring even drunken life at taverns. His crumping individualism gradually cripples his moral nature completely, and while his wife falls seriously ill, he becomes sullen and exclusive and lets her die a neglected death.

The Immoralist shows a world of individualism in a state of decomposition. The book is Gide's own picture of an immoralist or rather, an a-moralist, pursuing in detached seclusion the cult of individualism poisoned by the seed of its own ruin,—a fact of which Gide is fully aware. The book, as Gide himself says in the preface, is 'a fruit filled with bitter ashes", and all it can offer one's thirst is a "still more fierceness." As a work of art, the book can claim great distinction, written as it is with a fine sense of balance and proportion and a penetrative analysis of the lower depths of the human mind.

Another very interesting novel by Gide is *Strait is the Gate*. Here the heroine who has inherited from her mother a wonderful beauty, and a mysterious temperament which verges almost on the neurotic, has a fatal strain of spiritual longing in her which would be satisfied with nothing short of holiness and purity. She is however engaged in marriage with a young man of her choice, Jerome. But a premature glimpse of evil, in her mother's connection with a military man, upturns the mild, smooth, and if somewhat frail, balance of her mind. Her young love poisoned with shame, she decides not to marry but to spend the rest of her life in celibacy expiating the sin of which she has a terrific vision. Like the previous novel, this one also is a novel of frustration. With Gide, evil is a permanent and necessary condition of life and can not be eliminated. Jerome the youth, to whom Alissa, the heroine was affianced, insists on earthly happiness in marriage, while she prefers renunciation in search of an impossible perfection, and in her struggle between her piety and profane love, dies at last in a nursing home.

A vision of evil in an unredeemed and unmitigated form, and a daring experiment in sceptical reading of life one finds embodied in *Vatican Swindle*, in which, Lafcadio, a prototype of Gide's immoralist hero, illustrates the theory in his own picaroonish manner, and himself a juggler, conjurer, acrobat and mathematician, makes a novel display of motiveless malignity, throwing out a person from a railway carriage to his death. This novel shows a breakdown of form with its shapeless interweavings of plots and by-plots, and has the smell of a crime thriller. The novels of Gide are a gallary of the disillusioned 'hollowmen', who line out life's sky with dark flashes of tragic frustration.

Another important work of Gide is *The Counterfeiters*, which is conspicuous by the lack of a clear-cut theme. The novel is written in the shape of extracts kept by Edward, the novelist, who is writing a novel entitled *The Counterfeiters*, containing his study of life as he can see it. Full of illuminating psychological analysis, the book is also a novel of ideas, the problem posed here being the reality of art. The book has betrayals, desertions, insanity and murders, and is somewhat morbid in its atmosphere. Here we feel that novel as a form of art is adrift on the formless mass of consciousness. Speaking of Galsworthy, Woolf says that this celebrated novelist gives us life and nothing but life in its unplumbed depths. Gide is largely responsible for new technique in fiction writing,

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of probing into the sub-conscious, a method which was so much encouraged by the psycho-analysts.

In this respect Gide is the precursor of Joyce and Proust, and foreshadows the analytical school of fiction-writing. While Antatole France represents a concrete, realistic and even ironical view of life, and Rolland, the idealistic and sensitive view of it, Gide is prone to display life in a flux. Worship of the 'instinctive' and 'vital' in place of the 'rational'—this is the key-note of his novels. Gide also represents something of the lost flavour of the 19th century with its dreams, decadence and disenchantments, and here he has affinity with Wilde. Gide is a confirmed individualist, and pushed to extreme, pure individualism leads to stagnation. Only the dynamic re-charge from life can kindle it into the same incandescence which is the characteristic of great art. Gide's novels often lack this vitalising touch. Having no larger and no more dynamic view of life he allows himself to be circumscribed within a narrow corner, haunted, not by healthy shadows of men and women but by dead souls, winking, whispering and fretting within the charmed ambit of irrational self-seeking. Gide does not like to take sides and offer solutions; he considers his mission fulfilled when he has presented his story. He speaks in a vein of remonstrance about the public who would not forgive an author if he does not take sides with this or that character. Gide claims neutrality in this respect. Neither is he burdened with any message.

Gide's reaction to the Soviet Russian experiment is a pointer. The revolution in Soviet Russia with its complete defiance of all codes and conventions, suggested as anarchical repudiation of all accepted values, and appealed easily to Gide, a bit of an anarchist in himself on an individual scale. It also stirred up in him a vague expectation of a Utopian condition of humanity. In his *Back From U.S.S.R.*, he says that in the early stage of her re-orientation, Soviet Russia was to him "more than a chosen land—an example, a guide . . . where Utopia was in process of becoming reality." Even in 1936, while in Russia, he spoke in the following vein, denouncing fascism and praising Russia, on the occasion of Gorky's funeral:

> "The menace to culture comes from fascism, from narrow and artificial nationalisms which have nothing in common with true patriotism. . . . The menace to culture comes from war to which all these nationalisms and their hatreds finally and necessarily lead. I wish to declare before all . . . that it is to the great international revolutionary forces that must fall the task, the duty, of defending, protecting and of illustrating culture afresh. The fate of culture is bound up in our minds with the destiny of Soviet Union. We will defend it."

Here is a faith in the Soviet Union almost to a dogmatic extent and an adoration almost with a mystic fervour. But as a result of a closer acquaintance with the country and also of a sudden change of attitude, he claims right to criticise the country, because, he says, of his admiration for

> "We were promised a proletarian dictatorship, he goes on, "we are far from the mark. A dictatorship, yes obviously; but the dictatorship of a not of the united workers, not of the Sov (*Back From U.S.S.R.*).

Here he bitterly complains of the narrowness of Russian mind, conditioned, as he says it is, careful and planned suggestions, to look upon everything Russian as above criticism. Education is no doubt, "but the only objects of this education those which induce the people to find satisfacti its present circumstances . . ." The point raised is regarding freedom of thought,—a problem induced Rolland to issue declaration of indepen of thought in 1919. But even Rolland had subseq to revise his opinions regarding the precise imp tion of such freedom in modern democracy. book on Soviet Russia created storms of contro He says in his *Afterthoughts*, sequel to *Back U.S.S.R.*, which he wrote in order to clarify his pos

> "The publication of my book *Back From U.S* brought me great many insults. Romain Roll gave me pain. I never cared very much for his ings, but at any rate I hold his moral character high esteem."

In this book Gide categorically declares his illusionment regarding Soviet Russia like many other illusioned dreamers:

> "The U.S.S.R. is not where we hoped it woul what it promised to be, what it still strives to a It has betrayed all our hopes."

It is interesting to compare the reactions of two writers regarding the most contentious country. land's high idealism and naked sincerity earned hi preciation from men of different, and even, of op groups, a fact borne out by Gide himself. Why R hailed Soviet Russia, which professes materialism himself, as the harbinger of world peace, is explain his undaunted heroic sincerity, so that this great the preceptor of Europe, standing at the bar of opinion, consoles disillusioned writers like Bounine Balmont with a new hope for mankind; the new or Soviet Russia is bloodstained, but he does not reject goes to it:

> "I go to the infant . . . he is the hope, the w ed hope of humanity's future. It is yours; in d of you, it is of your blood, Bounine and Bal

Gide speaks of fascism as an enemy of culture. land also says:

> "That is the real enemy (fascism). It is fascism must be smashed." (*I Will Not Rest*).

But when it comes to the question of the freed thought in Soviet Russia, no two writers differ more Gide and Rolland. Gide says:

> "Free criticism, liberty of thought—these in Russia are called the opposition."

But Rolland, an indefatigable optimist as comes forward with his creed revitalised;

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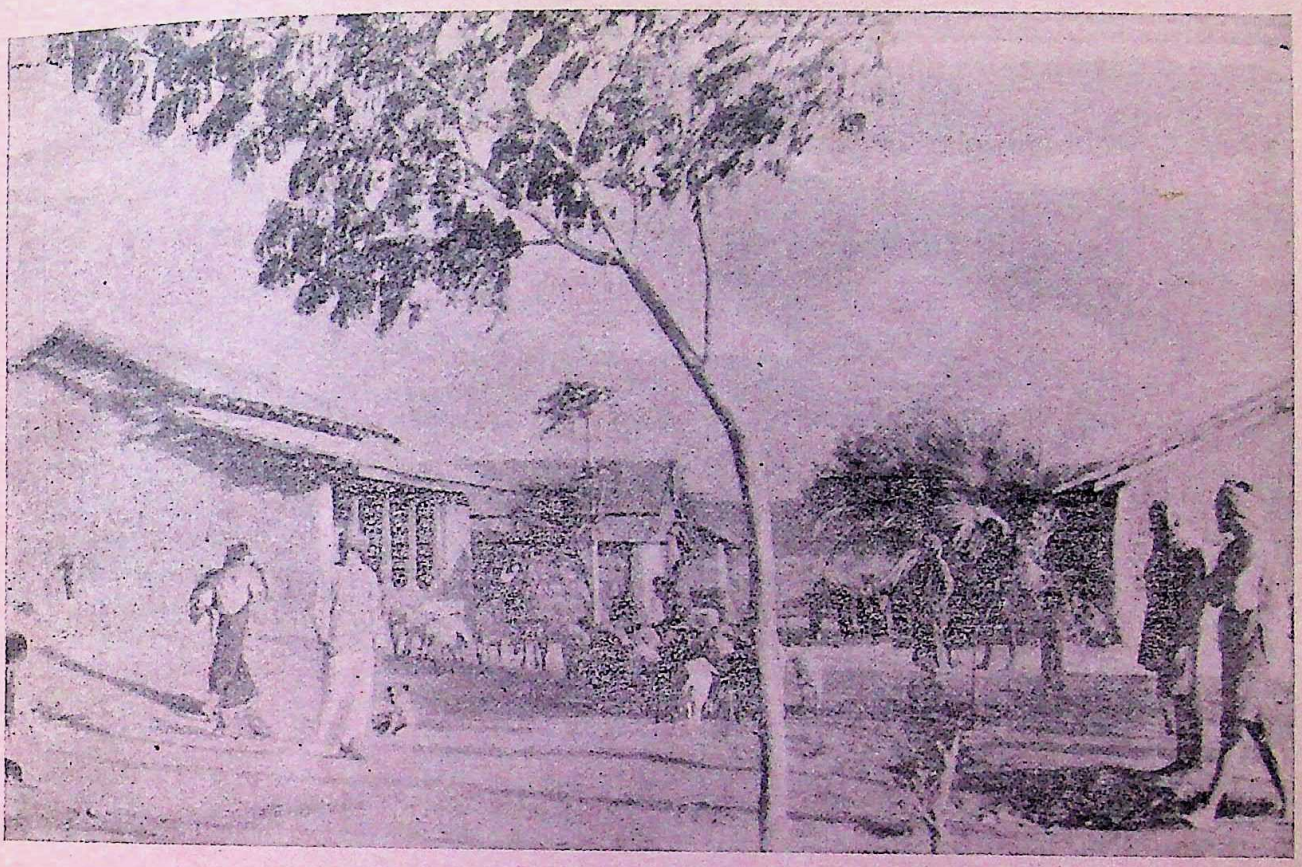

India's 700,000 villages, in which all but 11 per cent of her people live, govern themselves through the ancient institution of the Panchayat—the Council of Five—the one institution similar and constant amid the startling dissimilarities of India and the Indian States

Women in an Indian village display traditional grace in every gesture as they winnow the grain

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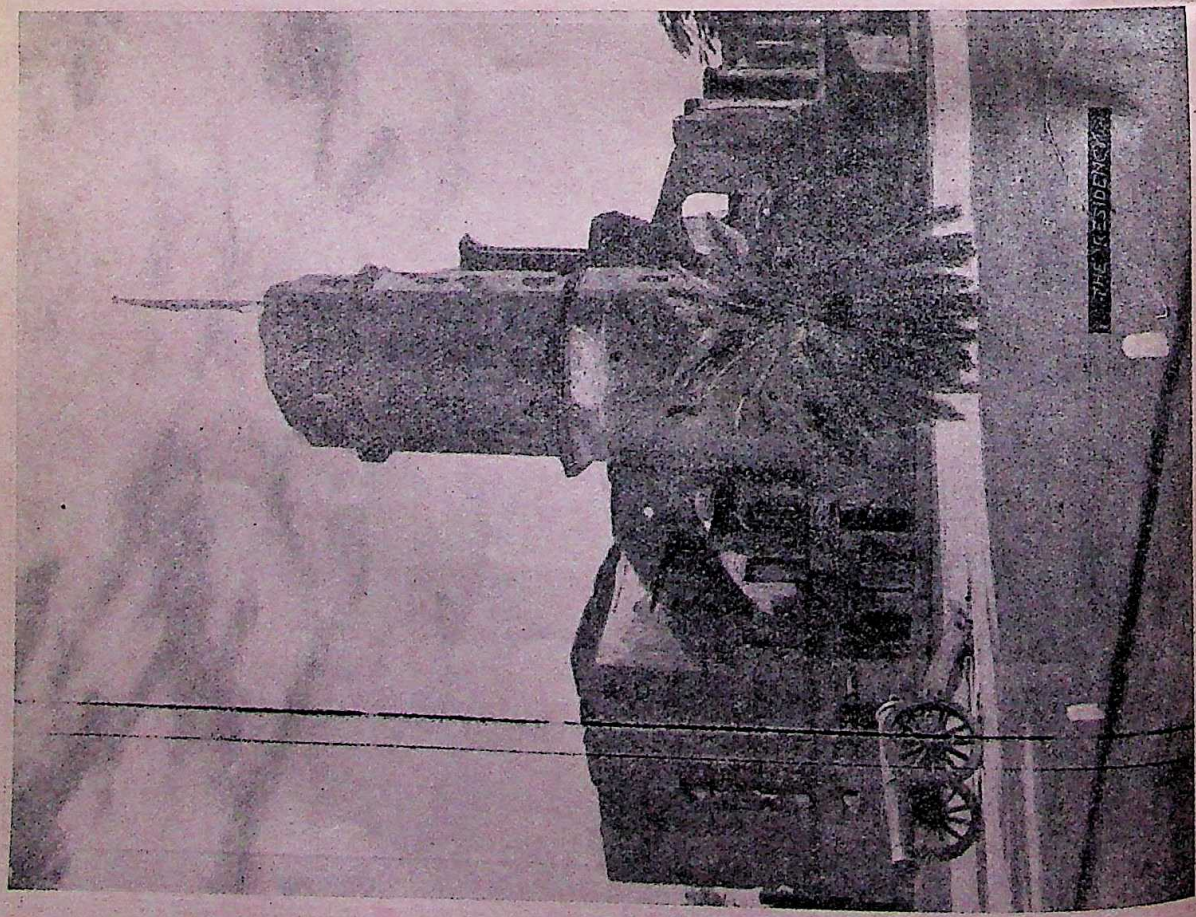
The humble folk of an Indian village



The Residency, Lucknow

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"The independence of mind as I understood it in 1919, when I sent out an appeal in its name, is a tree which stretches its arms towards the sky. But its roots are almost wholly in the soil. It is doomed to die if we do not succeed in transplanting it in the midst of humanity, the 'black earth', represented by the working people."

This conviction grew so strongly on him that he sent out an appeal to intellectual workers to join hands with manual workers.

"Our place is above all by the side of the proletarian workers. We are flesh of their flesh. Their independence, their power, is our independence and power."

This is much like Gide at the Moscow meeting. But Gide has not faced life, having taken shelter in his ivory tower. The orchid-like view of culture has made him forgetful of the insistent and undeniable demand that life might make upon art. Here again Rolland's view is worth quoting as regards the relation between the artist and the society:

"The artist, even the most individualistic, when imagines himself to be expressing nothing but himself, does no more than execute the part dictated to him in advance in the development of the symphony that started centuries ago before him. All that he adds to it is his accent, is his odour. We are all members of the great orchestra. Isolated from it, we should be nothing but pitiful fiddlers."

Aesthetic criticism has often changed its course, and that again in a very striking manner. The transition from the age of Pope to Wordsworth's is one of the miracles of literary history. Increasing consciousness of sociological forces has caused constant revaluations of values. We are living in an age when the general trend is to tear off art from its aesthetic isolation and to establish it on a more democratic foundation. A sense of utilitarianism has crept into the modern judgment of art and literature. To a moderner, accustomed to this new appreciation of literary values, Gide's works will appear to be hot-house products, not born out of the 'black earth' as Rolland calls it. But as an artist Gide will continue to claim a rare distinction which must be ungrudgingly paid to him.

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CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

By BEPIN B. BANERJEE

The co-operative movement was ushered into the country with the laudable object of improving the health, sanitation, education, etc., of the village people through co-operation among themselves and of saving them from the clutches of the Mahajans or village money-lenders. To secure this end, rural societies were formed in different parts of the country with unlimited liabilities and a Department of Government was opened for the care, control, supervision and audit of the movement. Banks known as the central co-operative banks were established at important centres of the province from which money was lent to the villagers at an easy rate of interest not exceeding 10 to 12 per cent in place of the Mahajans' rate which often ran up to 150 per cent. Funds were invited from the public for financing the central co-operative banks and they flew in from all quarters, as unlimited liabilities and care, control and supervision of governments were considered almost as a gilded security against such investment.

But despite all these plans and precautions the movement has become a dismal failure, there being now neither co-operation nor credit in it. The shrewd people of the country-side stole a march on the authors of the movement by surreptitiously enlisting members in village societies who have no property of their own nor have they entered upon their ancestral property as yet; unlimited liabilities are thus quite inoperative on them. To add insult to injury, they have, on the other hand, found in the nominal rate of interest at which they can borrow from the central banks and that also with no very great obligation to pay, an excellent means of squandering other people's money on marriage festivities, litigations, country-dances and other gaieties and frivolities. Had proper care been taken in the selection of members of rural societies, the landless members could not have snapped their fingers at unlimited liabilities as they do now.

There is, again, nothing in the law to prevent the propertied members of rural societies from alienating their property on the eve of the unlimited liabilities being set in motion against them. Unlimited liabilities, the main plank of the movement, have thus been reduced to a mere scrap of paper for want of foresight and care on the part of the Department under which it is placed and the condition of the village people, instead of being improved, has become decidelly worse, as even a casual observer may testify.

But the whole brunt fell on the creditors of the banks. They have not only their interest stopped for years but their principal is now paid, as it were on doles, as pro-rata at the rate of 2 to 10 per cent per annum and that also not on the original but outstanding balance making the full payment run on *ad infinitum*. Had any private banks failed to honour a single honest draft or to pay on maturity, the Government would have come down upon them, but they have been suffering these and many ugly things besides, to be done by the banks under their care, control, supervision and audit. The wonder of wonders is that, though the village uplift and the Government credit are all gone, the Government is still persising in maintaining a large establishment under a Minister only to suck the last drop of blood of a movement that is all but dead.

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DR. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

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By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

On Wednesday, the tenth of last September, passed away Dr. Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy at Boston at the age of seventy. Three weeks before his death on Friday, August 22, the seventieth birthday of this world-famous savant was celebrated in Colombo, London and New York as well as in several University centres of U.S.A. For the last thirty years of his life Dr. Coomaraswamy was connected with the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, first as a Research Fellow in Oriental Art, and later as curator of the Section of Indian and Far Eastern Art. After his demise he was described by the Museum officials as "one of the greatest scholars in his field."

Ananda Coomaraswamy was born in 'Rheinland', Kollupitiya, Colombo on August 22, 1877. He had a distinguished father in Sir Muthu Coomarswamy, who is said to have been the first Knight in Asia and certainly the first Hindu to have been called to the Bar in London. Sir Muthu was an erudite scholar in English, Pali and Sanskrit and translated the *Dathavamsa* (History of the Tooth Relic), the first Pali work to be rendered into English. During the reign of Queen Victoria he was a well-known figure in the learned Society of London. Disraeli, who introduced him as Kusinara into one of his novels posthumously published in 1905, was one of the many eminent Englishmen who became his intimate friends. Sir Muthu married an English woman named Elizabeth Clay Beeby who was endowed with considerable artistic and cultural attainments. Lady Coomarswamy left Ceylon for London with her only son Ananda when the latter was barely a year old. Sir Muthu who was to have followed them a few months later in May, 1879, died suddenly on the very day he decided to sail. Lady Coomarswamy died in 1942 as an octogenerian. Young Ananda, who was a cousin of Sir P. Arunachalam and Sir P. Ramanathan, was therefore a descendent of one of the most distinguished families of Ceylon.

Fatherless, Ananda received his education first at Wycliffe College at Stonehouse in Gloucestershire, England and later at the London University where he graduated in Botany and Geology and obtained the degree of Doctor of Science in Geology. At the age of twenty-two he began to contribute articles to learned periodicals. Dr. Ananda married an Argentine woman named Dona Louisa Runstein and had a son. Dona Louisa is a brilliant linguist and scholar in her own right. The young Doctor had an attractive appearance with a slim and stately figure of six feet and two inches, clear olive complexion, prominent nose and short beard.

At the age of twenty-five Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy returned to Ceylon, and in spite of his youth was appointed Director of Mineralogical Survey of the island. He held this responsible office creditably for three years from 1903 to 1906 and made a name.

"His administrative reports," says Dr. G. P. Malalasekera,[1] "are still unsurpassed in that field of Science and contain the fullest and most accurate account yet available on the geology of ancie crystalline rocks of Ceylon."

While holding this office Dr. Coomaraswamy travell extensively in the island and collected with meticul care a vast amount of materials and published th later in his *magnum opus* entitled *Medieval Singhal Art.* Reviewing this monumental work, which is still t most authoritative work on the subject, Sister Nived wrote :

> "A classic has been written and written fro the Eastern standpoint by one fully competent have dealt with a Western subject of the same ki with equal authority."

Dr. Coomaraswamy ascribes the constant inspirati and sustenance of Medieval Singhalese Art to Indian c ture and observes that the impulse to the expression emotion in Art is born on the sense of the Unity of t life, the recognition of the Many is One. Appreciati Dr. Coomaraswamy's philosophy of Art, Sister Nived praised him in her review mentioned above.

> for his 'demonstration of the fact that Art li Science, like religion has her eyes upon the Unsee that transcends the Seen; that the crafts an industries of India are inspired and guided by th conviction that mind alone is, and matter b appears."[2]

Dr. Coomaraswamy's monograph of the bronzes in t Colombo Museum published in 1914 is an exhausti treatment of the subject.

During his stay in Ceylon Dr. Coomaraswamy w greatly distressed by his own people's senseless craze imitating western habits and customs. In order to ste this undesirable tide of westernisation he founded in c laboration of some distinguished citizens of Colombo Ceylon Reform Society and remained its President many years even after he left Ceylon. He cried a h to the trend of denationalisation of the island and mov to safeguard its national traditions and customs and promote indigeneous education and art. As a member the Ceylon University Association he fought fearlessly a University which has been established later. In 19 Dr. Coomaraswamy finished his term of office as the Direct of Mineralogical Survey and left the island. Then made a tour all over India and the continent and th settled down for a while in England. There he brou out some important works on Indian art and culture a among other activities assisted to form the Royal Ind Society in 1910. For about a decade from 1907 to 19 he was engaged in study, lecturing and writing which gr in intensity when he joined in 1917 the Boston Muse where he spent the last thirty years of his life. Under direction Indian, Persian and Eastern collections at t Museum have become among the most important in t world.

Since 1917 Dr. Coomaraswamy has written and lectur in many centres of culture in America and Europe and the author of more than sixty books and monograp His *History of India and Indonesian Art* is another o

1 See his article in *The Times of Ceylon* for Friday, August 22, 1947.

2 See Doctor Rajasingham's article in the *Hindu Organ* Jaffna (Ceylon) for August 26, 1947.

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standing work on the subject. A bibliography of his works complied by the Michigan University of U.S.A. on the occasion of his 65th birthday listed more than 500 publications. The number that has grown considerably in the last five years of his life includes many voluminous books, a very large range of pamphlets, articles and critical reviews issued not only in India, England and America but also in France, Germany, Finland and Rumania. He was a master of half a dozen languages and his book-littered study contained books in more than a dozen languages. Mrs. Coomaraswamy testifies to a visitor that the Doctor worked everyday including Sundays from seven in the morning until ten at night permitting himself very little relaxation. Dr. Coomaraswamy was F.L.S. and F.G.S. and was in charge of Art Section at United Provinces Exhibition of India held in 1910-11. He was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London; Fellow of University College, London; Vice-President, India Society, London; Hon. Correspondent, Archaeological Survey of India, Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst, the Hague; Gesellschaft fur Assiatische Kunst, Berlin; and Hon. Member, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, etc.

Sir Henry Moore, the Governor of Ceylon, rightly observed that Dr. Coomaraswamy was a world-figure in the realm of scholarship. Sir Charles Collins, Chief Secretary to the Government of Ceylon, described this great savant as an ambassador of understanding, an interpreter between the East and West[3]. In a broadcast talk from Colombo on August 22, 1947 Dr. G. P. Malalasekera aptly described him as possessing a myriad-minded intellect comparable perhaps to Leonarda de Vinci in its universal interests. Dr. Coomaraswamy's researches were world-wide and all-embracing, ranging from philology of at least a dozen languages to music and archaeology, from the ancient metaphysics of India and Greece to the most modern problems of politics and sociology. For all these and many more extraordinary attainments he has been rightly called one of the greatest minds of our age. Before E. B. Havell and A. K. Coomaraswamy it was only the Greek Art that was considered as great Art by the Westerners and the Westernised Indians. Those works of Indian Art where Greek influence was detected was counted worthy of attention. Hence Coomaraswamy's earlier works were concerned chiefly with the exposition of the Philosophy of Indian Art. As William Rothenstein has clearly pointed out in a graceful tribute to his fellow-savants, it was Havell and Coomaraswamy who were mainly responsible for sweeping away many ignorant notions and wrong theories about Indian culture. Dr. Coomaraswamy changed the perverted views of the Western and Westernised scholars and held before the world the superb qualities and the overwhelming power of Brahmanistic sculptures. He called insistent attention to the pure Indian character of Indian genius and revealed to the world at large the incomparable beauty and grace of the Rajput and Kangra paintings that are spiritual and hence more Indian than those of Moghul artists. His embracing perspectiveness, says William Rothenstein, made him not only the discoverer of Indian art but also "the sensitive interpreter of Indian literature and music."

An Indian named S. Chandrasekhara met Dr. Coomaraswamy in the early part of 1947 at his country residenec in Needham, Massachusetts. The latter was so modest that he consented to meet the former if Chandrasekhara promised to ask no biographical details. Both went out for a drive and had a talk in the car. The Doctor told the visitor that he would be retiring next year from the Museum and that he was planning to return to India after an absence of thirty years to settle down and to enter into that he called his 'Vanaprastha and Sannyasa ashramas'. Asked where he was likely to settle down the Doctor said, "Perhaps at the foot of the Himalayas or in Tibet; some spot where I shall be least accessible." Chandrasekhara[4] asked the Doctor whether after having lived thirty years in Boston and accustomed to myriad comforts and conveniences of the American life he would not find life in the Himalayas difficult. The Doctor answered, "These comforts are beneath contempt! Look at my house. I don't have a radio because I can't stand one. The longer I have lived in the United States the more Indian I have become, and therefore I shall be happy when I shall settle down in India."

Dr. Coomaraswamy regretted to Chandrasekhara that the Indian students seem to bring nothing to this country, not an iota of Indian culture as they are regrettably ignorant of their own country's heritage. He never liked the high standard of American way of living. In this connection he observed to Chandrasekhara :

> "I am against the concept of raising the standard of living endlessly. There will never be a possibility of contentment. Life is larger than bath tubs, radios, and refrigerators. I am afraid, the higher the standard of living the lower the culture. Why, more than fifty per cent of Americans, have never bought a book in their lifetime and the Americans have the highest standard of living in the world. 'Literacy is not education and education is not culture'."

The following tributes paid to Dr. Coomaraswamy in the West show how his contributions have been appreciated in that hemisphere. A writer in *the New York Herald Tribune* has called him the scholar, curator and priest of Oriental Art. Another admirer in the United States wrote that he was tall, handsome, of sovereign colour, the image of God carved in sandalwood. Here is a personal tribute from Eric Gill who has met him in the flesh and says this of him :

> "Others have written the truth about life and religion and man's work. Others have written good clear English, others have had the gift of witty exposition. Others have understood the metaphysics of Christianity and others have understood the metaphysics of Hinduism and Buddhism. Others have understood the true significance of erotic drawings and sculptures. Others have seen the relationships of the true and the good and the beautiful. Others have apparently unlimited learning. Others have loved ; others have been kind and generous. But I know of no one else in whom all these gifts and all these powers have been combined . . . I believe that no living writer has written the truth in matters of art and life and religion and piety with such wisdom and understanding."[5]

3 See the *Ceylon Daily News* for August 22, 1947.

4 See his article in *The Aryan Path* of Bombay for August, 1947.

5. See the *Ceylon Daily News* for Friday, August 21, 1947.

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ON BEING AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

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By Dr. HARIDAS T. MAZUMDAR,

*Professor of Sociology, Highlands University, Las Vegas, New Mexico, U. S. A.**

Today, July 7, 1947, in the District Court of San Miguel County, Las Vegas, New Mexico, Honorable Judge Luis Armijo conferred upon me one of my most precious possessions, American citizenship.

Now I am trying to ask myself what this thing, called becoming an American citizen, means.

First, it means to me a new birth. The pledge of allegiance to the United States of America means that some of my old loyalties must be given up, some of them be rearranged, and some new loyalties be assumed. I cannot and will not deny the land of my birth, Mother India. My spiritual values and inspirations have been, in the first instance, derived from the rich and noble legacy of my forebears who went to India some 6000 years ago, while their cousins went to Europe. I still consider myself heir to the noble Sanskrit language, eldest sister of all European languages, and to the Hindu system of numerals miscalled Arabic. I still look upon Mahatma Gandhi as one of the prophets of our age, and I cherish my past associations with him.

My new birth this day means that whereas in the past I used to think of serving India, America, and the world, henceforth my humble effort shall be to serve America, India, and the world. Being a product of two cultures, Hindu and American, I shall strive to import into the American scene some of the positive values of Hindese culture. The exalted philosophy of India and the dynamic democracy of America can be wedded together, and it shall be my humble effort to promote such a consummation.

Second, my new birth as an American citizen enables me to graft onto the youthful virility of this nation the mellow philosophy and outlook of ancient India.

Third, while the American-born citizen takes his citizenship for granted, I cherish the privilege of American citizenship. I have now become a co-worker with 140,000,000 of my fellow American citizens in the task of demonstrating and living the values of democracy. Citizenship confers obligations as well as privileges. The most cherished privilege of American citizenship is that one may look the world in the eye confidently, with self-respect, viewing others as equals. The most significant obligations of American citizenship are: teamwork, reconciliation of conflicting interests by goodwill and by due process of law, performance of tasks at hand directed toward the improvement of our local community, state and nation and we hope, the world.

Fourth, being an American citizen means not only taking part in the civic affairs of one's community but also active participation in the making of policy for one's community, state and nation—and the world. I am looking forward with great eagerness to the day when I shall cast my first ballot in an election. America is called upon to demonstrate to the sick world that the way of ballots is far superior to the way of bullets—and much more enduring.

Fifth, democracy rests upon the assumption that the voice of the people is the voice of God. But the judgment or action of a people operating as a crowd or a mass is anything but divine. Hence the wise Thomas Jefferson laid down that an enlightened citizenry is an essential to a healthy democracy. I do not foresee this nation of ours doing anything seriously wrong; but if ever, unfortunately, my America should tread the path of wrong-doing and unrighteousness, I would discharge my obligation as a citizen by working with might and main for righteousness and justice and goodwill.

Sixth, my acquisition of American citizenship today reminds me of my childhood experiences. In a literal sense, George Washington beckoned to me to come to this country. In the Second Gujarati Reader of my grade school, there was a lesson about a boy named George Washington and about his experience with the cherry tree and his Dad. The lesson ended by saying "And the truth-telling George Washington became the Father of his country." In my childish way of thinking, I mused to myself that if George Washington was so good and if he became the Father of his country his children too must be good and truth-telling. I some day I ought to visit George Washington's children. Well, I have been here for a quarter of a century and I can truthfully say that my childish picture of George Washington's children has been found to be true—true, that is, in every respect except when the American people are engaged in a political election campaign. I cannot vouch for the truthfulness of Washington's children when they are engaged in the national pastime of election campaigns. That reminds me that as a citizen I am assuming a special responsibility to try out whether an election campaign cannot be carried on without mud-slinging.

Seventh, to the saints and heroes of India I have now added the heroes and saints and statesmen of the New World. I can visualize Emperor Asoka (3rd century, B.C.) and William Penn walking hand-in-hand striving to bring about a warless world. The wise and heroic Washington, the statesman Thomas Jefferson, the philosophic Benjamin Franklin, the saintly Lincoln, the soldierly Grant and Lee—these makers of America are now part of my forebears. Emerson and

* The citizens of India were declared ineligible for American citizenship by a Supreme Court ruling in 1923. In 1946, Congress enacted a law putting India on a quota basis and making nationals of India eligible for citizenship in this country. The author, born in India, took a leading part in securing passage of that legislation. He is the author of many books on India and Gandhi and international affairs. His latest book *The United Nations of the World: A Treatise on How to Win the Peace* (1st ed. 1942, and 2nd ed. 1944) suggests a basis for constructive American policy. At present, the author is associated with New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas, New Mexico, as Professor of Sociology.

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Thoreau and Walt Whitman reinforce the outlook of universalism I had inherited from the culture of India.

Eighth, as a humble soldier in the non-violent army of Mahatma Gandhi, I contributed my share toward the breakup of the British Empire in India. The result, however, is less pleasing than anticipated, now that the British Raj is about to make its exit. India is distraught and divided. I hope she may learn from the federal union idea of America. However, it is not for me now to urge upon India any specific plan of action ; I can but offer a bit of advice as an American citizen interested in the well-being of India's four hundred million people.

Ninth, as an American citizen I cannot be blind to the gigantic tasks confronting us of the present generation both at home and abroad. Here at home the relations between capital and labor must be adjusted on the basis of mutual accommodation and reciprocal responsibility. Political liberty must be implemented with economic security within the framework of our democratic society. Abroad, even before the last shot of the military campaigns was heard, a new threat to peace and orderly procedure was posed by our Ally, the Soviet Union. The iron curtain must be lifted if the world in our generation is to experience a new birth of freedom. As an American citizen, I am proud of the statesmanlike behavior and accomplishments of General McArthur in Japan. But our handling of the China situation is less satisfactory. I believe Yalta was an act of appeasement and must be undone. The Truman-Marshall doctrine is worthy of the noble traditions of America. One must say, however, that there is a certain amount of timidity in our State Department. The descendants of pioneers must cast off timidity. Co-operation, secured at the expense of compromise and appeasement, is not worth having. Non-co-operation resting on principle is preferable to co-operation based on appeasement. The solid body of American principles of democracy is more than a match for the most rampant totalitarianism in the world.

Tenth, as an American citizen, I realize the urgent need today for us to live in the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi and the Great Emancipator. With malice toward none, with charity for all, with chivalry toward the vanquished ; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to bind up humanity's wounds, to care for him, friend or foe, who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all, which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations. Such is the spirit of Lincoln, of America, within the context of our times.

For generations America has stood as a beacon-light to the world hungering for freedom. The American Declaration of Independence has given inspiration to the oppressed of the world. The American Constitution holds forth the promise of American life to all who care to accept it. American federalism may bring hope and life to a dying Europe and to strife-torn India and China. The American insistence on the dignity of man is the one bright spot in our darkened world. The Founding Fathers are watching us ; we cannot fail them.

As an American citizen, I hope to do my humble share in maintaining intact the noble heritage of this great land, in enriching that heritage, and in bringing within the reach of all mankind the promise of American life.

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LABOUR CONDITION IN INDIA DURING THE WAR

By LAKSHMI NARAIN GUPTA

Though India has made much progress in her industrial development due to the two world wars, yet organised industries regulated by the Factory Legislation absorb only 9·4 per cent of the total working population. An idea of this can be had from the total number of workers engaged in the factories :

Year	*Average daily number of persons employed*
1938	1,740,331
1939	1,748,561
1940	1,844,428
1941	2,156,377
1942	2,282,237
1943	2,436,312
1944 (figures are estimated)	4,584,338

Though the number of workers employed in factories is very small as compared to those in other countries yet the industrialists and the Government have so far not been able to offer them good facilities so that they may be more efficient and more workers may be attracted to serve in the factories.

The condition of the Indian labourers engaged in the various kinds of industries is very pitiable. They have a very low standard of living. According to the report of the Director of the Nutrition Research Laboratory, "The majority of the population lives on a diet far remote from the most moderate standards of adequate nutrition" Their life is no better than that of a dog. Their condition is no doubt somewhat better in factories owned by a few eminent industrialists.

There is excessive crowding in the industrial towns, such as in Bombay, Cawnpore and Calcutta, etc. The largest increase has been in Cawnpore and then in Ahmedabad between 1931 and 1941, which is 99 per cent and 97 per cent respectively. This was all during the war. In spite of the fact that the population has nearly doubled there has been no proper

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housing scheme for the increased population except the starting of a few development societies after the war.

The workers live in chawls, huts, and even on roads situated in unhealthy localities, having no medical facilities, no adequate water supply for drinking and other purposes, no proper disposal of sewage and rubbish, etc. The Government hospitals do not care a bit for them.

Besides this, the condition in the factories is also very unhygienic. All these defects not only decrease the efficiency of the workers, but also reduces the expectation of life which is a blot on our society.

More than this, there are all sorts of underhand policies which are played at the time of recruitment. There is no security of service for these workers, for they are always at the mercy of the employers who may turn them out at any time they like. They are made the tools of the political parties, who exploit them only for attaining their political ends and who have no interest in the welfare of the workers. The workers are under-fed and under-clothed.

War

With this condition of the Indian workers, the w began in 1939. Though the wages of the workers ha gone high, the State is taking more interest in labo problems. Working hours have been reduced from to 48 since the year 1946, labour legislations ha been passed, social security schemes have been pr pared. Housing schemes are there and several oth schemes are under consideration, but as it even now one can very safely come to t conclusion that the condition of the Indian worke has in no way improved during the war. The questi which naturally arises is that what is the reason f this, in spite of the fact that wages have been increas and working hours reduced.

The simple reason is that though the wages ha increased yet the cost of living has gone higher th the increase in wages. As soon as the war began th prices slowly began to rise, but they were at the highest level in 1943-44, which can be seen from th following table :

Index of Wholesale Prices

	End of July, 1914=100 Calcutta	Bombay	General 19th August 1939=100 (a)	All India Food last week, Aug., 1939=100 (b)	Working class cost of livin index in Bombay City Year ending June, 1934=100
1939	108	109	118·7	112·1	106
1940	120	118	118·0	107·3	112
1941	139	137	130·0	116·6	122
1942	185	219	159·4	153·6	157
1943	307	(c)	229·4	255·3	230
1944	298		241·3	234·6	237
1945	289		244·1	235·3	232 (d)

(a) Average of 5 months, (b) Average of 4 months, (c) Discontinued, (d) Average of 8 months.

The latest figures from the Economic Advisor's Index of wholesale prices of food articles (base last week of August, 1939=100) for the week-end of August, 1947, worked out to 283·4 as compared with 283·9 (revised) for the previous week and 252·2 for the corresponding week of last year.

During the week cereals and pulses remained stationary at 293·6 and 535·0 respectively while that for other food articles advanced from 226·9 (revised) to 228·2.

During the war India was the principal base of operations on both the sides, *i.e.*, East and West. As a result of it employment increased in those factories producing munitions, though most of the workers were mainly unskilled. But as a result of increased industrial activity it was essential for the Government to improve the labour relations and welfare facilities. Accordingly, steps were taken for the same and ordinances were passed.

1. *National Service Ordinance* : During the war, there was control on technically trained workers. So, in order to take maximum advantage from them the above ordinance was passed. According to this ordinance, various categories of skilled and semi-skilled artisans were specifically mentioned in a schedule and all such technical workers between 18 and 50 years of age who were not in the armed forces were made liable for employment in national service. Any factor engaged in war-work could be declared by notificati to be a factory engaged in national work. The ord nance was amended in 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943 and 194 and thereby a number of changes were introduced.

2. Several other ordinances were passed for th regulation of employment :

i. *Essential Service Maintenance Ordinan* (1941) : Whereby all the workers employed unde the Crown or private concern were declared to b essential in the interests of the war efforts and s the workers were required to stick to their jobs.

ii. *Motor Vehicles Drivers Ordinance No. V 1942* : Under which the Government was empower to requisition the services of any person or person qualified to drive the motor vehicles.

iii *Railway Military Personnel Ordinance, 194* Regulating the employment of members of th armed forces in the working and management o Railways.

3. *Rule 81-A of the Defence of India Rules, 194* Gives power to the Government of India to ensur that disputes, when they arise, are settled without th necessity of resorting to direct action. The rul empowers the Government to refer industrial dispute to "adjudication" with the provision that adjudicatio award can be enforced by the Government.

Different training schemes were also introduce during the same period such as :

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1. *Technical Training Scheme* : The scheme was instituted by the Government of India in 1940 to provide for the Technical Branches of the Defence Services and for ordnance and munitions factories.

2. *Bevin Training*: This scheme was outlined by Mr. Ernest Bevin in 1940 for the training of Indian workers in factories and workshops in England with the object of accelerating munitions production in India.

Certain other steps were taken for improving the condition of the Indian workers and ordinances were passed to that effect.

Statutory Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund of 1944 was created under powers conferred by S. 72 of the Government of India Act, 1935, for improvement of conditions of labour in Coal Mines out of funds derived from a cess or an excise duty.

War Injuries Compensation Insurance Scheme : To impose obligation on the employer to pay compensation in respect of war injuries.

Creation of "Employment Exchanges" : The Government decided to start Employment Exchanges in 1943 for employment of those persons who have been thrown out of employment after the war and now the number of such exchanges have increased considerably.

Industrial Relations

During the war a number of strikes took place though the number of such strikes had been fewer than what they were during the last year. Concerning this the Royal Commission on Labour rightly reported in 1931 that :

> "An important factor at work in creating industrial unrest in India is the lack of contact which too often exists between employers and employed. There are employers who by special efforts, have established reasonably close touch with their workers, but they are exceptional. In practically every centre and every industry (with the exception of plantations) the lack of contact and understanding is evident. In the interests of all concerned, we urge that every effort should be made to bridge the gulf."

The same warning was repeated by Mr. Harold Butler, British Minister in Washington, and formerly director of International Labour office, who visited India in connection with an official mission to the East in 1937. He said that

> "The problem of Industrial relations may be considered to be the chief problem confronting Indian industries at the present time, and one upon which further industrial development to some extent depends."

The Reconstruction Committee Report (II) says that

> "Increased attention is being paid to labour matters, and there must in the post-war period be a quickening up of progress throughout the labour field. Labour policy must produce conditions in which labour can feel that it is a partner in industry and in the undertakings in which it works and which ensure to labour fair conditions both of work and relaxation."

With the outbreak of the war, in order to maintain the production level at its maximum, it was essential for the Government to care more for Industrial Relations and so in January, 1942, the Government of India by a notification added Rule 81-A of Defence of India Rules in order to put a check to the strikes and lock-outs. The rule empowered the Government to make general or special orders to suit the local requirements to prohibit strikes and lock-outs and refer any dispute for conciliation or adjudication, to require the employers to observe such terms and conditions of employment as might be specified so as to enforce the decision of the adjudicators. Later on Provincial Governments were also vested with such powers and it was specified that nobody could go on strikes unless two weeks prior notice has been given. It was also provided that when a certain dispute has been referred for adjudication or conciliation nobody could go on strike and for two months therefore certain amendments were later on made in the above ordinance.

In Bombay, Industrial Disputes Act (1938) was amended in 1941 which applied only to Textile industry and which set up a machinery for arbitration of disputes in which both the parties agreed to arbitration. The amendment made arbitration compulsory in certain cases as a war measure and this empowered the Government to refer to arbitration any dispute which it deems will lead to serious disorder or may cause hardships to the community or affect the industry adversely.

The reasons which seem to hold good are that Labour is becoming conscious, it resents the high profits made by the industrialists, it is not satisfied only with a living wage but it also wants a share in the management. Another reason seems to be that there are interested political parties who have no interest in the welfare of the workers except that of the attainment of their political ends, so India at present needs sound trade unionism and good labour leadership.

During the war several Labour Conferences were held to devise means for putting a stop to the strikes. The Central Government appointed Labour Adviser in the Labour Department and 7 assistants for industrial areas in different parts of the country. In 1945, a separate machinery was set up for the promotion of industrial relations. The organisation consisted of Chief Labour Commissioners with headquarters at Bombay, Calcutta and Lahore respectively and 23 labour inspectors located at various centres throughout the country. It will deal with industrial relations, conciliation of labour disputes, administration of labour legislation, collection of information on wages and other labour matters.

Labour welfare during the war took the form of assistance to workers by the establishment at or near the workshops, of canteens and restaurants as well as shops for sale at concession rates of food, grains, cloth and other essential goods which were being sold at much cheaper rates than the usual rates prevailing in the market.

Today, there seems to be a strike fever, everywhere workers have a mind to strike at any

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time. It has spread like an infectious disease. Those who could never dream of strikes have gone on long strikes, such as Banks, Post Offices, Railways. The largest number of strikes took place in the year 1945-46 an idea of which can be had from the following statistics :

Year	*No. of Disputes*	*Workers involved*	*Loss of Handays*
1941	359	291,054	3,330,503
1942	694	772,653	5,779,945
1943	716	525,088	2,342,287
1944	658	530,015	3,447,300
1945	848	782,192	3,940,892
1946 (up to July)	1,115	1,508,757	7,496,292

As a result of these strikes the production in the factories have considerably gone down. The problem at present before the Government in power is that of increased production. The labour member, the Hon'ble Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, Government of India, while speaking at the 8th session of the Indian Labour Conference declared, "Our watchward should be improved working and living condition for the workers and increased productivity." Stressing the need for increased production he said, "A mere increase in wages, unaccompanied by increased productivity will be worse than useless, because it will set in train a vicious inflationary spiral of high prices and high wages each trying to catch up with the other." As the labour member rightly observed, "These (improved working conditions and increased productivity) can be brought about only by each party recognising not only its rights but its obligations not only to the other party but to the community as a whole." Elucidating how a strike in an important industry dislocates the entire economic structure he said, "A strike in an important industry is not merely a dispute between an employer and a worker but involves a stoppage of production, which causes serious inconvenience to the community."

During the war, coal mining labour presented special problems. The usual workers were attracted by other wartime occupations in the neighbouring areas either because of their less arduous character or because of high remuneration offered. So there was special need for improving the amenities provided for the miners and in order to promote the welfare of coal miners, the *Coal Mines Labour Welfare Ordinance* was passed in 1944. The ordinance provided for the establishment of a fund to finance welfare activities. The fund was to be made up of a levy or cess by the Central Government at a rate (not less than one anna and not more than four annas a ton) to be fixed from time to time. This fund could be utilised for building purposes or improvement of housing and the provision of water supply facilities for washing, educational and recreational facilities, measures for improving public health, sanitation and standard of living of miners generally. The Central Government also appointed a Coal Miners' Welfare Commission.

The most important problem at present before us is that of agricultural labour, which forms the ma part of our country. Up to this time, no attention been paid to them, but the latest five-year plan of Central Government makes provision for the impro ment of their condition and some positive steps likely to be taken. Next is the problem of seam whose condition has not as yet been improved.

Government Plans

For the improvement of labour conditions, Central and Provincial Governments have got th different plans. Among these a programme for Hea Insurance has been prepared by the Central Gover ment known as "Adarkar Plan of Health Insuranc The difficulty up to this time had been that Central Government as well as the Provincial Gover ments had not been taking any interest in such pla and they were not ready to finance the scheme. B with the coming of the new government in power, hope that it will give full consideration to the pl and give every possible financial help to the schem in order to improve the condition of the worker.

The latest plan of the present Government f improving labour condition is the five-year plan. T Labour Member, the Hon'ble Mr. Jagjiwan Ra addressing the Provincial Labour Ministers' Conferen suggested that there is need for the institution of Ministers' Conference which would meet regularly on a year to formulate a policy and periodically revie its execution.

"Our immediate task," the Labour Minister sa "will relate to the promotion of fair wage agreemen standardisation of wages, rationalisation of the rates dearness allowances, organisation of Industrial Trainin and apprenticeship schemes with a view to impro the productive and earning capacity of workers, reg lation, and improvement of working conditions factories, mines, transport services and shops, elimin tion of contract labour, provision of medical an monetary relief to workers during sickness and prov sion of housing."

Taking the above facts into consideration we ca safely conclude that India needs much improveme in her labour condition. In order to attain it, "the will be an increasing need for contact and co ordination between Central and Provincial Govern ments, employers and workers and plans for a full utilisation of the newly created tripartite labou conference."

With the opening of the I. L. O., the scope for im provement has of course widened, but still little is bei done according to the decisions. There is need improving the factory conditions, hours of work, hol days, welfare work, housing condition, social secur and trade unionism, etc. All these will lead to increase in efficiency of the Indian labour which ha not as yet been attained in spite of the fact that th hours of work have been reduced and wages have bee increased to a considerably high level. With the comin of the popular Government in power, we hope th everything possible will be done for improving th labour condition in India.

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SANSKRIT AS THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA

By Pandit AMARENDRAMOHAN TARKATIRTHA

Sanskrit is the oldest living language of India. The literature of the Vedas, which embody all our knowledge in Sanskrit, cannot even be approximately dated. Max-muller hesitatingly placed the beginning of the Vedic literature in the latter half of the second millennium B.C. Tilak and Jacobi, on the other hand, tried to push the date much further back. Many eminent Indian scholars are inclined to date the Vedas at least beyond the eighth millennium B.C. on astronomical grounds. Without entering into the controversy, it can however be safely said that the second millennium B.C. has been accepted as the latest date for the Vedas.

Sanskrit enjoys a unity of literature and continuity of existence as no other language in the world can claim. The unity of a literature consists, on the one hand, in the persistence of a language which remains from first to last intelligible, and on the other hand in the continuity of works handed down from generation to generation. Sanskrit satisfies both these tests.

India is now politically free but intellectual freedom is yet to come. The first task of a liberated country is to resuscitate its hoary culture and tradition. But we have not addressed ourselves to this prime task of a newly-freed country. Our mind is still in chains and our eyes fixed on the West. It is only natural because all our leaders have had only western education in their life and had little opportunity to know and respect our own literature which embodies, in Sanskrit, the greatest wisdom of the world. There are exceptions, no doubt, among them but immediate interests seem to cloud their cultural vision.

The national language of India continues to be a subject of controversy. The claim for a provincial language of India to be elevated to the status of national language, naturally evokes protest and suspicion. The proposal for making Hindi the *lingua franca* was not received with enthusiasm in South India and Eastern India. Likewise a second proposal to have Bengali in that place was not viewed with approval. Again, the demand of the Muslims for the recognition of Urdu, including its script remained. Gandhiji struck a middle appeasing course and tried to have a mixed language called Hindustani to be written both in the Devnagri and Urdu scripts. After the partition of India, and specially after the adoption of Urdu as the *lingua franca* of Pakistan to the total exclusion of minority language claims, there is no reason why Hindustani or the Urdu script should degrade Indian national language and script. Just as Bihar cannot adopt Tamil or Andhra cannot accept Pushtu as her own, India is under no obligation to honour Urdu by disfiguring her own ancient language and literature.

A national language should have the following criteria:

(*a*) No provincial language should be belittled by it,

(*b*) Its wealth of words should be immense and its grammar perfect and capable of coining new words as and when occasion arises,

(*c*) It is able to express the highest thought and wisdom,

(*d*) It has a vocabulary sufficient to give expression even to technical subjects like fine arts, architechture, science, medicine, military arts and the like, and

(*e*) It ought to be the vehicle for the civilisation of the entire country.

Only Sanskrit satisfies these tests. Most of the provincial languages are derivatives of Sanskrit. If Hindi with its undeveloped literature can claim to be the *lingua franca* of India, Bengali can certainly make that claim with a far greater wealth of literature and an almost equal expanse. The claim of both can however be compromised by asking them to recognize the claim of mother Sanskrit. North, West, South and Eastern India can have no valid ground for objection to adopt Sanskrit as the national language. It is free from all taints of provincialism. All the provinces still maintain centres of Sanskrit learning and a great amount of inter-provincial intellectual intercourse still takes place through the medium of Sanskrit.

Sanskrit is the root of many branches of knowledge. Its transcendental scriptures like Vedas and Upanishads enjoy the admiration of international savants and are objects of intensive study all over the world. Germany, Russia, Britain and America have spent millions on the procurement, study and translation of Sanskrit manuscripts. Works in Sanskrit on philosophy, literature, astronomy, medicine, music and political economy stand unparalleled in any other language. Sanskrit works on the subjects of testing pearls and scientific machineries give only an indication that even modern technical things can be studied in that language. With its deep, wide and wealthy vocabulary, Sanskrit is the only language in India which can translate even the most modern technical books. It has recently been shown by one of our very eminent scientists that atomic energy was known in ancient India and was elaborately studied.

It is said that Sanskrit is a dead language. Nothing can be farther from truth. Sanskrit education is imparted in all the Universities, Colleges, Schools and thousands of *Tols* all over the country. English seems to be a spoken language because it is the existing State language and is the language of towns. The percentage of people who speak in Sanskrit in the countryside are much more in number than those who can speak English and their degree and intensity of knowledge is no less than the English scholars. Sanskrit was the Indian Court language till the coming of Muslims. Even a cursory study of Kautilya will reveal that it is capable of dealing with all the modern problems of trade, industry, controls, licenses, labour troubles, special tribunals etc. and can with ease be used as a Court language. Sanskrit appears to be dead because it is dead in the minds of our leaders and administrators accustomed to think and speak in English. Sanskrit is not dead, it has successfully withstood the onslaughts of Scythians, Huns and Muslims. It can once again become the glory of India and the wonder of the world only if we give it its due by replacing English with Sanskrit.

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THE PLACE OF ALCOHOL IN A NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION PLAN IN INDIA

By RAMANI RANJAN CHOWDHURY,

Mica Specialist and Industrial Planner, late of the Government of India

The Origin and Early Use of Alcohol

The term "alcohol" is said to have been derived from Arabic, meaning 'the best, the finest' and the name was given in the 19th century to the wine distillate by Paracelsus. The material was known in early times as the golden drink only but the chemical and biological processes involved in the fermentation of the "liquid that is capable of burning", based on the principle of fermentation and distillation, were unknown before the development of modern applied chemical science.

Lavoisier knew that 100 parts of sugar and 9.7 parts of water yield 59.2 parts of alcohol and 50.6 parts of carbonic acid gas. The first workable formula as given below was discovered by Gay Lussac, in principle:

$$C_6H_{12}O_6 = 2CO_2 + 2C_2H_6O$$

About the year 1818, Erxleben discovered that yeast constitutes organisms of vegetable origin, which cause fermentation and subsequently very real and rapid progress was made in the science of fermentation. Latour in 1837 stated that yeast is fungus, the growth and propagation of which in sugar solutions will cause them to ferment; earlier about 1834. Kutzing recorded that the yeast constitutes living organisms, which was followed by the vitalistic theory of Liebig, who tried to explain fermentation as a purely chemical process of decomposition. Pasteur came thereafter with his epochal discovery that yeasts sprout or bud more readily if oxygen is introduced into the solution on which he based his alcoholic theory that fermentation is life without air. The oxygen needed for the yeast is supplied by the sugar and changed into carbonic acid, the unconsumed portion of the sugar changing simultaneously into alcohol. The more recent developments have established that fermentation is not a decomposition process for change into alcohol and carbonic acid gas but a double decomposition, as represented by the following formulae: Part of the sugar changes into acetaldehyde, glycerine and carbonic acid gas, the other part transforming itself into acetic acid, alcohol, glycerine and carbonic acid gas.

The original formula of Gay Lussac, interpreted in modern chemical language as:

Sugar = alcohol + carbonic acid gas *i.e.*

$$C_6H_{12}O_6 = 2C_2H_5OH + 2CO_2$$

is changed into:

$C_6H_{12}O_6$ (sugar) = CH_3CHO (acetaldehyde) + CO_2 (carbonic acid gas) + $C_3H_8O_3$ (glycerine.)

&

$$2C_6H_{12}O_6 + H_2O = CH_2COOH + C_2H_5OH + 2C_3H_8O_3 + 2CO_2.$$

i.e., Sugar + water = Acetic acid + alcohol + glycerine + carbonic acid gas.

Glycerine:—Glycerine is now produced primarily the above formulae on the theory that the secondary phites enter into a very loose combination with sug which in aqueous solution, undergoes complete diss tion, the sulphite combining with the aldehydes produc stable compounds.

Main Industrial Fermentation Products

The following may be said to be the chief indust fermentation products:

(*i*) Alcohols, including ethyl (fusel oil), prop butyl alcohols and glycerine.

(*ii*) Aldehydes, including acetaldehyde, acetol furfurol.

(*iii*) Acids like carbonic acid, formic, acetic, but and succinic acids.

(*iv*) Ethers like acetic and succinic ethers.

It may be noted here that there are as many kind ethers as alcohols. Only the purest ethyl alcohol is to used for production of ether, the presence of fusel aldehydes, etc., being prejudicial to satisfactory resu

(*v*) Sulphur compounds like hydrogen sulphide, e

(*vi*) Protein decomposition products.

Types Of Commercial Alcohols

Commercial alcohol consists of three types. (*i*) A hol for Drinking Purposes or as Beverage (*ii*) Industrial A hol and (*iii*) Power or Fuel Alcohol. Use of alcohol drink is well-known and I don't propose to discuss ab its production. Our national Government is already pled to total prohibition as a nation-uplifting policy and should accordingly discourage its production for such p pose. The other two types of alcohol are of very g national importance.

Industrial Alcohol (the source of heat, light and po

This forms the basic or auxiliary material very es tial for production of hundreds of chemical preparation modern science and industry, including explosives, po gases, airplane 'dope' and many other war essentials as as peacetime civil needs including medical prepara and hospital requisites. Indeed "Ethyl Alcohol" is sidered today as a most important alcohol for indus and scientific use, second perhaps to water. Without hol, development of modern chemical industry will seriously crippled if not totally stopped, just as would the fate of Steel and Electric Industries, without pig and copper respectively. The various lines of indus requiring alcohol as a basic or accessory essential dire or indirectly are too numerous to mention which inc the following:—

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(*a*) Solvent for resins or dyes, *e.g.*, varnishes, lacquers, etc.

(*b*) Vehicle for flavouring fruit essences.

(*c*) Volatile vehicle and diluent in bringing substances into solution, including a dye insoluble in water.

(*d*) Preservation medium.

(*e*) Solvent vehicle for aseptic or antiseptic agent or disinfectant.

(*f*) Solvent agent for nitro-cellulose.

(*g*) Solvent for scents and perfumes and many essential oils.

(*h*) Solvent for coating to protect steel.

(*i*) Solvent for many impurities.

(*j*) Alcohol solution of resin acts as an agent for vitrifiable pigment and it also acts as a vehicle for flux.

(*k*) As a combustible fuel ; also used as a type of "solidified alcohol" as fuel.

(*l*) Volatile agent for the tan.

(*m*) The ignited vapour of alcohol makes the mantle incandescent.

(*n*) Alcohol acts as motive power for machinery.

(*o*) As bare and accessory in the production of plastic and synthetics.

Indeed the importance of alcohol in modern progress of human activities cannot be over-estimated, both in times of peace and war. The following remarks published by Mr. John G. Capers, the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue, of the German Administration, and made in a statement by the Alcohol Trades Advisory Committee in 1908 (Vide Harper's *Weekly*, October 3, 1908), are very illuminating on the subject :

> "Industrial alcohol is a matter of nearly as much concern to the German Empire as its army and navy; in fact, the elder Emperor inaugurated the industry for the primary purpose of having the source of light, heat and power within the Empire, independent of petroleum products, of which Germany has none. That wise old Emperor, realising that some day, his empire might be forced, in time of war, to be self-dependent and resourceful within its own borders, determined to be independent of petroleum products, all of which were and still are shipped into Germany from other countries and an elaborate paternal system was inaugurated, to insure as the government's ultimate safety source of light, heat and power, the Alcohol, which could be produced from the German potato, now so carefully cultivated for that purpose, as it has been for nearly 40 years."

India is yet industrially undeveloped, but with the progress in her extensive industrialisation under national reconstruction plans, the requirement of alcohols both industrial and power types, will be enormous. India must aim at self-sufficiency for such an important and strategic commodity. We have immense scope to plan on our vegetable or agricultural resources for this purpose, much more economically than other countries, even including U.S.A., Germany, France or Great Britain, who are handicapped in one or the other natural factors, compared to India.

Power or Fuel Alcohol

Ethyl alcohol, as a motor fuel, used in admixture with gasolene or aromatic hydrocarbon distillates, has been in use in very large quantities in countries like U.S., Germany, U.K., France, South Africa and elsewhere. The composite motor fuels, containing 30 to 40 per cent alcohol with an equal or larger proportion of gasolene, along with smaller percentages of benzene and ether, can be vaporized by the ordinary carburettor and are used nowadays in engines rather more satisfactorily than gasolene alone. Between alcohol and gasolene, the former is found to be more than 100 per cent efficient and economic than the latter in respect of both compression pressure and thermal efficiency. In U.S.A., alcohol is the most serious competitor of gasolene. The producer of two-thirds of the world's crude oil and consumer of four-fifths of it, the United States has to import annually vast quantities of this material from overseas and large-scale attempts are in progress to produce alcohol in gigantic plants for mass production, so as to reduce the dependency on foreign sources for supply of such an essential commodity.

Why Alcohol Preferred Over Gasolene

The factors that call for use of alcohol as power independently or in admixture with gasolene or other oils are the following:

(a) Alcohol resources, being the product of vegetable bases, are inexhaustible, which is not the case with gasolene or other mineral oils. Potato, sugarcane and similar sugar-yielding vegetables can be grown by planned scientific farming in any large quantities.

(*b*) Gasolene even of the highest grade aviation type, is not entirely satisfactory as a motor fuel, at least for aircraft. Impurities present therein cause corrosion difficulties. Detonation troubles have been serious and its use has not been found very economical on account of its difficulty in use at high compressions. (*Industry and Engineering Chemistry* Vol. 15; No. 5, May, 1925 by H. A. Gardner of the Bureau of Aeronautics, Navy Department, U.S.A.)

(c) Ready miscibility of alcohol with gasolene at all temperatures and in all proportions.

(*d*) Lower productive cost in case of alcohol.

(*e*) Freedom from gum-forming constituents or corrosive agents so that it does not attach or plug up valves or affect the interiors of the internal combustion engines and chambers thereof.

(*f*) Unlike gasolene, alcohol is of anti-knock character and prevents detonation.

(*g*) It gives greater mileage but no pre-ignition.

(*h*) Greater and easier control of power produced by alcohol or in its suitable admixture.

(*i*) Alcohol generates less heat in combustion engines needing consequently less cooling water; the cylinder temperature being lower the cylinder lubrication factors are eliminated, reducing the carbon deposits to almost the nil point.

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(*j*) Alcohol fire is more readily extinguishable by water, whereas in case of gasolene fires, water more readily inflames and spreads it. Even if diluted to 50 per cent with water, alcohol continues to operate an engine.

Use Of Alcogas In Aviation And Automobiles

Alcohol fuels have been developed for use in airplanes. High-grade gasolene for aviation purposes can be advantageously replaced by an admixture of alcohol, benzol and ether. Apart from the saving in air-mileage, it reduces the chance of forced landings by keeping the spar plugs and engine cylinders, free of carbon deposits and oil accumulations. The motor using alcohol is reported to give at least 25 per cent more power than gasolene. Alcohol having oxygen in its molecular composition, requires less air for its combustion than gasolene, thus taking less B.T.U. for the heating of this air.

South Africa has developed a process patented under the name of "Natalite", which is an admixture of 95 per cent ethyl alcohol, ether, pyridine (ammonia or themethylamine) and a denaturent like arsenic acid. On similar principle, a material "Ethulite" has been developed by the admixture of a large percentage of alcohol and a small proportion of ether. It eliminates the chance of violent explosions, usual with the use of gasolene and other motor spirits. The wear and tear in the motor and the car is much less, due specially to the more smooth runs, than with gasolene.

———:O:———

SOME ASPECTS OF INDO-MUSLIM POLITY

By Y. KRISHAN

An outstanding feature which strikes a student of Indo-Muslim history is the numerous and rapid changes in rulers and dynasties which occurred during the Sultanate period at Delhi. The Ghories were followed by the Slaves, the Khiljis, Tughlaks, Lodhis, Sayyids and the Suris in a short span of 300 years. Dynasties were short-lived.

But with the coming of the Great Mughals, an important change is noticeable—the succession comes to be confined to the Mughal house. Rebellions for the throne were many, but, unlike what happened before, they were mostly confined to the members of the royal family.

The dynastic instability of the Sultanate period was primarily due to an absence of law of succession in the State. This was a legacy which the Muslim invaders of India had brought from abroad. During their nativity, the Arab Muslims were democratically organized. The Caliph was merely an elect of the faithful; in fact, he was one of the so many ordinary citizens of the Islamic State. The Muslim brotherhood was the sovereign body.

This democratic feature of the Arab polity suffered perversion due to force of circumstances.

As the boundaries of Islam widened and as the number of the faithful swelled, the election of the Caliph by all the believers became impossible, because the Muslims like the Greeks and the Romans, failed to evolve a system of representation. The famous phrase "Democracy dies five miles from the parish pump" is eminently applicable in this case. As the "ancient City State expanded into the empire of Alexander and Caeser, self-government disappeared because representation had not been developed." This phenomenon repeated itself in the annals of Islam.

Not that the elective principle was discarded, on the contrary, the Muslims clung to it. Anybody who had power enough could set himself up as the Caliph or the Sultan and he always kept up the fiction of election unimpaired by getting himself elected by a handful of his followers who would form the "faithful" and elect the ruler. It was the impossibility of real election on the one hand, and the keeping up of the fiction of election on the other which powerfully militated against the evolution of a peaceful law of succession. The inevitable sequel was that 'sovereignty became a privilege of the mightiest.' Military adventures could flourish in such circumstances. Thus we find in the annals of the Sultanate in India, anybody who was powerful enough could set up as the ruler on the throne of Delhi. There was nothing in the Muslim law to prevent rebellion against the authority of the ruler and succession to the throne came to be regulated by the sword. It meant the survival of the fittest—fittest in terrorizing people into submission, as men like Balban and Alauddin. It inevitably produced adventurers, military regimes and armed despotism, for only a militarist could hope to scotch any challenges to his authority. The kaleidoscopic changes on the throne of Delhi were the inevitable consequence of the virtual absence of law of succession.

To buttress their authority further in the eyes of the Muslims, to give it a clock of constitutionalism, the Sultans of Delhi recognised the Khalifa, they became his self-appointed lieutenants which incidentally demonstrated the unity of the Islamic world. The institution of Khilafat had a chequered history till it was finally shed by the Mughals. It is doubtful if it had any material effect on the fortunes of any house of ruler and it died of its inherent futility.

But in the 'law of succession' there came a welcome change with the Great Mughals.* They, it must

* The fact that Humayun was succeeded by his eldest son Akbar does not indicate that the change had started earlier. That is merely an incident.

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be recognised, made no attempt to evolve a law of succession. Rebellions for the throne, to say the least, were not infrequent and the War of Succession among the sons of Shahjahan is a striking example of the fact that the death of the ruler was a signal for a scramble for power. In fact, the "absence of law of succession" was responsible for the struggles and intrigues among the members of the Mughal house for the Crown, but this factor now operated in a different milieu and thereby suffered a transmutation which made the sceptre the prerogative of the Mughal house.

Akbar was responsible for the revolution in Religious Policy which assured religious freedom to the non-Muslims. Religious discrimination or persecution was a notable feature of the pre-Mughal period. It was the removal of religious disabilities, nay, the positive support which Akbar gave to other religions that won him and for his family the support of the overwhelming millions of non-Muslims that inhabited India in general and of the Rajputs and the Hindu bureaucrats in particular. One cannot over-estimate the psychological reaction that this policy must have produced among the non-Muslims towards the Mughal house. Previously these people had been indifferent, nay, even hostile to the fate of the dynasties for obvious reasons. But now they had a stake in the Mughal line with which was associated the policy of religious freedom. None but a member of the Mughal house could rebel for the throne, in which case now the non-Muslim at least could be expected to remain neutral. For others, their inevitable hostility would not only dim but also imperil the chances of success. It was Akbar's religious policy that assured Mughal rule a surprisingly long span of life.

With the abandonment of that policy by the able Aurangzib, the empire fell. But even then the Mughal dynasty weathered the storm. It had stayed too long and that fact had affected Muslim mind so deeply that the Muslims had come to believe that the Mughals were destined to rule India. Time, vigour of their administration and their brilliant achievements had cast a halo round the Mughals which the policy of Aurangzib could not destroy. Possibly the Hindu belief about the Divine origin of Kingship had come to affect the Muslim mind too. The tremendous hold which the dynasty had come to have on people's minds is shown by the fact that even the Marhattas maintained the Mughal Emperor when they occupied Delhi. Thus after 1709 adventurers might play the role of king-makers but it was unimaginable for them to aspire for kingship. It was this change in the law of succession which mellowed down the military character of Indo-Muslim polity by narrowing the field from which any threats to royal authority could be expected and enabled the civil administration to be developed.

As a result of the Revolution in Religious Policy, the Muslim State in India was secularized. In fact, the process in that direction had started earlier with Alauddin Khilji. Alauddin was eminently a practical ruler and placed the interest of State above everything else and over-rode religious considerations where necessary. This process was however, unfortunately, reversed under Feroze Tughlak. But it is to Akbar's credit that he established the first Muslim secular state in India. The State ceased to be theocentric.

The secularization of the State found its philosophical expression in the new concept of sovereignty propounded by Abul Fazl and its practical expression in the transformation of the character of Indo-Muslim bureaucracy. In Islam, Muslim law as represented by the Quran and the Hadis is sovereign, and the duty of the Caliph or Sultan is to interpret and enforce the law. The Shar is the only guide in all matters. But now Abul Fazl held that the king must be above religious differences; he should act as circumstances demand and be guided by reason rather than by any canonical authority. According to Abul Fazl, a monarch would be unfit for his exalted office unless he showed equal consideration for all religions. The change in the concept of kingship is significant. It has been rightly observed that for Abul Fazl's monarch "both Islamic law and Hadis cease to be the Code of his government . . ."* It found its concrete expression in the changed character of the Mughal bureaucracy.

The process in that direction had started earlier, though in a different way. The rise of the Khiljis was an eyesore to the Turks who had hitherto monopolised all the power in the State. Naturally they had to accept the inevitable sullen hostility of the latter who in their impotent rage would not co-operate. The Khiljis had to depend upon the Indian Muslims, who, having no pretensions to power, were dependable. The socially inferior status of the Khiljis and the Tughlaks broke the spell of Turkish superiority. The return of the Turks as Mughals to power did not reverse this process. On the contrary, Akbar's religious policy threw open the gates of public services to non-Muslims. Ability became the criterion of recruitment. The Hindu genius which hitherto could not find ample scope, was now yoked in the service of the State and had an active interest in the Mughal house. Todar Mal, Man Singh, Birbal, Jai Singh, Jaswant Singh stand out pre-eminently in the galaxy of Mughal administrators.

The coming of the Great Mughals, thus, marks a watershed in Indian history. The other innumerable achievements which they had to their credit—re-organization of public services, land revenue reforms, territorial conquests, patronage of art, to mention a few—would not have been either achieved or been lasting but for the strength which the State had now acquired through the changes in its texture.

Dynastic instability ceased; the Mughal House was firmly planted in Indian soil. The State was secularized and thereby broad-based. On this was reared the greatness for which the Mughals are called 'Great.'

* Ibn Hassan : *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 61.

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A GLIMPSE INTO ATOMIC RESEARCH

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The word 'atom' has become so common today that some newly floated company has been named as "The Atom Ltd." whereas only two years ago the word was unknown to almost all except a very few. Today it is just the opposite; almost everyone knows what an atom is, or I would rather say what colossal power the atom possesses. But it will not be far from truth if I say that besides knowing that the atom is the smallest indivisible part of every element, very few know the intricate details of the inside of an atom. So I believe it will be an interesting story if I attempt to give here an outline of the present-day knowledge about the atom and how that knowledge has been developed step by step.

Introduction

An atom, as you all know, is the smallest indivisible part of any element keeping intact all the characteristic properties of that particular element, and it is indivisible only in this sense that if it is broken it does no longer exhibit the properties of that element. It then reduces itself to one or more completely different elements.

The composition of an atom was the main subject for investigation during the second decade of this century and this led to the most fundamental discovery that each atom is a miniature solar system in which the position of the sun is occupied by a positively charged nucleus round which very minute negatively charged particles are revolving just like the planets round the sun. This discovery was due to Lord Rutherford and Niel Bohr. Since an atom as a whole is electrically neutral it is obvious that the total positive charge of the nucleus must be equal to the total negative charge of the particles circulating round it. These negatively charged particles are called electrons and each of them carries a unit of negative charge. It follows then that the number of electrons in an atom must be equal to the number of units of positive charge possessed by its nucleus. This number is fixed for every kind of atom and is called the atomic number of the element. Elements can have only integral positive charges on their nuclei, and the smallest integral *unity* is the atomic number of the lightest known element hydrogen. The second in atomic number order is helium, nitrogen is seventh, oxygen eighth, iron twenty-sixth, silver forty-seventh, gold seventy-ninth and uranium ninety-second and was previously believed to be the last in the list of elements. The numbers associated with each element given here are their atomic numbers, meaning thereby the number of units of positive electricity on their nuclei.

Isotopes and Constituents of Nuclei

Next in importance comes the atomic mass, which is also roughly expressed in whole number. Thus the mass of a hydrogen atom is one, that of helium four, oxygen sixteen, silver 108 and uranium 239. The mass of an *atom* is very nearly equal to the mass of its *nucleus*, for the mass of the electrons revolving round its nucleus is insignificant in comparison with that of the nucleus. Since atomic numbers are always integers the atomic masses of elements are also expected to be integral multiples of the smallest mass unit—the mass of the hydrogen atom. Curiously enough, it was found that chemical methods of determining the atomic mass of an element, in which a lump of the substance (*i.e.*, an assemblage of billions of atoms) is used, give a fractional value for the atomic mass. An ingenious instrument devised by F. W. Aston, revealed the cause of this fractional nature of the average atomic mass of a particular element. Aston introduced a very large number (billions and billions) of atoms of a particular element into his apparatus and found that the atoms were divided into two or more discrete groups and the atoms of each of these groups possessed an integral mass number. An element, which was supposed to be of homogeneous atomic mass, was now found to be a mixture of two or more groups of different atomic masses, just as apparently homogeneous white light is really a mixture of seven colours. The apparatus invented by Aston is known as mass-spectrograph and is an indispensable instrument in atomic research.

Each group of atoms thus separated by the mass-spectrograph is called an *isotope*. For example, the atoms of carbon are separated into three distinct groups of mass 11, 12, 13 and each of these groups is called an isotope of carbon, *i.e.*, carbon has got three isotopes. We find that the isotopes of a particular element have different atomic masses but all of them the same atomic number, which is the amount of positive charge on all their nuclei. The mass number thus varies from isotope to isotope in an element, whereas the atomic number is an absolute constant for the particular element.

So far we have said nothing about the constituents of atomic nuclei. Let us now enter into these details. Nuclei of all elements consist of two kinds of particles called protons and neutrons, the former are positively charged while the latter are electrically neutral. The discovery of the *neutron* as a constituent of matter is due to J. Chadwick of England and is another landmark in the history of atomic research. If neutrons and protons are the only particles inside a nucleus, it is easily seen that the atomic number gives the number

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of protons inside a nucleus since each proton carries unit positive charge while the mass number is equal to the sum of the number of protons and neutrons in it. Thus carbon has atomic number six which is the number of protons inside all carbon atoms; but it has three isotopes of mass number 11, 12, and 13 which means that the total number of neutrons and protons in carbon atoms may be 11, 12 or 13. Or, in other words, the number of neutrons in one isotope of carbon is five, in the second isotope six and in the third seven. Put in a nutshell we say that *isotopes of a particular element differ only in their neutron number*. This is of fundamental importance in understanding the following.

Breaking of Atoms

According to the above principle, the helium atom should have two protons inside its nucleus since its atomic number is two and two neutrons must also be present because its atomic mass as determined by the mass spectrograph is four. The helium nuclei are also called α -particles, which were first discovered by Madame Curie as one of the three kinds of emanations that were spontaneously coming out of the element radium. This phenomenon was called radioactivity and a few other elements also showed this property. It was however subsequently found that α -particles emitted from radioactive substances are the same as helium nuclei, *i.e.*, an α -particle is a bundle of two protons and two neutrons.

If you want to shoot a mosquito, you will not surely aim a gun at it; you will try to have a bullet smaller than a mosquito. Similarly scientists also realised that in order to shoot an atom for breaking it they must have bullets of dimensions smaller than the atoms to be broken. The -particles continuously emanating from radioactive bodies were very convenient bullets of atomic dimension and Lord Rutherford first made use of them in bombarding the nitrogen atom. He discovered that when nitrogen atoms were subjected to bombardment by α -particles a few of them changed to oxygen atoms and a proton was emitted in the process. The change is shown as follows:

$$He_2^4 + N_7^{14} \rightarrow O_8^{17} + H_1^1$$

The change is brought about in the following way. Nitrogen nucleus (mass 14 and atomic number 7) catches one α -particle (mass 4 proton number 2) thereby changing to an element of mass 18 and proton number 9. This latter element is very unstable and ejects out a proton thereby reducing to an element of proton number 8 and mass number 17 which is nothing but an isotope of oxygen. This transformation of nitrogen into oxygen was the first evidence of artificial change of an element into another. This experiment of Rutherford is of utmost importance and has so to say changed the course of atomic research to its present direction. From this time scientists in different parts of the world started experiments on bombarding different elements. But the main problem was to get suitable projectiles as bombarding agents which must be very fast and very minute.

The hydrogen nuclei *i.e.*, protons, like the helium nuclei (-particles) were also convenient. But it was necessary that the protons should be very fast so that they could overcome the natural repulsion of the positively charged nuclei on which they are directed. This was overcome by E. O. Lawrence, who had been able to construct an apparatus by which protons or in fact any charged particle could be given very high energy. I hope you have all heard the name of this instrument which was given the name "Cyclotron." The technical details of the cyclotron is too complicated to be given here but the principle of its working is to make the proton move in a circular path by means of a magnetic field, and in each rotation it is given a bit of energy by means of an electric field. The proton is made to rotate a large number of times (more than thousand) inside the apparatus so that when it comes out it becomes sufficiently fast to produce disruption in other atoms. Another projectile used in atomic research is the *deuteron* which is the nucleus of an isotope of hydrogen of mass 2, discovered by Urey. Deuteron is thus a bundle of a neutron and proton or half of an α -particle. The cyclotron can also produce very fast deuterons if hydrogen of mass 2 (which is generally called heavy hydrogen) is introduced inside it instead of ordinary hydrogen.

But the disadvantage of all these projectiles (α-particles, protons and deuterons) is that they are all positively charged and hence are strongly repelled by the positive charge of the nuclei of atoms, and would be brought to rest before they can penetrate a large thickness of matter. The *neutron* on the other hand being an uncharged particle does not lose energy due to repulsion from the positive charge of nuclei and hence can penetrate many times the distance penetrable by protons or other charged particles. The convenience of neutron over other projectiles was easily recognized and scientists began to bombard all the known elements with neutrons and we shall presently see that the results were revolutionary.

The Discovery of Fission

Thousands of nuclear reactions (the first example of this kind of reaction has been given before) have been investigated by scientists using the four kinds of projectiles at their disposal and their investigations disclose that every nucleus must have a *binding energy* for holding the protons and neutrons together inside it. This is seen more clearly when we consider that the protons being all positively charged must be repelling each other very strongly when packed close together inside a nucleus and hence some attractive force must be required to bind them together in order that they may not fly apart. This kind of force does actually come into play when protons and neutrons come very near to each other and is known as nuclear force.

Now the question arises *where* does the nucleus of an atom get its binding energy? The answer to this

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question was provided long before any nuclear reaction was discovered. Einstein proved from the theory of relativity that mass and energy are really equivalent to each other, one gram (approximately 1/500 of one pound) of mass being equivalent to 9×10^{20} ergs or units of energy. If we take the proton (whose mass is $1{\cdot}66 \times 10^{-24}$ gram) as the unit of mass then one unit of mass is equivalent to $9 \times 10^{20} \times 1{\cdot}66 \times 10^{-24}$ *i.e.*, $1{\cdot}49 \times 10^{-3}$ erg, or energy units. You must clearly grasp this equivalence between mass and energy before you can follow what is written below.

It was found that the mass of any atomic nucleus was always less than the sum of the masses of the individual protons and neutrons inside them, and the difference between the two provides for the binding energy of the nucleus. Let us take an example. The masses of proton and neutron have been very accurately measured; they are 1·00758 and 1·00893. The total mass of two protons and two neutrons then comes to $2 \times 1{\cdot}00758 + 2 \times 1{\cdot}00893 = 4{\cdot}03302$. The helium nucleus is made of two protons and two neutrons; but its atomic mass as determined very accurately by the mass spectrograph is 4·0028. Thus it is found that the mass of the helium nucleus is less than that of two protons and two neutrons by an amount $4{\cdot}03302 - 4{\cdot}0028 = {\cdot}03012$ mass unit or ·000045 erg. This amount is called the mass defect of the helium nucleus and actually provides for the binding energy of the helium nucleus. We may then say that the energy content of the helium nucleus is less than the total *mass energy* of two protons and two neutrons by the above amount. The neutrons and protons have been found to behave similarly in many respects and are in general called *nucleons*. The mass defect per nucleon of helium will then be $\cdot000045 \div 4 = \cdot000011$. This quantity is called the packing fraction of the nucleus. A greater packing fraction for a nucleus means a smaller energy content. Hence it is obvious that if a nucleus of smaller packing fraction breaks up into two nuclei of larger packing fractions, energy must be liberated in the process, for the total energy content of the resulting nuclei would be smaller than that of the parent nucleus.

We have already observed that experiments were afoot with the neutron as bombarding agent and the effect of bombarding the *uranium atom with neutron* was very interesting. The uranium atom is of mass 239 and atomic number 92 and was believed to be the last in the list of elements. But it was found that two new elements of atomic number 93 and 94 were produced when uranium was bombarded with neutrons. In January, 1939, Prof. Otto Hahn obtained definite chemical evidence of the presence of barium in a sample of pure uranium that was previously subjected to neutron bombardment. The atomic number of barium is 56 and mass number 140. Hahn's discovery proved conclusively that a nuclear reaction must have taken place in which the original nucleus (U_{92}^{239}) has given birth to another of atomic number *much less* than itself. This reaction was completely different from the reactions hitherto known in which nuclei of atomic numbers near about that of the parent nucleus were formed. This type of reaction has been called *fission* indicating that the original nucleus breaks up into two fragments much smaller than itself. It was subsequently discovered that the other resulting nucleus in uranium fission is of mass 40.

From the experimental data already existing it was found that the mass defect of the resulting nuclei in the fission of uranium was considerably less than that of uranium nucleus. The fission of uranium therefore must evolve energy equivalent to the difference in mass and this anticipation was exactly verified by experiment. The energy released by each split-up uranium nucleus is of the order of ·00016 erg. In half a pound of uranium there are 10^{23} atoms of uranium which means 16×10^{18} ergs of energy would be produced if all the atoms in half a pound of uranium are split. In heat units this energy is equivalent to 4×10^{9} calories. Now one pound of coal gives by burning about 4×10^{6} calories of heat. We find then that the energy released by the fission of *half a pound of uranium* would be equivalent to the burning of 100,000 pounds of coal. Imagine now the gigantic power hidden in a uranium atom.

The Chain Reaction

Fortunately or unfortunately it was found that in the fission process not only does the uranium nucleus break up into two fragments, but on an average two neutrons are also emitted in the process. We have to bombard uranium with *neutron* in order to produce fission and strangely enough we get *more neutrons* when the fission occurs. Attention of scientists was therefore naturally concentrated to make use of these *free neutrons* to cause fission of more uranium nuclei. If this attempt succeeded, a few neutrons released inside a lump of uranium would automatically bring about the fission of the whole lump. One nucleus after another would be split up in a chain by the neutrons released in the fission of the preceding nucleus. Neutrons which cause fission must be of medium energy, that is, too fast or too slow neutrons would not produce fission. But the neutrons released in the fission process were very fast and could not as such give rise to new fissions. This difficulty was overcome by putting absorbing materials of suitable thickness in their path so that their velocities were reduced and neutrons emitted in the fission process have been successfully used to produce more fissions. We have now come to a stage where the fission process is not only an established fact but can be carried out automatically by the fissile atom itself. It has been said that the discovery of fission is as revolutionary as the discovery of fire in ancient times. I believe you can now realise the truth behind this statement.

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"THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI"*

By TARAKNATH DAS

On August 15, 1947, when the British Government relinquished its sovereignty over India and two dominions of Union of India and Pakistan came into existence, without a bloody revolution but through peaceful agreement, it was universally recognised that this process of revolution in India was a victory for real statesmanship. Those who are familiar with the then existing political situation in India have given full credit to Mr. Gandhi and his political philosophy of "non-violent non-co-operation" or "non-violent resistance" for this peaceful transformation.

Gandhi has never claimed himself to be a political philosopher, while he considers himself to be a religious man engaged in experimenting with Truth—Satyagraha. As a great political leader of nearly 300 millions of people of India, his political ideas are of some consequence ; but Gandhi has not written a systematic political philosophy of his own. The author of the work under review is a member of the faculty of Political Science of Lucknow University. He, from a careful study of Gandhiji's writings and speeches, has presented a valuable study of the subject.

To Gandhi, like ancient Hindu sages, politics cannot be divorced from religion; because there is a "moral and ethical basis" of State. Thus every statesman, entrusted with the task of administering a State, is bound to carry out his moral obligations to the people—fellow men—to serve their highest interest, which lies in furthering the cause of brotherhood of man. *Ahimsa*, which involves goodwill to all creatures, is the central ideal of his political philosophy. Gandhi is not the originator of this conception, as it has been also the teachings of the Upanishad ; Gautama Buddha preached this doctrine and Jesus and other great religious teachers professed it. The author in one chapter of this work gives interesting information on those who were forerunners of Gandhi. The author, however, contends that Gandhi is the first person who has made an attempt to apply his political philosophy systematically in individual, social and political life of man, national State, revolution, international intercourse, international organization and the new world order. It is impossible to give a comprehensive review of the work in the available space but it seems to the reviewer that the author has excellently summed up the most fundamental character of Gandhiji's political philosophy in the following passage :

> "The philosophy of *Satyagraha* is the philosophy of the integral man. To Gandhiji the real being in man is the spirit. The spirit is one in all and the service of the community in every sphere of life is one way to realize this truth . . . Thus Gandhiji's political theory is an organic part of his philosophy of life. The isolation of politics from moral principles in the name of science or realism is, to him, a trap to kill the soul. The method of non-violent resistance is a great contribution of his to the philosphy and technique of revolution. With greater thoroughness than any other thinker in the history of political thought he has explained how non-violence and democracy are integral parts of each other and how each can operate successfully only along with the other. His conception of democracy, in which every individual has acquired the capacity to resist non-violently misuse of authority, in which the dissent of the minority gets the maximum consideration and which is characterised by "the magnanimity of the majority" is in advance of the Western conception of democracy. In the absence of non-violence as the ruling principle of life, Gandhiji discounts the ethical pretensions of democracies in the West and regards them as an instrument of exploitation.
>
> "Similarly Gandhiji rejects the view of some of the Western economists that economics should be dissociated from ethical valuations. To him there is no sharp distinction between economics and ethics. His views on economic questions are an expression of his conviction that man's moral well-being must not be subordinated to the profit motive and money values and that economic activities like the rest of the human conduct should be so planned as to advance and not hurt moral welfare. Thus Gandhiji humanises economics by subjecting it to the suzerainty of ethics."

Columbia University,
New York City

* *The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi* by G. N. Dhawan, Bombay. The Popular Book Depot. 1946. Pages 354, Index. Price Rs. 8-8.

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"FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS"*

By TARAKNATH DAS

History of Poland, Ireland, Ukraine and other countries provides a lesson that partition of a country for the purpose of appeasing certain unreasonable minority claims does not bring peace but civil war. To bring about unity in diversity federation and not partition is the remedy. However to satisfy the Pan-Islamist minority, by most unstatesmanlike act, India has been partitioned on religious communal basis. This has plunged the unhappy country into a state of Civil War, in the Punjab and Bengal, parts of which have been incorporated in Pakistan. This will not only embitter relations between the dominions of Indian Union and Pakistan, but become a new troublesome factor in world politics of tomorrow.

But the fact that should not be overlooked that by partition the minority problem has not been solved; because there will be nearly 20 million Hindus in Pakistan and the same number of Moslems will be in the predominantly Hindu area known as the Union

* *Fundamental Rights* by M. Ramaswamy. New Delhi : Indian Council of World Affairs. 1946. Pages 252. Appendix and Index.

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of India. It has been pointed out by competent Indian authorities that the internal situation of the Union of India and Pakistan in relation to minority issues has assumed *the state of a government by holding hostages.* In fact, threats are being hurled by responsible leaders to the effect that "if you ill-treat the Moslem minority we shall ill-treat the Hindu minority." This will mean virtual negation of human rights among minority groups of citizens. Such a situation can be averted and mended only through constitutional guarantees upholding "fundamental rights" of man.

Indian political leaders have often declared that in the future constitution of free India, there must be provisions for a "Bill of Rights." The work under review is a constitutional and juridical study with particular reference to India in the light of the experience of the United States of America and the United Kingdom. The author is a distinguished lawyer of the High Court of Mysore and gives the ideal behind the study in the following sentences :

"My study of this subject does not stop, however, with the mere conclusion that a Bill of Rights is desirable for India. . . It is my earnest hope that the present study, though primarily undertaken in the interests of India, will make an appeal beyond its confines. For, the problem of safeguards for basic human rights is after all a general human problem, which transcends all limitations of race, religion and territory . . ."

The book will be of value not only to political scientists and sociologists but to constitutional lawyers. The author in his discussions of (*a*) The Case of Constitutional Bill of Rights, (*b*) The Due Process Clause in the United States Constitution, (*c*) The Contract Clauses in the United States Constitution and (*d*) A Draft Bill of Rights for New India, has made detailed reference to some two hundred American and British law cases involving issues of human rights. In the appendix the author presents his draft of a Bill of Rights, at least a portion of it may be utilised in the new constitution of India. This study has been sponsored by the Indian Council of World Affairs. Thus it indicates the spirit of political thinking among the most responsible Indian scholars.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review.* But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR : *By Richard B. Gregg. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Revised Second Edition, 1946. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 2.*

Far and away the best book on the economics of the spinning wheel. Mr. Gregg, who is a lawyer, was an operative in a cotton mill in order to gain first-hand knowledge about the industry. He shows how the basis of true economy should be not mechanical efficiency but the well-being of human beings. Today's civilization is based upon the stored power-reserves which we disinter from the bowels of the earth; but the foundation of a stable social and economic order can only be laid upon a source of power-supply which shall never fail. In this respect, cottage or decentralized industry based ultimately upon the conversion of solar energy into work through the mechanism of the human body offers such a foundation.

Mr. Gregg's entire treatment of the subject is original and thought-provoking. We hope it will dispel doubts even where it may fail to convert.

ON TOUR WITH GANDHIJI : *By Bharatan Kumarappa. Aundh Publishing Trust, Aundh. Pp. 48. Price Re. 1.*

Mr. Kumarappa accompanied Gandhiji during his tours at the end of 1945. He writes delightfully about the experiences he gathered in course of his travels in Bengal, Assam and in Madras. One also gains an interesting sidelight upon the character of Gandhiji as it has presented itself to a sensitive and discriminating mind.

GANDHI : *By Carl Heath. Published by Shiv Lal Agarwala & Co. Ltd., Agra. First Indian Edition, 1946. Pp. 55. Price Re. 1-8.*

Mr. Carl Heath is sympathetic towards India's national aspirations ; and he has also an admiration for the moral aspect of Gandhiji's life and teachings. He has however failed to appreciate the stand taken by the latter during the last war.

THE MAN, GANDHI : *By G. Ramchandran. Gandhi Era Publications, Madras. 1947. Pp. 79. Price Re. 1-4.*

In this brochure, Shri Ramchandran gives us a pen-picture of Gandhiji as well as an estimate of his personality on the background of the present conflict between the civilizations of the East and the West.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

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MAASIR-I-ALAMGIRI (a History of the Emperor Aurangzib—Alamgir—1658-1707) : *By Saqi Mustad Khan. Translated and annotated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Pp. viii + 850. Price Rs. 10.*

A great gap in the original sources of Indo-Muslim history has at last been filled up. The Asiatic Society had printed the Persian text of this book in 1871, but no translation of it into English had been made up to now. Hence, while the official histories of Babur, Akbar and Jahangir were available in English, the long and eventful reign of Aurangzib could not be studied from original sources unless one knew Persian. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has made an English version of this book and enriched it with notes and corrections from the other sources (esp. Marathi) used by him in his standard *History of Aurangzib* in 5 volumes. The type is clear and distinct, the division into chapters, the dates (both Hijera and Christian always given together) and sub-headings and above all the very full index with plenty of cross-references (prepared by Prof. N. B. Roy) will make it most convenient to use.

The Persian texts included in the (old) Bibliotheca Indica series were disfigured by careless editing, misprints and omissions. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has collated the Persian printed text with the help of an old manuscript secured in Patna and thus made it as correct as possible.

The author, Saqi Mustad Khan, was an admirer and disciple of Aurangzib. The religious policy of that Emperor must be taken to have been correctly enunciated by such a historian. This is what Mustad Khan writes about Aurangzib's treatment of the Hindus : "The Lord Cherisher of the Faith learnt that in the provinces of Tatta, Multan and especially at Benares, the Brahman misbelievers used to teach their false books in their established schools . . . issued orders . . . to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels . . . and put down the teaching and public practice of the religion of these misbelievers (pp. 51-52). According to the Emperor's command, his officers had demolished the temple of Viswanath at Kashi (p. 55). During this month of Ramzan the Emperor . . . issued orders for the demolition of the temple situated in Mathura, famous as the Dehra of Kesho Rai. . . . The idols . . . set with costly jewels were brought to Agra and buried under the steps of the mosque of the Begam Sahib, in order to be trodden upon (p. 60) . . .

"He issued orders to the high Diwani officers that from Wednesday, the 2nd April, 1679, in obedience to the Quranic injunction, 'till they pay commutation money (*jazia*) with the hand in humility' . . . *jazia* should be collected from the infidels (*zimmis*) (p. 108).

"Orders were issued at Court and in the provinces that no Hindu except Rajputs should bear arms, or ride elephants, palkis or Arab and Iraqi horses (p. 224).

"By one stroke of the pen, the Hindu clerks (writers) were dismissed from the public employment" (p. 314).

The great merits of this Emperor are faithfully recorded on pp. 312-317.

No serious student of Indian History, or of the origin of the Maratha, Sikh and Jat nations, can afford to be without a copy of this book.

B. N. B.

A PEER INTO BURMA POLITICS (1917-1942) : *By N. C. Sen, formerly Advocate, Rangoon High Court. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 85. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The book is a bird's-eye view of Burma's life as it was being affected by its inclusion in India and as it developed after separation from Burma after 1936. Within the few pages the author has been able to give us a few hints and suggestions, some knowledge that will enable us to understand the Burma before the Second World War. But in the winter of 1947, the book is out of context. Aung San's leadership and his murder are symptoms of change that can be hardly understood by the author's yard-stick. We in India are naturally interested in the fate and fortune of the more than 10 lakh Indians who earned their livelihood in Burma, half of whom had fled from Burma in December, 1941, and January-February, 1942. Very few of these have returned to Burma. But yet there is a "Indian's Problem" in Burma. The Indians will have to choose between India and Burma. In making such a choice, the book under review, is not much of a help. It is an elementary book that can be of use to the publicist.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

INTRODUCING INDIA (Part I) : *Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. 1946. Pp. iii + 171. Price Rs. 8.*

This is an age when learning has ceased to be the preserve of the few and forms the common possession of the people. Hence the present monograph published by this learned and honoured body has an appropriateness and utility that cannot be gainsaid.

In the preparation of this treatise more than a dozen writers, of whom almost half are Indian Civil Service men, have given of their very best, and the contents form a mixed assortment of topics ranging from "Temple of India" to the "Food and Game Fishes of Bengal", from "Art in Gandhara" to "Jungle Life in Bengal", from "Travels of Marcopolo" to the "Impact of War upon the Industries of India." The great merit of these articles, is that they have the informal, nevertheless authoritative quality of good common-room talk and hence are very much suited to the layman who has no time for erudite works.

The book under review very fittingly opens with the "Temples of India" which, as monuments of art and living symbols of the religious development, will remain an abiding source of interest and attraction. Seven good illustrations in a number of plates portray the temples from Gandial to Sanchi, Tigawa to Bhuvaneswara and Konarak. This paper is naturally followed by the "Gods and Goddesses which with their myriad shapes and features would always stimulate the curiousity of the inquisitive." The interesting topic as to the various racial elements that compose the people of India and the origin and evolution of Law in this ancient country are tersely discussed in two other papers.

Medieval or Muslim India is presented to us in the paper "Three Mughal Ladies" delineating the life and character of Nur Jahan, Mumtazmahal and Jahanara. The writer here not only overshoots his mark by indulging in irrelevant talks *e.g.*, the question of the identity of the master-craftsman who designed the Taj but also by a facile generalisation of the "women of the House of Timur" being "learned in the lore of state-craft, and past mistresses in the arts of diplomatic intrigue and wire-pulling" and, in a felicitious remark on the harem-life as being "rich, varied and creative." Let the reader contrast it with Sir William Muir's remarks. By this harem system, says Muir, an authority on Islam, woman is excluded from her legitimate place and function in social life . . . This may be little loss to her but by this unreasonable system mankind at large, beyond the harem's threshold, loses the grace and brightness of the sex and the purifying influence of its presence, again he continues,

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by polygamy and concubinage, direct offshoots of the harem—"the unity of the household may at any time be broken ; the purity and virtue of the family life weakened, and the vigour of the upper class sapped," *Caliphate*, pp. 594-595. The shock is greater when the writer is found recounting the cool courage and military prowess which Jahanara displayed in fighting against the Bijapuris in 1684 A.D. But alas ! she whose sorrow and self-immolation excite the pity of the historian (*vide* Sarkar's historical essay "Jahanara the Indian Antigone," in the *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, 152-154) and move the French poet (Leconte de Lisle) to invoke her disembodied spirit, *ibid*, pp. 150-151, had left the mortal abode on 6th September, 1681. (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Eng. trans., 131). And it was not Jahanara but *Jahanzeb Banu*, the daughter of Nadira Banu and Dara Shukoh, who distinguished herself by repulsing the enemy attack on her camp during Azam's absence. Such historical inaccuracies need not detract from the merit of an otherwise interesting paper.

Bengal is sketched in two papers by two eminent scholars—Drs. R. C. Majumder and B. C. Law. One "Bengal as Clive Found it" lifts the curtain over a dramatic episode in Bengal history, *viz.*, Siraj's hostility to the English and their expulsion to the swamps of Falta and leaves the reader on the tip-toe of expectation for the succeeding Act. The other by Dr. Law unfolds a panoramic view of the historical sites of Bengal. The distinguished writer uses the art of compression and writes with practised lucidity, so that Visnupur and Tamralipta, Plassey and Murshidabad, Triveni and Karnasuvarna, Gaur and Pandua, Paharpur and Mahasthangarh pass before us like the scenes in a canvas. Aboriginal life in India claims the attention of two papers, of which Culshaw's "The Santhals" is very illuminating.

Modern India or India of British creation and statesmen and scholar who have sought to build a bridge between the East and the West have been left out of the scope of this book and would possibly be treated in part II of this series. The selection has been made judiciously and credit is due to Dr. K. N. Bagchi and W. G. Grifiths for bringing out this introduction to India.

N. B. Roy

SELF-KNOWLEDGE (Atmabodha) : *By Swami Nikhilananda. Publishers, Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center. 17 East 94th Street, New York 28, N. Y., U. S. A.*

This is a translation of a Sanskrit booklet attributed to Sankara. There is a long and elaborate Introduction in which the author discusses many salient points of Vedanta philosophy. The Appendix contains translation of some of the more famous hymns (*stotras*) also attributed to Sankara.

It is difficult to preserve the rhythm and charm of Sankara's inimitable style in a translation into a foreign language. But the author has done his best. For those who cannot read Sankara in the original, this translation will be a helpful guide.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

BENGALI

MAHATMA GANDHI : *By Romain Rolland. Translated by Rishi Das Published by Oriental Book Company. 9 Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Pages 188. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The original book was published in 1923 when Romain Rolland had no occasion to meet Mahatma Gandhi. The book depicts a portrait of Gandhiji as he appeared through his writings and activities to the great French savant. In 1931, Rolland met Gandhi when the latter was returning to India after attending the Round Table Conference. That was a great event as it was a meeting of the two greatest men representing the East and the West. Since then their relations were closer and mutual appreciation more thorough. Rolland died in a German concentration camp in 1944. Gandhiji still serves his country and humanity.

The volume under review is nicely bound and well printed.

A. B. Dutta

HINDI

HAMARA BHOJAN : *By Mahendranath Pandeya Mahendra Rasayanashala, Katra, Allahabad. Pp. 271 Price Rs. 4.*

Here is a book, the need of which had long been felt by all Hindi-knowing people. It is a kind of a pocket manual on dietetics, full of useful and scientifically tested information. It should be in the hands of every family. For, proper diet being an important condition precedent to good health, a sound knowledge of dietetics applied to day-to-day menu is like taking out an insurance policy against disease. The book deserves to be included in the school curriculum, specially in girls' institutions.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) STRI PURUSHA MARYADA : *By K. G. Mashruvala. Paper cover. Pp. 186. Price As. 12.*

(2) JIVANNAN JHARNON : *By Ranjibhai Manibhai Patel. Paper cover. Pp. 400. Price Rs. 2-8.*

(3) MARUKUNJ : *By Mathurdas Trikamji. Paper cover. Pp. 180. Price Re. 1-4.*

(4) URDU LIPI SHIKSHIKA : *By Hansraj Jain and Giriraj Kishor. Paper cover. Pp. 112. Price As. 12. Published by the Navjiban Prakashan Mandir Ahmedabad. 1945.*

Book No. 1 is the 3rd edition of Mr. Mashruvala's work on the limitations in contact between man and woman in wedded and unwedded state. It is based on the background of orthodoxy and austerity ; all the same the problem is handled in a very able and liberal spirit and is worth deep consideration. The author of the second book called *Streamlets of Life* has been one of the very first followers of Gandhiji in South Africa and India. His "Streamlets" flow into every river current of the life of Gandhiji both in South Africa and India, and in addition, by the side-lights it throws into every activity, political, social, and economical of the present times, it furnishes interesting reading as all auto-biographies do. Mathuradas Trikamji, Gandhiji's nephew, was a victim of T.B. By means of the study of books bearing on the subject of that fell disease, living in salubrious climate and regulating his diet, he was able to check its growth. He has put down his personal experiences in the third volume, for the guidance of the public. Dr. Jivraj Mehta has written a foreward, and Mr. Kashinath Trivedi has rendered the Gujarati text into easy Hindi. This Hindi version has been noticed here. The fourth book, although called a Primer of Urdu Lipi (Script) consists of 31 chapters, explaining the details of the Urdu alphabet and the technique of the script, in such a way as to guide a self-learner.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Indian Renaissance

Prabuddha Bharata observes :

"One of the greatest causes of India's misery and downfall," writes Swami Vivekananda, "has been that she narrowed herself, went into her shell as the oyster does and refused to give her jewels and her treasures to the other races of mankind; refused to give the life-giving truths to thirsting nations outside the Aryan fold."

The truth of the above statement comes home more forcibly and painfully when we see the fortress of ancient Indian culture pierced by the impact of foreign cultures. We are glad in this connection to note the appeal issued by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, the celebrated savant in America. Writes the *Hindu Organ* :

"The younger generation of gogetters that comes to America to study and that will largely shape the course of India's social and educational policies in the immediate future is, for the most part, as ignorant of India's traditions and cultural values as any European might be and sometimes even more so ; and just because of this lack of background, cannot grasp the American and European problems that confront it. Freedom is the opportunity to act in accordance with one's own nature. But our leaders are already denatured, quite as much as Lord Macaulay could have wished them to be, 'a class of persons of Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.' Because they have yet to 'discover' India they have not realized that the modern world is no longer an integrated culture but 'an organized barbarism and a political pandemonium.' They have no moral courage 'to be themselves without which they can be of little use to themselves or anyone else than had their predecessors on whom a so-called Western education had been more forcibly imposed in missionary colleges or government-controlled universities. It will take many a long year for Indians to recover their spontaneity. For the present most of our 'educated' men are just as much as Americans dominated by current catch-words of 'Equality,' 'Democracy,' 'Progress,' 'Literacy,' and so forth. In the past and still today Indians have earned and deserved much of the contempt of Europeans whom they have flattered so sincerely by imitation of all their habits and ways of thinking. We too are on our way to become a nation of Shudras at the same time industrious and ignorant. Notwithstanding that all the precepts of philosophy refer to life we have learnt from the modern world to despise the lover of wisdom and to leap before we look."

What India wants today is immense faith in the greatness of her culture. Continues Dr. Coomaraswamy :

"Our problem is not so much one of rebirth of an Indian culture as it is one of preserving what remains of it. This culture is valid for us not so much because it is Indian as because it is culture. At the same time its special forms are adapted to the specifically Indian nature and inheritance and they are appropriate to us in the same way that national costume is appropriate to those who have the right to wear it. We cut a sorry figure in our foreign or hybrid clothes ; and only invite the ridicule of foreign musicians by playing the harmonium . . . Again, throughout the ages, India has been a land of profound religious convictions and of equally generous religious tolerance. Here at least if nowhere else it is still possible for men to think of their own faith as the friend and ally of all others in a common cause. It has been said that in the West religion is fast becoming an archaic and impossible refuge. But in India it still provides for both the hearts and minds of men, and gives them an inalienable dignity ; and because of this, the natural connection of religion with sociology and politics has never been broken. There is no such opposition of sacred to profane as is taken for granted in the West : in our experience culture and religion have been indivisible; and that in our inheritance is what we can least of all afford to abandon.

"Indian women at the present day and so far as they have not yet been 'brought up to date' are our best conservators of Indian culture. And let us not forget that in a country like India any judgment of standards of culture in terms of statistics of literacy would be ridiculous ; literacy in the modern world of magazines and newspapers, is no guarantee of culture whatever ; and it is far better not to know how to read than not to know what to read."

While admitting the necessity for building up a strong and powerful nation which can lengthen its arms to every corner to protect the weak and preserve peace, we should remember that political greatness or military power is never the mission of our race. Says Dr. Ananda :

"In the meantime also there is an immediate and desperate need for the establishment of cultural, and not merely economic and political, contacts with the rest of the world. No doubt, the West is very largely to be blamed for its own cultural isolation which amounts to a very real provincialism ; but blame is also ours, for our students and other representatives abroad are oftener engineers or physicians or politicians than men of culture—where they ought to have been both at once, able to contribute something more than their fees to those from whom they come, to learn the newest techniques. When the culture that we know and propose to restore was alive, learned men of foreign countries came from far away to study in India. The measure of our culture is not that of our ability to learn new tricks but that of what we have to give."

Formula for a United World

An Interview with Dr. John Haynes Holmes

The Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes came to India early in October as Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Visiting Professor for the Universities of India, under an appointment from the Watumull Foundation. He is the Editor of *Unity* (Chicago) and the author of many thoughtful books, including *New Wars for Old* and *Religion for Today*. Taking advantage of his presence in Bombay before he started on his lecture tour, a member of the staff of *The Aryan*

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Path interviewed him on his prescription for a United World :

The subject on which his views were requested was evidently a congenial one to the tall, white-haired man with serious eyes and courtly manner, and one to which he had given much thought.

His prescription, he said at once, was threefold, political, economic and spiritual or religious, and he by no means considered the last the least important ingredient.

From the political point of view the need was, he said, "to have a world organisation like the United Nations, only it has got to work, as the United Nations is not working." He was a great believer in the United Nations, which offered the only workable plan for unity among the nations in the world today, but he recognised its terrible defects, of which the veto power was the most conspicuous. He hoped that changes would be possible to make it an effective world union, with a world constitution.

He had scant patience with the reluctance to give up national sovereignty in the absolute sense. That was the price of a united world. Unification meant the merging of responsibilities and powers, as in marriage, in which husband and wife had voluntarily to surrender their individual sovereignty but got something better, a union of souls. That was why marriage worked. The same was true in the international field. Each nation had to surrender to all the others the selfish, aggressive, arrogant aspects of national sovereignty and to merge its faith in the common destiny of mankind.

The United States had been faced with the same problem after the Revolutionary War, when the thirteen States were to be brought together into a union based on a written Constitution in the spirit of which they could unite and which would provide a mechanism of unified operation. Each State had to surrender a large portion of its sovereign powers. The point where all were willing to do so was not reached for seventy years, or until after the Civil War.

There was no use fooling ourselves. World union was an imperative necessity and it should be brought about now, before it was too late. Atom bomb control, for instance, had to be surrendered to a responsible international body.

The economic problem also was a serious one, the problem of poverty, of the inequitable distribution of wealth. We had reached the point in economic history where we knew how to produce enough to support the world's population. But if we had solved the problem of production we had not solved that of distribution. Even a country like the U. S. A. had its slum dwellers, its share-croppers. Everywhere the poor were struggling for food and trying to maintain themselves. Sooner or later the perpetuation of that economic problem was going to bring us into war. The economic causes of war were, perhaps, the predominant causes. War had broken out again and again because of economic extremity.

World unity must be based on a just economic system, by which Dr. Holmes meant a system which would distribute to all the workers the wealth that they had produced.

The economic problem between the States of North American Union had been solved in a s when it was agreed that all the wealth of the cou should belong equally to all the States and not to one of them. Texas, for example, was overflowing oil and New York did not have a drop, but all oil in Texas belonged equally to New York. T were no inter-State duties ; there was no denial access to supplies. There remained only the socialis of the capitalist system to bring about an equal di bution of this wealth.

In contrast to this, the struggle for selfish po sion of natural resources was general in the world. oil in Arabia belonged to the one who got there with his money. A unified economy and the sha of all natural resources fairly was absolutely basi world unity. Once you got a universal economy were going to get a common level of living. The that America was going to have a higher level living, permanently, and other countries a lower was fantastic. Of course, resistance was to be expe from those who would lose by a common level living. The resistance to changes in the Amer immigration laws came chiefly from organised labo reluctance to have cheaper labour available in country. But just as water sought its own level, once you broke down the economic barriers, a c mon level of living would follow inevitably.

A great revival was needed.

Every great religious revival, Dr. Holmes m tained, had to begin with a great personality. T was no such dynamic individual in the West to "Until he comes I do not know what we can do ex to keep the light burning." He thought the pre period like the Dark Ages, when the spirit of seemed to have died, except that there was a Chris movement which kept the light burning in monaste and in the hearts of men until it could be bro out again. "Sometimes in my despondency, al despair of our time, it seems to me that all that can do today is to keep the light going until the comes when it can blaze forth again."

There came moments in history, he said, w men became exhausted, when mankind, like in duals, got tired out. Such a time there was in Gr in the Peloponnesian War. After the Periclean Age Greeks were exhausted ; there were limitations what men could do. Similarly the Romans bec tired. They had marched so far, they had conqu so many peoples, they carried such a burden that were no longer able to function. There were when men became disillusioned and had to have to recover faith.

The reassuring thing was that this phenome was never completely universal, though he thought it had a more nearly universal aspect today than before. Parts of our world, however, were awake changing rather than dying. India, for instance, was entering upon a new and greater period of history. India might be regarded from that point view as one of the great hopes of mankind today.

America's isolationism, he said, was a of the past.

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The Second World War had taught Americans that all nations suffered or prospered together, that we were all brothers, and that if war started anywhere the fire was bound to spread. Provincialism had yielded place to a real international spirit and Americans recognised their responsibility to help the rest of the world with the food which they had and others lacked.

There had always been ideals in America and when she had been truest to herself those ideals had come to the fore. The ideals of the sanctity of the individual, of human equality, of getting along together in good fellowship, of "Justice though the heavens fall!" were widely held and to a large extent practised.

The great blot on American life had been the treatment of the Negro, which was a shame and a humiliation, but all progressive and enlightened people were more keenly conscious of this disgrace to their democracy than even before, and more anxious to remedy it. Negroes were being admitted in increasing numbers to occupations traditionally closed to them. There were Negro subway drivers and Negro tram conductors in New York, Negro clerks and clerical workers, Negro policemen, even Negroes teaching white students in Northern colleges.

As to what America's chief contribution to a United World would be, Dr. Holmes thought that it was practical achievement, in which the United States led the world. Skilled work was valuable to society but, unfortunately, America's technical achievements had largely absorbed the American consciousness, leading to wide-spread materialism and love of pleasure and of power.

Dr. Holmes was enthusiastic about the possibilities offered by a fusion of what America and India each had to give. India through her long history had gone deeply into the problems of the Spirit. She had come close to Reality. If you equipped India with the machinery of living that America had produced, and if you gave America a Soul, then there would be, as in Ezekiel's vision of the wheels, the God in the machine. America had the wheels, and they were crushing her to death. India had the Spirit. If you put together the "Know How" of America and the "See Why" of India, you ought to have a model civilisation.

Sir Edward Appleton

Nobel Prize Winner in Physics, 1947

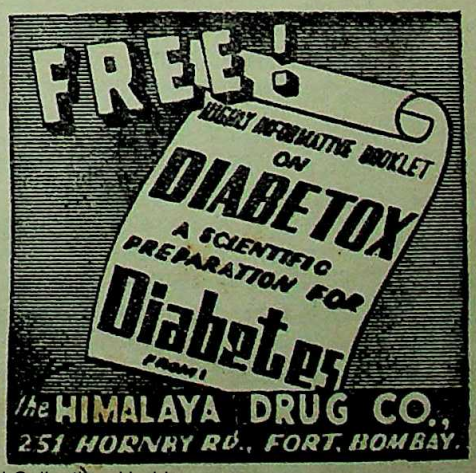
S. K. M. writes in *Science and Culture* :

The award of the Nobel Prize for Physics to Sir Edward Appleton will delight all who have known of his fundamental contributions to the science of radio and to its applications. It has been amazing how Sir Edward or, to call him by his more familiar name—Appleton, has made use of radio waves as a tool for investigating such diverse geophysical phenomena as, weather fronts, storm centres, magnetic field intensity high above the surface of the earth (300 km.), atmospheric tides at high levels, detection of meteor trails, as also, emission of these waves from the sunspot regions and from the milky way.

But to the non-specialist Appleton is perhaps best known for his work on the elucidation of the nature of, and of the radio wave propagation phenomena in the ionized regions of the upper atmosphere known as ionosphere. It was in 1904 that Kennely in America and Heaviside in England propounded the hypothesis that radio waves are guided round the curved surface of the earth by being reflected from a conducting ionized region in the upper atmosphere. The hypothesis was considered very plausible but a direct proof as to the existence of the conducting region was lacking for a long time. The proof was first furnished by Appleton with his associate Barnett in 1925 when they observed that radio waves from a distant station arrive by two distinct paths, one direct—moving along the ground (ground wave) and another indirect—reflected from the high ionized region (sky wave). Very early in his study on ionosphere. Appleton made the remarkable discovery—a fact which is now taken almost for granted but which at that time was by no means obvious—that the ionosphere was stratified, as it were, into a number of layers. The uppermost layer which is the most intensely ionized is named after him 'Appleton layer.' Appleton, however, modestly refers to it as the F-layer and the one underlying it at 100 km. he called the E-layer. Once he was asked why he chose the letters E and F instead of the more obvious ones A and B. And he replied this was to leave room for undiscovered layer below the E-layer! His surmise proved correct; an absorbing ionized region which causes weakening of radio signals has been found below the E-layer. This is called D-layer. Appleton was also the first to point out that the magnetic field of the earth will have a profound influence on the propagation phenomena of the radio waves through the ionosphere. He developed the so-called magneto-ionic theory and showed how the propagation properties (refractive index, polarization, absorption) are related to the magnetic field intensity and the intensity of ionization in the ionosphere. All the consequence of the magneto-ionic theory are fully borne out by observations.

It can be said without exaggeration that it is to Appleton, more than to any other single individual, that we owe our present knowledge of the ionosphere.

The development of radar which has revolutionized modern warfare also owes much to Appleton's work. As a matter of fact, the principle of the estimation of the height of ionospheric layer is a kind of radio location, the difference being that the object to be located by radar is a body of much smaller extension like aeroplane. The amount of the incident radio wave energy which such a body returns by scattering is necessarily very much smaller than that by the ionosphere. The problem of making an estimate of the energy is extremely important in the design and development of radar apparatus. Appleton's work has done much to clarify this problem. From his investigations in this subject Appleton was able to predict that it would be possible to obtain radar echoes from the moon. This, as we all know now, has already been achieved.



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Sir Edward is a great organizer. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research of England is fortunate in having him as its chief executive head. About three years ago, when the war was still on, the author of this note had the opportunity of attending in England a meeting of the Ultra-Short Wave Panel of the Ministry of Supply. The body had been set up by Sir Edward and he humorously described it as his own child. He had collected round him in this Panel about two dozen specialists—physicists, mathematicians, meteorologists, radio-technicians, electrical engineers and spectroscopists to work on problems associated with the propagation of micro-waves through terrestrial atmosphere close to the ground. Each was assigned an aspect of the problem in which he was an expert. The results obtained by the different workers when collated ensured quick progress and success in the shortest possible time. It was pleasant to see how these experts —some of them of international reputation—worked together as a single team under the guidance of Sir Edward.

Sir Edward's great talent for organization was also utilized by the British Government in scientific war effort.

Sir Edward was appointed a member of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the War Cabinet in 1941 and the main burden of organizing atomic research in England devolved upon him. He established the 'Directorate for Tube Alloys' (a camouflage name) under the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. The Directorate planned and conducted researches on controllable nuclear chain reaction in all its aspects with the ultimate object of utilizing the results in atomic explosions. Under the supervision of Sir Edward, the Directorate made notable contributions to the development of atomic bomb.

Sir Edward was born in Bradford, Yorkshire and is now 55. He held successively professorial chairs of Physics in King's College, London and in Cambridge. On the retirement of Sir Frank Smith in 1939, he was appointed Secretary to the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, which post he still holds.

Sir Edward is an original thinker of rare ability. He has an intuitive mind and is gifted with a penetrating insight which enables him to get straight at the root of a problem. He is known personally to many scientific workers of this country and is in constant touch with the ionospheric investigations here. Sir Edward lent his services, on more than one occasion, to the University of Calcutta for examining doctorate theses.

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Historical Studies in Independent Indi

C. C. Das Gupta observes in *The In Review* :

It has been accepted by all scholars that Indi one of the earliest civilised countries in the w That India was such is known from the study number of evidences which we have got of the temporary civilised world.

India came into close contact with the B from the eighteenth century. From that time the the beginning of an enquiry into the history of I by a number of well-known British historians archaeologists. The methods which were then app for the knowledge of the history of our country rather quite new even in Europe. Though the Bri ers became interested in Indian history and cul still for want of a proper respect for India because was conquered, all their studies in this line bec vitiated.

Nothing has been up till now done for the covery, preservation and study of Indian histo documents in a truly national scale. The resul this is the common saying that India does not sess much historical material for the reconstruc of her history. There cannot be any statement ther from truth than this. India does not lack torical mateirals; but what she lacks is the suit arrangement for the discovery, preservation and s of Indian historical documents.

In the 19th century the Indian Archaeolog department was founded and the work done this department, so far as it goes, is quite laudab but it is regrettable that it does not go very fa

In 1940 Lord Curzon passed the Ancient Mo ments Preservation Act for the protection of mo ments in British India.

This Act is quite praiseworthy but as no w has been practically done to serve the inner mea of this Act, the very purpose for which this Act passed is not at all fulfilled. It must be accepted any historical document, however small and ins ficant it might appear to the ordinary eye, is to be carefully protected. If we accept this view, we must be awestruck by the appalling neg of historical documents in India. There are thous of priceless gems of historical documents which being so much neglected that we must be ashame what we are doing in this sphere.

The following are the suggestions which I sh like to offer in this connection:—

(1) The proclamation that all historical m ments, whether small or big, are of utmost nati importance.

(2) The proclamation that all manuscripts, big small, are of utmost national importance.

(3) Endeavour must be made to keep all histo documents intact. It is a shameless thing that thro out the length and breadth of India we find t neglect of the priceless gems of Indian monuments manuscripts.

We should now point out the measures by w this can be done. It is not possible for any nati government, however sympathetic it might be, to range for the discovery, preservation and study of the historical documents because of the vastness of problem. What is essentially required is that the ple of the country should themselves understand importance of these things. If the general people understand the value of these things, then they voluntarily come forward to shoulder their resp bility; but the vast illiteracy of India is standing

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the way of this understanding. The literacy of India does not go much beyond 12 per cent of the total population and we must be ashamed of this appalling state of education in India. Up till now there is no general spread of education among the Indian people. It is absolutely necessary to impart education through the medium of the mother tongue from the lowest to the highest stages, to make one Indian language a compulsory language for study by all and to keep one international language, possibly English, a language for study by only the advanced students and those who will be required to go out of India.

With the spread of education everyone will gradually realise that it is essential for him to help in the keeping of the historical documents intact.

The following are the suggestions which I like to throw for the discovery, preservation and study of Indian historical monuments :

(1) The expansion of the Indian Archaeological department on a truly national basis.

(2) The creation of the Historical and Archaeological societies in each district of India by the national government for the discovery, upkeep and study of Indian historical materials. This is the most important step which the national government should take.

(3) The close co-operation between the Indian universities and the Indian Archaeological department. Up till now there is absolutely a lack of this important outlook with the result that the Indian universities have practically no material to work upon while in the Indian Archaeological department there are heaps of material remaining unattended for want of a sufficient number of suitable men in the department.

(4) The closer co-operation between the Indian Archaeological department and big colleges in some cultural zones of India where there are no universities. In India there are a very few universities and it is for this reason that some colleges should be treated as universities for this purpose because the few existing universities of India cannot possibly give an idea of the historical materials which are in each district of India.

(5) The establishment of a large number of research institutes to study these historical materials. India is sadly in want of them and unless these are founded, there is no chance of the proper study of the historical materials of India.

It is well-known that from time immemorial India was known to the outside civilised countries ; but nothing has as yet been done to study this phenomenon in all its details. Up till now in India the history of other countries has been studied in the most abnormal manner. History of other countries has been studied with the help of only secondary text-books and no attempt has been made to study the history of other countries with the help of original sources. So the study of the history of other countries in India has been uninteresting and unproductive. It is, therefore, necessary to make a thorough revision of the whole syllabus of history as prescribed for study in Indian universities. Secondly, suitable and proper arrangement should be made for the study of the history of other countries in the proper manner with the help of original sources. Thirdly, it is necessary to establish a number of museums of foreign antiquities in India. This can easily be done by purchase as well as by exchange of antiquities which are duplicates. Lastly, it is necessary to send a number of suitable candidates abroad for the proper training in the line.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India and the Indian Ocean

In an article, entitled "India—Past, Present and Future," in the *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1947, Dr. Taraknath Das quoting K. M. Panikkar, points out how India and the Indian Ocean will play a vital part in the future world politics :

Serious students of history are well aware of the fact that, even before the days of Alexander's invasion of India and since then, India has played an important part in world politics. Today India's position in the "balance of power" is singularly significant. In the world of to-morrow, free India, with her strategic position, vast population and resources, may serve as the most important single factor affecting world politics, because the balance is shifting in Asia, and India is the heart of Asia.

Mr. K. M. Panikkar, in his brilliant essay *India and the Indian Ocean*, presents a connected story of the influence of sea power on Indian history and discusses supremacy in the Indian Ocean in its relation to world politics and India's national defense. In the chapter on the Hindu period in the Indian Ocean he gives some insight into Hindu sea power as a factor in India's past greatness and substantiates the thesis that one of the causes of the loss of Indian independence was the failure of the Hindus to maintain command of the sea, a fact which is often overlooked by students of Indian history. He gives a vivid account of the role of the Arabs, the Portuguese and other Powers in controlling the Indian Ocean and of Britain's role in establishing an empire in India. No European Power, which did not have control of the Atlantic, could maintain its supremacy in the Indian Ocean, and, without the control of the Indian Ocean, there could be no security in India. British supremacy in the Indian Ocean made British rule somewhat inevitable.

Mr. Panikkar foresaw the outcome of World War II and the rise of American influence in the Indian Ocean: America has developed considerable interests in the Middle East. Oil concessions in Saudi Arabia and in Iran, not to speak of the Bahrein islands indicate the growth of strong economic interests in the drainage area of the Indian Ocean. America will emerge out of the present war with global and not hemispheric ideas of strategy, and the possibility therefore has to be visualised of America entering the Indian Ocean as a major naval power (p. 87).

He also points out Soviet Russia's interest in securing a footing in the Persian Gulf, and its significance for the future of India and the whole of the Indian Ocean area:

The lines of traffic developed for the purposes of Lend Lease aid to Russia in the present war (World War II) have demonstrated the vital importance of the Persian Gulf to the Soviets. . . . The possibility of the presence of a naval power of the magnitude, resources and persistence of Russia on the Persian Gulf is in itself sufficient to revolutionise the strategy in respect of the Indian Ocean. . . . A strong military State on the Persian Gulf could make that an impregnable base and resist successfully all attacks from the sea. If that power is also industrially advanced and capable of constructing and maintaining on the sea large and powerful navies, then the Persian Gulf could become what Scapa Flow is to the Atlantic and Wilhelmshaven to the Baltic. The problem is of the utmost importance to the future of India (pp. 88-90).

Finally, for the defense of South East Asia, a naval Power in India is bound to become a decisive factor. Thus for national defense, free India will need her own navy and will have to develop her own sea power. This is not an easy task; and the author suggests:

The control of the Indian Ocean must, therefore, be a co-operative effort of India and Britain and other Commonwealth units having interests on the Ocean with the primary responsibility lying on the Indian Navy to guard the steel ring created by Singapore, Ceylon, Mauritius and Socotra. With the naval might of Britain in the background and with the whole policy of the Commonwealth decided by a Supreme Council enabling the total power of the Empire to be brought to bear at any threatened point, such a defence of India will not be outside the range of practicability (p. 95).

This of course presupposes co-operation between Britain and India as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations or an alliance between free India and the British Commonwealth. However, the reviewer thinks that, in place of Indo-British co-operation, Indo-American-British co-operation will be imperative because common interests between India and the United States will develop, and Britain is more or less dependent upon the United States for her own defense.

India is Not Overpopulated

In the same Journal Dr. Taraknath Das upholds the view that India's population is not relatively greater than that of many other countries and concludes that her extreme dependence on agriculture and the lack of industrialisation are the fundamental cause of her appalling poverty :

India, with an area equal to that of all of Europe except Russia, has a population of nearly 400 millions. Some of the Western experts on population problems think that India is overpopulated and that even adequate industrialization will not solve the problem; because, according to their estimate, industrialization of India will tend to increase population in an overpopulated country. Dr. Chandrasekhar, in his small but exceedingly valuable book, *India's Population: Fact and Policy*, gives us valuable data on the subject. For instance, density of Indian population is not as great as generally thought. "The mean density for all

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India does not exceed 246 persons per square mile. While this is nearly five and a half times the density of the United States of America, it is considerably lower than that of Germany, Japan, England, Italy, Java or Puerto Rico" (p. 16). It may be pointed out that, compared to many other countries, India's population has not increased with extreme rapidity. Dr. Chandrasekhar, quoting Professor Kingsley Davis, states that in India "the population, adjusted to the present area (excluding Burma), increased about 54 per cent during the period from 1872 to 1941. The United Kingdom during the same period increased 56 per cent, and if we take the 70-year period from 1821 to 1891 (perhaps more comparable to India's last 70 years) we find it increased 81 per cent (in spite of millions emigrating to America and other parts of the world). Similarly Japan during the 70 years from 1873 to 1942, experienced a growth of approximately 136 per cent." (p. 17).

Dr. Chandrasekhar rightly points out:

The crux of the Indian population problem with its inescapable corollary issues of food and agriculture is the incredible poverty of the people. With all her latent and potential wealth in natural resources—inferior only to those of the United States and the Soviet Union—India today is among the poorest countries in the world. . . . In summary, poverty, starvation and disease stalk the land, worse than the war-devasted regions in Europe and Asia. Nearly two-thirds of the population are chronically undernourished and disease-ridden. Well over one hundred million people suffer annually from malaria alone. Nearly ten million people die every year, mostly from preventable diseases, diseases of malnutrition born of poverty. The rates of infant and maternal mortality are the highest in the world. The mean expectation of life is less than half the figure for the United States.

The basic reason for this appalling condition is the nature of the existing economy which is characterised by an extreme overpressure on agriculture and the lack of industrialisation. Nearly 70 per cent of the population subsist on agriculture, and about 85 per cent are directly or indirectly dependent on the land. Barely one per cent is engaged in organised industry, and not more than five per cent derives a living from industry of all sorts, including cottage industries and handicrafts.

So long as this fundamental imbalance between agriculture and industry is not corrected, so long as the problem of poverty is not tackled at its very root, the question of raising the standard of living and the question of an improved nutritional and health standard for India will remain largely an academic one. To preach the gospel of good food, good health, good living, to the people of India, without first securing for them the means of even a bare subsistence, is as meaningless as advising the starving to eat cake when they cannot afford even bread (pp. 98-99).

—

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Velasquez : "Painter of Truth"

In *The Catholic World*, August, 1947, Arth Stanley Riggs gives a fine appreciative sketch one of the master painters of the world :

Drama as we usually think of it in terms of more or less violent reactions of character to circu stances, does not generally associate itself with art gather about the life of an artist. A Benvenuto Celli a Leonardo da Vinci and a Michelangelo are rari in this respect. There is another type of drama, more suggestive, more profound and stirring, even less violent, that clings about Velasquez.

Like his magnificent predecessor Titian, Diego Silva y Velasquez was poised, calm, thoroughly mas of himself. Nothing he ever thought or said or did, far as we know, had a single spark of the drams about it. Yet the setting in which he lived from 16 when he came to Court, and his death in 1660 was elaborately mounted, its moves so calculated by met ulous rules, and so hedged about by immemorial cu tom that Velasquez becomes for us the heroic figu around whom continuously played the wicked summ lightnings of palace intrigue and jealousy, the whi of a captious monarch, the open enmity of his envio fellow artists, and the precarious patronage of intolerant, hot-headed prime minister driving furiou upon the broad road to ruin. Most dramatic a amazing of all is the fact that we know actually little about the man Velasquez that he moves throu all this without once speaking, without even feelin so far as the records go. His is the most astonishi story in the entire world of art, his fate after dea like that of Cervantes, serves merely to increase t compulsion of the tale, and the whole ghostly dra reaches deep into our hearts.

Criticism began dealing with him and his paintin a scant half-century ago, and none of the great painte has been more sketchily treated. Indeed, until rece years Velasquez was the least generally known, certai ly the least understood master of all time. Part of t public ignorance of him and his work is due to t fact that Spanish character and history are not wid comprehended. Part of it derives from the retenti of all the painter's finest work—with one exceptio in Spain. In part, too, the world had had relativ small opportunity to judge him because Velasq was not a prolific worker like his great Italian pre cessor Titian, and the total of the Spaniard's canva is accordingly small.

No painter can be completely estimated by wh he leaves us on canvas. To evaluate his message co rectly we must have at the very least a general outl of his backgrounds, from which he cannot be separat with impunity. Only when we understand the m currents of life in an era can we grasp firmly t significance of the master's painting, of the art of t period in any field. The discussion of these seldo fully understood factors begins in this instan naturally, since "art is long," with the beginnings Spanish nationality and unity after the swift a ruthless Moorish conquest early in the eighth centur

In the first decade of the eighth century victorious Moors had driven the surviving Spania north and up into the fog-drenched, craggy fastnes of the cold Asturian mountains. The handful of a f hundred Iberians and Visigoths selected Pelayo as th leader and made their headquarters in the grim Ca of Convadonga. In their stubborn minds was thought of yielding to the invader. They had cour and to spare. But something more was required th fortitude if they were to thrust back the African co queror. Mere headlong fighting, as they knew by bit

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experience, could accomplish nothing but their deaths. The inevitable result was a pooling of every interest, a tight and permanent drawing together of every element into the closest sort of fellowship and unity of purpose under leaders who exacted instant and unquestioning obedience to any command regardless of consequences. Christians all, despising the Moslem doctrine and behavior, the Spaniards realized that the Church among them must fight side by side and equally with royalty, knighthood and commons if any of them were to survive. This need and its recognition were the flux that made practical the welding together of Church, State and People into a single politico-spiritual entity which has never had any equal or simulacrum and is as substantial today as it was when it began.

The Moor was thus directly responsible for unifying Spain as no other force possibly could, and as no other nation was ever consolidated. Not only was loyalty to the leaders of this hard-fighting, aspiring group beneficial ; it was vital. King, clergy and people thought alike, had the same fiery purpose—the expulsion of the hated Mohammedan. The churchman fought both for his Faith and for political reasons; the layman fought for the same things, even though on many occasions as he struggled on through the centuries intermarriages occurred and some astonishing alliances were arranged. But the type of mind gradually bred in Spain because of these conditions and this intimate coherence of spiritual and material causes, developed a blind, fanatic devotion to monarchs, however weak or vicious, and to the Church in its least as well as in its most exalted moments. It produced an Isabella as well as a Philip II. It gave a Cortes and a Pizarro able to conquer whole peoples with but a handful of troops, and it pushed to the fore a Las Casas who dared to face a surly king, angered bureaucrats, brutal and rascally exploiters and tell them bluntly how they sinned in their ruthless treatment of the helpless *indio*. It produced, finally, a Velasquez who, through his undeviating loyalty to his weak and contradictory monarch, set that king's pleasure above his art and accordingly executed only a fraction of all that strove in his soul against the ridiculous daily tasks the master should never have known existed.

In view of all this it is not difficult to perceive the reasons why Velasquez's art is so little understood. Critics and connoisseurs of every land have studied his paintings, enjoyed them because of their clear supremacy, and failed to penetrate much beneath the surface. The lay public, occasionally seeing a possible Velasquez in a gallery or museum, accepts it at its obvious truthfulness and regards it merely as good. The subtle deeps and heights of the master's conceptions and methods are lost in his effective naturalism—realism, if you prefer the older and more generic term.

"The light which redeemed us from the Roman slavery and in general from mannerism," budded splendidly in Valencia in the work of Francisco Ribalta, and from it and its successors gradually emerged the disciplined yet impressionistic naturalism, or realism, which culminated in the painting of Velasquez and took the world by storm wherever men could appreciate it. In comparison with Titian, the greatest of the Venetian masters, Velasquez produced exceedingly little. Tormo y Monso assails him savagely for "disinclination to work" and for painting only when his "basic eagerness for perfection and technical progress stimulated him ; not a professional so much as a gentleman, a courtier who made holiday by serving the king with his pencil, dreaming of honors. . . . And it is certain that never did nobility, the ultimate feeling for the aristocratic, find happier expression; the elegance of Van Dyck is more apparent, that of Velasquez more exquisite, deeper, more spontaneous, truer."

From the very first days of his eager apprenticeship in the "Gilded Cage" studio of Francisco Pacheco in Seville, Velasquez had hammered into him the vital importance of sound drawing and close observation of nature as the only sure bases for success as a painter. After five years of this teaching he married his master's daughter, Dona Juana, and in 1623 made his appearance in the charmed but vicious circle of the *Unica Corte*—the "Only Court" in Madrid. Soon appointed painter to the king, he served the do-nothing Philip IV for thirty-seven years with a whole-hearted devotion that gave his weak monarch a place in history he otherwise could not have achieved. But the favor of that king was deadly. It cost the painter, and through him the world, greatness that can be no more than dimly imagined. Velasquez's devotion to him took no heed of menial rank—he was carried on the royal payrolls in the same category with the court barbers, grooms, dwarfs, fools (jesters) and minor servants. He allowed his loyalty to cut down his production to a maximum of probably not more than a hundred and fifty pictures, of which today only about ninety can be considered as completely authentic. And finally, he attended so assiduously to his duties as a courtier and an official with heavy and far-reaching responsibilities, that he completely exhausted his reserves of strength. On his return from the great wedding festivities of the Infanta Dona Maria Teresa and King Louis XIV of France at the Spanish border, he could not resist an attack of fever, and died, completely worn out, in the summer of 1660.

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Volumes can be and already have been written explaining his painting, his technique, his handling of light and color, his marvellous dexterity and sense of proportion. Relatively little has been said about his penetration psychologically and of his "cruel truthfulness" in baring the souls of his sitters. But there is another side to that so-called cruelty. In the brilliant series of portraits of the Court dwarfs, fools, comedians and others. Velasquez reveals himself as a warm-hearted and sympathetic man. He did not deliberately specialize in depicting ugliness except as he had to paint the personages with whom he was surrounded. Even there, neither beauty nor ugliness mattered. It was the truth, the deeper significance of his subject that counted, that gave him an opportunity to let a careless world see what he, with the vision of a seer and the imaginative power of an epic poet, perceived. Study the faces of some of those canvases of the pets of the Court. Learn little by little how the painter brought out the infinite tragedy, the suppressed yearnings, the hate, the suspicion, the fear, the pitiful attempts to please of these wretched creatures who, even though they were bought slaves whose one purpose was to divert a bored royalty and its satellites, were nevertheless created by a Heavenly Father Who had taught one man at least to see them not as ridiculous or deformed or idiotic but as helpless souls deserving of pity and sympathy. King, who "acknowledged no superior among men," lovely young fresh-faced Princess, hard-bitten old knight or slobbering Court idiot. Velasquez read them all, made the least as important as the first among them, and at the last his tombstone bore the single line "To the Painter of Truth."

"It was enough for him to be what he was," in simple truth.

The Bahá'í Faith in India

Shirin Fozdar writes in the *World Order*, August, 1947 :

India has been from antiquity a land of heroes and saints. Long before the Western world knew the meaning of the word civilization and culture, the Indian people had risen to enviable heights in statesmanship, warcraft, literature, philosophy, economics, architecture, sculpture and arts. The fame of her greatness had spread far and wide. The entire life of the people in India was governed by the accumulated teachings of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Gita. A wonderful period of research continued and lasted until the advent of Christ. Large Viharas, scattered all over the country and run by selfless monks, imparted knowledge to the seekers, and contributed to the moral and educational progress of man. But unfortunately all her past glory has vanished, and she is passing through a very critical period in her history. The old moorings are being broken, as she ventures into uncharted seas, annihilating ancient landmarks. The people are craving for democracy, since the ideal of the king, hitherto held as God, has lost its hold.

In the field of industry it is apparent that the old handicrafts have been neglected under the competition of machinery ; the carriage and pair has been replaced by a car. Smooth trading has become difficult owing to unions and strikes, combines and lockouts. Luxury has taken hold of man, increasing thereby his expenditure and enjoyment. The old staid formulas have been replaced by new theories with new values.

One thing which strikes the student of ancient history more than anything else, is the revolutionary change, which is taking place in the internal condition of the people. Barriers of caste are fast disappearing. The traditional respect for and sanctity of a Brahmin has disappeared, and he is now more relegated to the kitchen as a cook, whereas the depressed classes have revolted, and assert that there is something radically wrong with a system that condemns a man for life for the accident of birth. He, therefore, aspired, and he fittingly fills even the Viceroy's council. Thus the Varna Ashram Dharma is getting the Varna (caste) knocked out of its root. Hinduism, noted for its exclusiveness, is vying with other faiths eagerly trying to convert others to its fold ; inter-marriages are growing apace ; bomb and anarchist activities have often replaced love and Ahimsa (non-violence), and curiously the people see nothing incongruous in it. On the contrary, the perpetrators of such crime are worshipped as heroes. Spiritual leanings, reverence for pilgrimage, reverence for parents and elders, the sanctity of marriage, the fidelity of the wife, the submissiveness of the daughter, have all vanished.

In the name of modernity and progress the canker of immorality is eating into the vitals of Indian society. The women assert that in a country with a population of forty crores, half of which consists of women, 33 per cent of which is leading a life of compulsory widowhood which more often is due to marriages arranged by the parents in their childhood, they could not be bound to be faithful to what remained only a memory. Husbands, according to ancient scriptures, were to be worshipped as gods, but with the idea of justice revised, women no longer feel inclined to adore a god with feet of clay.

In the field of politics, experiment after experiment was tried and failed. The cause of communal disunity enshrouds this vast continent in a grip of death. Schisms and sects having crept into various religions, each religion is again a house divided against itself. Over two hundred fifty languages prove a bar to the affinity and love which a language can create. Industries and manufacture are also not faring well due to lack of honest men. The greed and avarice of a few having cornered the wealth of this country, watch with unconcern the starvation and poverty of the toiling millions. Only 1 per cent of this country's population enjoys 33 per cent of this country's wealth. Another 33 per cent of people share 33 per cent of wealth and the remaining 66 per cent must live on the rest of the wealth (33 per cent).

The disparity between a capitalist and a laborer being great, the worker himself is not at ease about his future. Again, India being an agricultural country with 700,000 villages, has 34 million families who are always famished, ignorant, illiterate, and unemployed for a third of the year. It is not that God has not endowed this country with sufficient fertile soil, water

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and everything essential to feed comfortably the teeming millions, but unfortunately the implements used for agriculture are as crude and primitive as those used in the days of the Vedas or Shree Krishna.

The maldistribution of land is also a great cause for this appalling poverty. Some landlords possess acres of land and gorge themselves on the sweat of their laborers, and with the income buy themselves a passage to hell by squandering their income in unmentionable ways; whereas there are others, who own such small strips of land, which in spite of all their efforts do not yield sufficiently to maintain a whole family.

The people in this country, in the name of Ahimsa (non-violence) and charity, feed the ants and the snakes, but can, if their own material interest demands, watch without compunction their countrymen starve to death. These conditions will not improve merely by trade and industrial revivals, political constitutions, increase of schools and book learning, accumulation of wealth and property. The foremost thing essential is a change of heart. The natural instincts of self-preservation, self-enjoyment and self-acquisition are subordinated by a man whose heart is filled with love for God and His creatures.

Nations rise to greatness by real worth of character, and that is based on man's inmost beliefs, whether he acknowledges it or not, and these beliefs are in reality his religion. Religion is the ideal which a man follows. It influences his character and elevates his whole life. It teaches him a true value by affirming that human life is but the beginning of a vaster one to come after death, and which depends on the way the present one is led, just as our tomorrows are the results of actions done today.

Unfortunately true religion has been strangled under the accumulating load of superstition, dogmas, sacrifices, rituals and priest-craft. The sneer and ridicule of the modern man is directed towards the dogmas and mythologies which have crept into all religions and have beclouded the truth to the extent that fact can no longer be distinguished from fiction. It is due to misrepresentation of true religion that interested people have made it a cause for disunity, communal disharmony, hatred and discord, through which the perpetual enslavement of this country to some outside power is assured.

At such a time when religion is at its lowest ebb and humanity so thoroughly wayward we are assured by Shree Krishna, in the Gita:

"Whenever there is decay of rgihteousness, O Bharat, and there is exaltation of unrighteousness then I Myself come forth, for the protection of the righteous, for the destruction of the evil-doers; for the sake of firmly establishing righteousness I am born from age to age."

As if in fulfillment of this promise a call was raised in 1863 by Baha'u'llah (Bhargo Devasia or Glory of God) in Persia (Arya Varta), the land of the Aryas. He proclaimed to have arisen to uproot irreligion and to establish the truth, for He claimed to be the universally expected Manifestation.

Soon the clergy and the government combined in their efforts to nip this movement in the bud. Baha'u'llah, Who had been brought up in the lap of luxury, being the son of a minister of Persia was soon imprisoned with His family. He was branded, bastinadoed, and made homeless, a captive, and despoiled of all His goods. He was transferred from one prison to another, until in 1892 after forty years of confinement He

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passed away on 28th May at the age of seventy-five. Fortunately the enemies of Baha'u'llah could not confine His Message behind prison bars. It spread and enveloped the whole of Persia. Lack of any education and the firm belief in their being the chosen people of God, enabled the Shi'ih Muslims of Persia to perform the most rapacious deeds without the least compunction. It is estimated that nearly twenty thousand gave their lives in order that their blood may water the seed of love and brotherhood sown by Baha'u'llah. Thus today we find the followers spread throughout the nook and corner of the globe, trying to encourage, enlighten and cheer those who have lost faith in the goodness of man.

In these pages we shall refer to the blessings which His message can bestow upon this unfortunate country in its hour of need.

Students in China Protest Civil War

The Manifesto, issued by the students in China is commented upon by a *Worldover Press* correspondent as being not anti-foreign but pro-peace :

Shanghai.—Now well organized on most college campuses throughout China, students have been carrying on a campaign against the civil war. They have shown admirable restraint in the face of violence, but they feel that their casualties are less important than the difficulty of getting their real views known to the public, both in China and abroad.

Three of the most liberal Chinese papers in Shanghai have been closed by the Government and reporters from even more of them have been arrested. So the students have had a very unfair press, and the common people even in this country are not getting the whole picture nor learning of the atrocities being committed.

Recently the students have tried to be heard through "An Open Letter to the Peoples of the World from the Students of Twenty Colleges and Universities of China on the Current Student Demonstration." The aim of this "new student movement," states the letter, is to support "the principles of peace, in the case an end to the civil war and a desire for a free democracy."

The letter goes on to describe China's present war chaos and the students' attempt in Nanking on May 20 to present a petition to the Government, appealing to it to "provide food for the starving, to stop the civil war, to avert the educational crisis and to bring in a democratic regime." Sixteen colleges and universities in Nanking, Shanghai, Soochow and Hangchow sent students to the peaceful demonstration.

The student procession was attacked by police gendarmes and secret agents, armed with iron bars, whips and similar weapons. Unnecessary brutality left 104 students wounded, a number seriously. The the reassembled procession, still unresisting, was met by cavalry and other military units with machine guns and tear gas.

Similar encounters have taken place in Shanghai, Peiping, Tientsin and Hangchow. This gross violation of the right of petition, the students point out, "runs counter to the Provisional Constitution of the Period of Political Tutelage of the Kuo Min Tang." It violates furthermore, the "outlines of the Joint Administration recently promulgated by the new cabinet."

In the press outside China, such demonstrations have been played up as Communist-inspired attempts to "get the United States out of China." Much nearer the central meaning of this new student movement is the appeal which closes the "Open Letter." "Students all over China are united in aim in the face of the present darkness. People in all walks of life support us. A New China of freedom and democracy *will* come into existence. For the sake of world peace, for the well-being of mankind and its future, we earnestly hope that people all over the world, you peoples who love freedom and desire peace, will stretch out hands of friendship."

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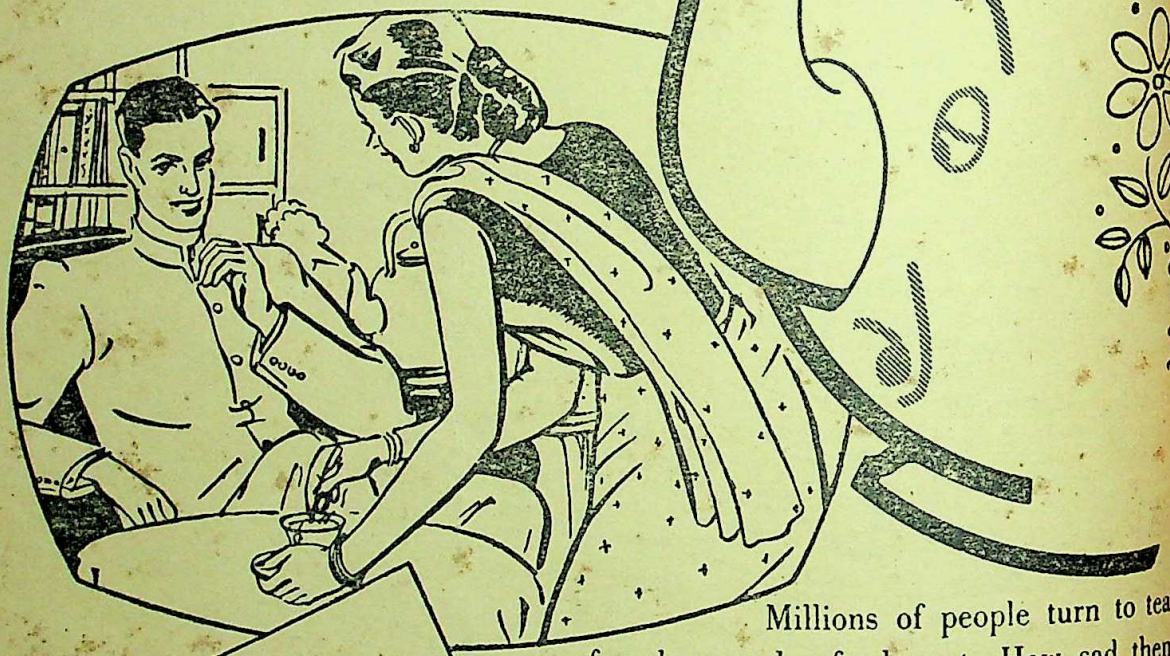

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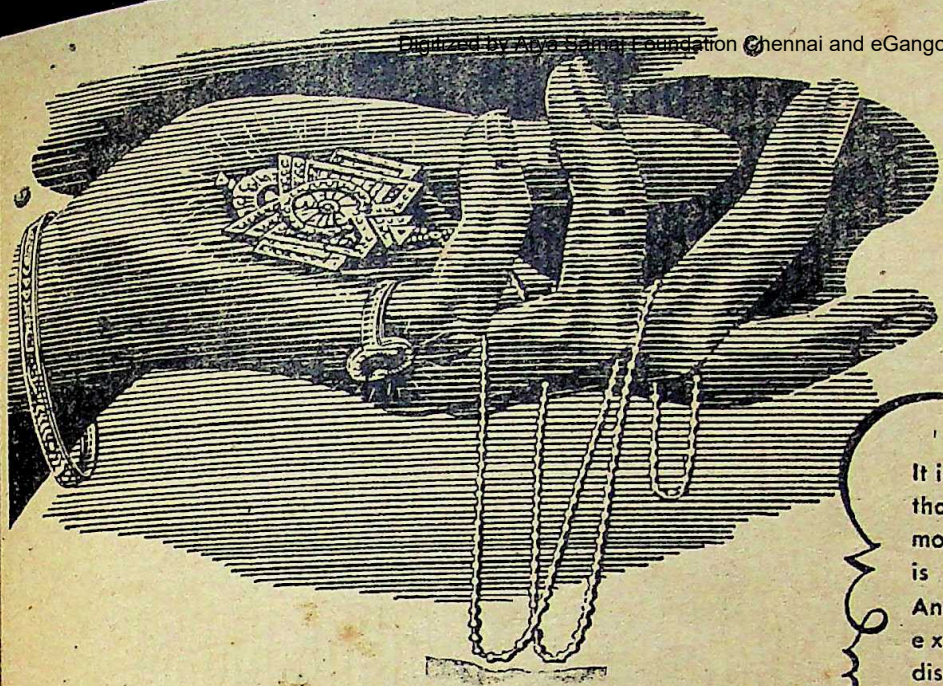

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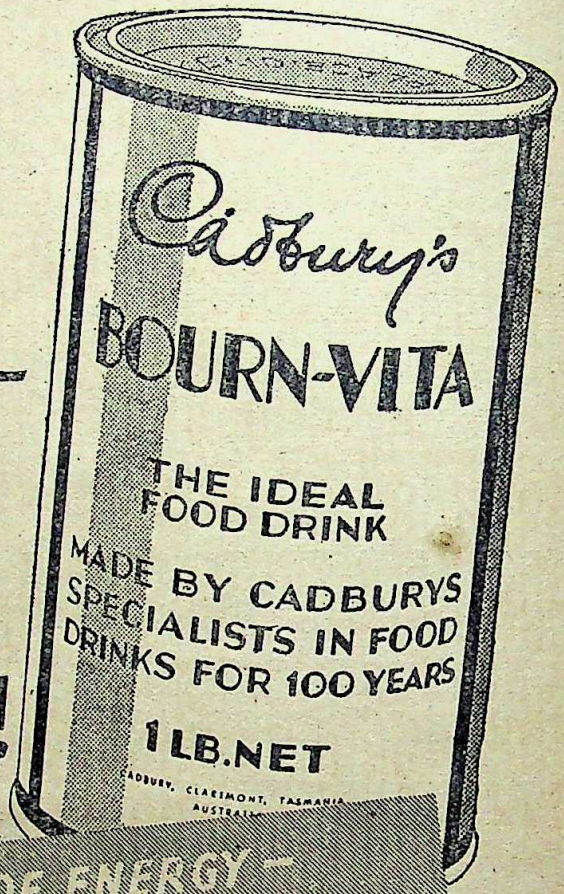

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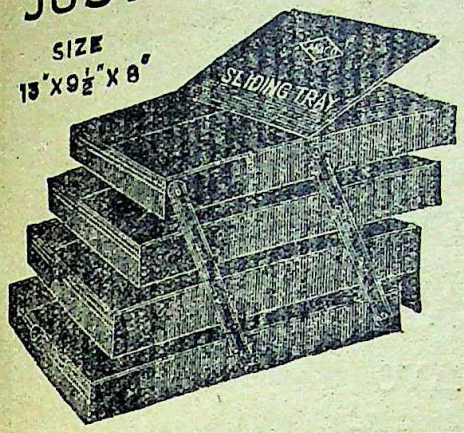

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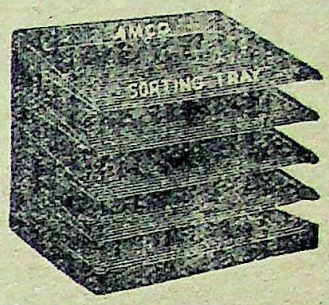

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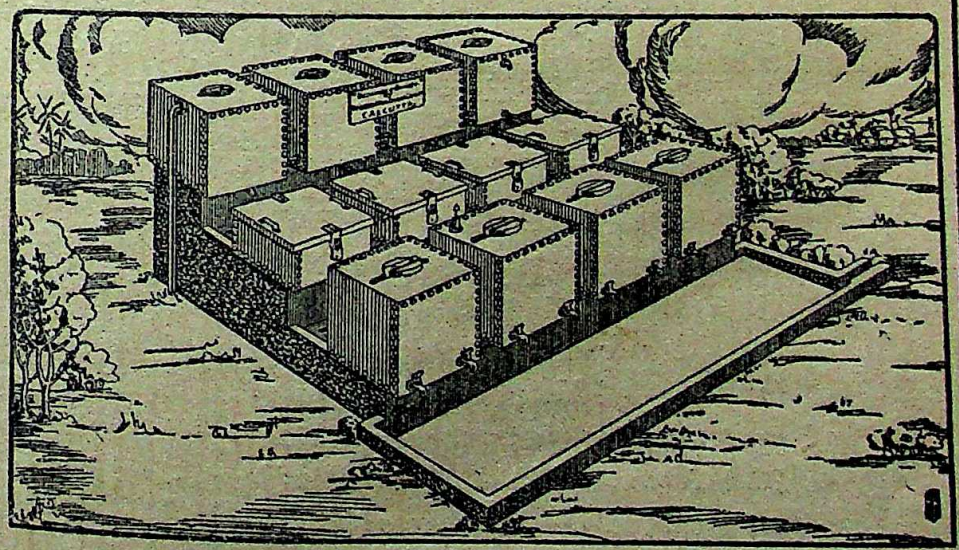

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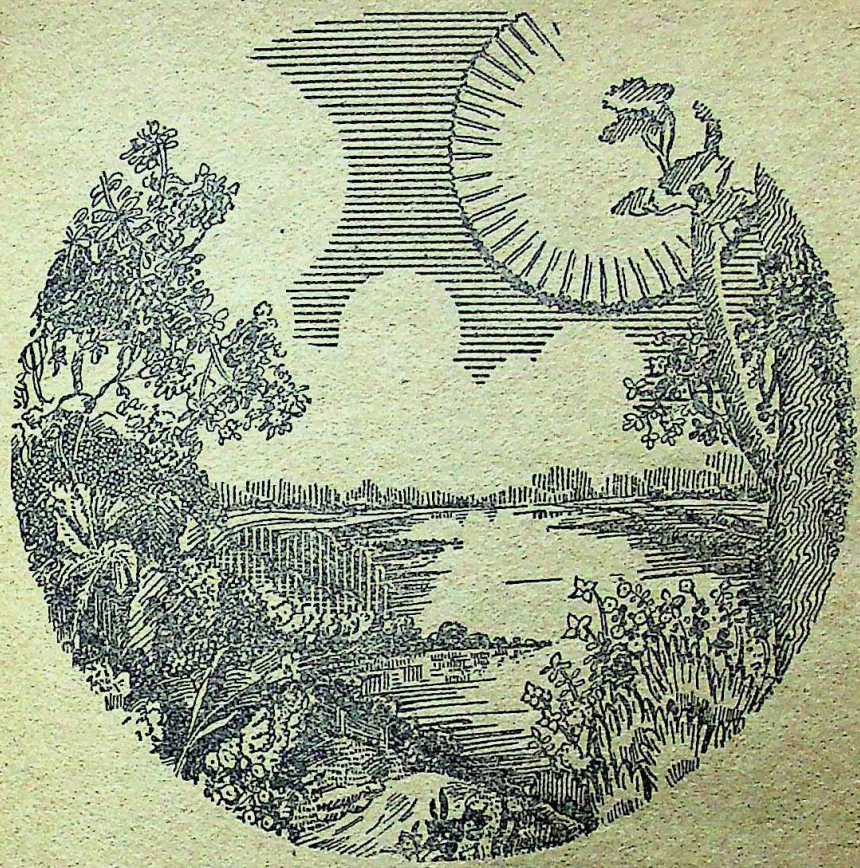

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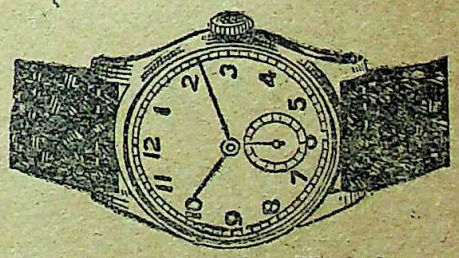

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Mahatma Gandhi

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SHYAMA
(Tagore's *Parishodh*)
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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Passing of Mahatma Gandhi

The Light that guided all of us, little or great, for over one of the most momentous quarters of a century of this nation's history, has been put out by the hand of a criminal. Twenty-four centuries back, when the Light of the World went out in this very land, a similar wave of despair and grief overwhelmed the faithful, though the passing did not come with the same tragic and shameful suddenness. Today we cannot find any means of consolation, we can only ask as to why was this thunderbolt aimed at this fated land.

The tragedy of January 30 ended an era in India's evolution, fashioned by British methods of administration, exploitation and enlightenment. It ended in the assassination in his seventy-ninth year of the architect of India's Freedom by Nathuram Vinayak Godse, on his way to the prayer meeting that had become part of Gandhiji's life as an individual, as a Prophet of New Life, and as a leader of his own people.

The question we have to ask, is what led that misguided cretin and the band of bestial parricides that was associated with him, to venture on such a foul crime? It is not enough that all the criminals be hunted out and punished. The reasons behind this dire catastrophe have to be searched for so that the good work of the Father of the Nation may not perish with him. There is no doubt that our leaders have partially lost the close hold over the mind of the masses, that was Mahatmaji's greatest gift to them. This must be re-established, for mere condign punishment for the guilty is not enough; they must be stamped out through public condemnation and opprobrium.

The world looks on in horror at this tragedy. We are afflicted with sorrow and shame; and the natural anger of men and women have sought and found outlet in attacks on the life and property of people, the majority of whom are innocent of any sympathy with such a brutal sacrilege. But sorrow and shame cannot be appeased by such an easy method of retribution. The departed soul of India's leader would not have had it so. Ten days before the tragic 30th of January, a bomb had been thrown at him by another crazy fool who thought of him as being an enemy of the majority in the Indian Union. And for this aggressor, he had no anger in his heart, and hoped that "the people would pity him." And in his humility he could only say:

> God only knew how I would have behaved in front of a bomb aimed at me and exploding. I would deserve a certificate only if I fell as a result of such an explosion and yet retained a smile on my face and no malice against the doer.

It is this spirit of forgiveness towards the evil-doer, combined with the utmost condemnation of the evil, that had inspired every thought and activity of this man of God sent by his Maker to play such a significant part in the world's affairs. In a way, this quality may be said to have constituted the central message of his life, the Truth and the Way that he has been a witness and path-finder of these forty years. Standing before such a tragedy, we may not have the mental equipoise that would help us to rightly interpret and appraise the significance of the phenomenon that Gandhiji represented in the historic continuity of our country's life. The world has acclaimed him as the bringer of peace to its war-scarred life, as a healer of its spiritual distempers, as a practical man of affairs with vision and courage to indicate the Way out of material and mental discontents that characterize the life of modern humanity. The world has seen in him the continuity of the Prophethood that during the millenia of man's history had incarnated itself repeatedly.

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But yet there would remain some secrets unanalysed. The student of history of the 19th and 20th centuries would have to re-orientate his vision and imagination to rightly interpret the social conditions that produced in a remote corner of India, in the home of the chief administrator of a petty Indian State, the manikin that emerged as the *Mahatma*, the Great Soul, of four hundred million men, women and children of our sub-continent, whom the world has put on the same pedestal as that reserved for the founders of its historic religions.

And the students of developments in India during the last one hundred and ninety years would be required to explain in the context of the internal affairs of their own country, the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi. We know that in the mango groves of Plassey in the year 1757, Robert Clive picked up the sceptre of royalty that had fallen from the hands of Serajuddaulla, betrayed by his kinsman and the commander-in-chief of his army. We know that during the ensuing regime Robert Clive and other soldiers of fortune "shook the pagoda tree" and amassed illicit fortunes beyond the dreams of avarice. This looting had historic precedents to justify itself; for, foreign conquest had always been characterized by such conduct in those days. But what followed was something different. And this difference was exemplified in the Famine of Bengal (1769-70) almost on the threshold of British rule over India. This famine stood as a testimony to the fact that the new rulers had been moved by a spirit of grab that continued to regard and treat India solely as a field of plunder and exploitation. A British man of letters, Dean Inge, in his *Outspoken Essays* has described the consequences of this predatory spirit in action :

> The first impulse (to the industrial revolution) in Britain was given by the plunder of Bengal which, after the victories of Clive, flowed into the country in a broad stream for about thirty years. This ill-gotten wealth played the same part in stimulating England's industries as the five milliards extorted from France did for Germany after 1870.

Ruskin had called it the "Indian loot." But this process had a new characteristic distinguishing it from other foreign conquests. It formed part of a State system that destroyed the industries of the conquered countries with a view to build up its own industries creating in these areas conditions of unemployment and destitution continuing for decades and centuries. The British conquest of India was not like that of Timurlane or Nadir Shah, taking at one sweep whatever wealth they could lay their hands on. The scientific exploitation introduced by Britain has been more permanent, more pervasive. To this new device of rule our predecessors succumbed, body and soul, in a spirit of resignation for more than half a century till the advent of Ram Mohun Roy and his generation when we hear for the first time voices of protest against the ways of the new rulers.

For the next twenty years we find the Indian hovering between "half-dawn and half-chaos" till the outburst of 1857 when the remnants of the [illegible] classes of India made a last desperate attempt [illegible] overthrow the new regime. They failed, though [illegible] had brought the last of Timur's family, Bahadur [illegible] out of his enforced solitude, and though the [illegible] the Peshwas, Nana Saheb, the titular head of [illegible] Marhatta Confederacy, had taken the lead in [illegible] ing this "Mutiny" as British historians phrased [illegible] revolt or this "First War of Indian Independence" [illegible] Indian historians described it. This attempt at [illegible] version of the new order failed, because except [illegible] people of the area extending from Bihar to Delhi [illegible] vast peasant mass of the country lay inactive because [illegible] change of a regime meant no change to their way [illegible] life. Another thirty years bring us to 1885 when [illegible] Indian National Congress was born, and the grievances [illegible] of the people were ventilated in organized [illegible] under educated leadership, which was informed [illegible] capable of leading through legitimate channels of [illegible] and constitutional redress. For twenty years [illegible] builders of the Congress laboured in the hope and [illegible] that Britain would redeem the promises solemnly [illegible] made on her behalf by her sovereigns in 1833, in [illegible] and in 1877, when Queen Victoria assumed the title [illegible] Empress of India. These leaders were products [illegible] British education, drawing sustenance from the Liberalism that was in the ascendant almost all through [illegible] 19th century, finding inspiration in the French Illumination and Revolution and the Resorgimento. As a result of their actions, by the seventh decade of the 19th century, British administrators found [illegible] educated Indian "less submissive in tone and language than formerly, more erect in mental and moral stature in the presence of Europeans."

The full flowering of this return movement [illegible] reached by the end of the 19th century when a [illegible] Hindu monk was found asserting the values of [illegible] people's life in the Parliament of Religions held [illegible] Chicago in 1893, and the thought leaders of Christendom were startled into a recognition of the [illegible] another Way of Life with a history of its own [illegible] back to unremembered centuries. In the field of [illegible] in the relation between the alien State and the [illegible] of India, a new audacity and "grimness" erupted [illegible] view as Bengal stood up for the defence of her [illegible] integrity. This brings us to 1905 which ended the [illegible] of acquiescence in British superiority and started [illegible] era of positive action for the assertion of national [illegible] and the vindication of national honour. Following [illegible] "revolutionary patriotism" and "terrorism" with [illegible] conspiracy and organization as their technique [illegible] action, with the bomb and the revolver as [illegible] weapons of offence and defence.

During the First World War (1914-1918) [illegible] revolutionary patriots of the country, both exiles [illegible] active in their motherland, were able to secure German [illegible] and Turkish help with a view to overthrow British [illegible] rule over India. It was a desperate venture, [illegible] equal fight between an imperial system, equipped [illegible]

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the most developed of modern arms, and with the most intelligent of leadership and groups of revolutionaries drawn from two provinces mainly, the recruiting field being confined to sections of the educated community. The result of this fight was not long in doubt. Thus were dashed on the ground many an ardent hope; and many were the men who sacrificed at the altar of their country's freedom, the richest qualities and endowments of their youth, the happiness of their near ones as men and women understand and value it. They failed, because they failed to inject into the vast majority of their people, the courage that characterized their own conduct; they failed to call out of the deeps the spirit of sacrifice, of "do and dare" that moved themselves.

And when this failure of "revolutionary patriotism" was demonstrated beyond any doubt, there appeared Gandhiji in the firmament of India's public life. During all the time of the revolutionary upsurge in his country he had been fighting the good fight for the honour of his people's dignity in South Africa. The policy of the Boer and the Briton in this part of the British Empire high-lighted the arrogance against which his own people had been waging a persistent fight in his own home-land. There was common ground between the new leader and the "revolutionary patriots" in India in their spirit of sacrifice, in their determination to "do and dare, and die." But he came with a new technique of fight built on his faith in the goodness of men which late or soon cannot fail to respond to the demands of Truth and Justice. Therefore he was able to tell his own people that the empire-policy of Britain was "Satanic" but that the people of Britain should be pitied therefor, for the sins committed in their name. He asked his people to believe him when he said that the goodness of the British people, overlaid with two centuries of exploitation of other people's resources, would assert itself and do justice by India. At the same time he told them that they must keep their spirit alive and alert, that they should be self-reliant, that they should remove from their body politic all the elements that made for disunity and lack of cohesion. This was the heart of his programme of the spinning-wheel, of the removal of Untouchability.

The betrayal of the hopes of self-determination for India promised during the World War I by Britain and the breaking of solemn promises to Muslims about the integrity of the Turkish Caliphate prepared the ground for the India-wide agitation that found a new leader in Gandhiji. The imperialist in Britain, buoyed up by victory over the Kaiser, thought of consolidating his system of rule over the "lesser breeds" of mankind by methods which Ireland experienced as "Black and Tan" and India as "Jallianwala Bagh." These two experiences laid bare the treacherous heart of British imperialism; the "Crawling Lane" at Amritsar shook Gandhiji's faith in the British bureaucracy to do the decent thing by India. His "hartal" to make the protest against the Rowlatt Bill extended the circle of opposition to British methods of administration amongst classes that had been rather indifferent to the doings of the "Sarkar"—the Government which was above all law, human and divine. How the mass mind of India responded with such intrepidity to the call of the new leader will remain a milestone in human psychology. The technique of "hartal" jostled them out of their pathetic resignation and brought them face to face with a new world of ideas and activities.

The "hartal" and the demonstration attendant thereon laid the foundation of the new leadership. When the Muslim mass in our country rallied round it in 1920 under the leadership of their *Ulemas* and *Moulanas*, a situation was created that "perplexed" as seasoned a politician as Lord Reading who had succeeded Lord Chelmsford as Governor-General. The educated classes responded no less superbly, though their mind was not free from doubts and hesitations which came to the surface when in 1923, C. R. Das, Matilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel, Hakim Ajmal Khan led and organized the Swaraj Party. This "revolt" had its roots in certain of the basic principles that moved the new leadership in its reaction to Indian discontent in the context of the conditions created by the capitalist-imperialism pioneered by Britain since the middle of the 18th century. The ruin of India's village industries was not an isolated phenomenon; it followed certain philosophic assumptions of human nature and human good that in practice proved to be not an unmixed blessing. Gandhiji had been led to rebel against these by the writings of Ruskin and Tolstoy bringing out the cannibal nature of the new dispensation flourishing in the early 19th century. His reaction to it was embodied in his book *Hind Swaraj*, wherein he related his talk with a Bombay cloth mill-owner bragging of his theory of exploitation of the patriotic sentiment of Bengal during the Swadeshi and anti-Partition movement days. The leadership of the country and the Congress which Gandhiji inherited had no reply to this exploitation. Gandhiji proposed to root it out by his cult of the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom. And his Non-violent Resistance to evil argued a faith in the goodness of human nature that few shared. His call for communal amity, his campaign against Untouchability jerked us into a new realization of the discordances of Indian life that have been disrupting national cohesion and insulting the dignity of human nature. The old leadership had not been indifferent to these weaknesses in our body politic; it had lacked the soul-stirring passion and the fervour that moved mountains. Gandhiji brought these new qualities with him in fighting internal and external enemies to human good. The masses responded to these, and ever since then Gandhiji has been able to retain their allegiance and love.

In assessing his contribution to the evolution of modern India, these facts that have strongly coloured our thoughts and activities and stirred dissatisfaction with the accepted values of life, internal and external, have to be counted and in our various ways we have been responding to his challenges to deeply-held beliefs acquired during the British period, to the combative instinct of human beings. This antinomy explains why he had to wage such a persistent campaign against the habits of thought and conduct of his own people, and why even in his political fights, they could be found rising to the demands on their spirit of sacrifice by fits and starts. For about eight years

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till the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930, known as the Salt Campaign, Gandhiji kept himself aloof from politics, though his influence on it had to be reckoned with. When that upsurge of mass enthusiasm did come, it did in the wake of such a simple formula as the demand for untaxed salt. But the commonalty of the land responded to the symbolization of salt in the Dandi March because it represented a grievance that touched on one of the daily needs of the poorest and that of their cattle. The masses of India were rocked as never before; but the Muslim masses in general were indifferent, and the *intelligentsia* amongst them, who survived in their allegiance to Indian Nationalism even after the defection of the "Ali brothers", were re-inforced by the support of the *Khudai Khitmadgars* (Servants of God), organized by Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, known to the world at large as "Frontier Gandhi." The "Christian Viceroy," Lord Irwin, was not deterred by his faith in resorting to all "methods of barbarism" by which irresponsible authority fights to maintain its stranglehold.

The Gandhi-Irwin Pact called a halt to this fight. But the Willingdon regime returned to the original bias of British policy, and though Lord Irwin's successor spoke of his ambition to go down to history as "the first constitutional Governor-General" of India, imperial policy dictated him to reject "the Conference method" of his predecessor. Therefore did we find Lord Willingdon sending a curt reply to Gandhiji's anxious enquiry carried in his telegram of 29th December, 1931:

> "Whether you expect me to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress."

Followed the second Civil Disobedience of the Congress, and the Government started over again the procedure of arrest, imprisonment, imprisonment without trial, the regime of "lawless laws"; shooting, "mild lathi charges," cavalry charges into crowds, introduced variety into the technique of repression. Opposition was gagged into silence, dragooned into passivity. But the fire of resentment burned and lingered.

The outbreak of the second World War of the 20th century came as an opportunity to Britain to re-assert her hold over the human and natural resources of India, to fan communalism and separatism as an instrument thereof. She went on the offensive when without consulting any Indian leader or the Central Legislature she declared India as a belligerent on the side of the Allies against Germany. The Congress Ministries resigned in protest against this "affront to the self-respect" of their people. The *Round Table*, the quarterly organ of British sentiment in its least intolerant phase, was constrained to recognize that there was justice in this attitude: "As it was, the crisis caught India when she was still standing on the threshold of Dominion Status, so that while all the Dominions were free to choose, India was committed to war by a constitutional procedure which, though legally correct, provided for no consultation of the Indian public." And when in the pursuit of this arrogant policy, Lord Linlithgow announced on August 8, 1940, that the British authorities "could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life," the London weekly, *New Statesman and Nation* wrote that this declaration gave "a formidable right to veto the will of India's democracy." The paper continued: "It repeats exactly what was said with fatal results to Ulster." And since then on June 3, 1947, the President of the Muslim League used the "veto" with results more extensive than what took place in that corner of Ireland. And to this "pledge" of the British Government uttered through the lips of Lord Linlithgow in 1940 can be traced all the abominations that have taken place in India since August 16, 1946.

During these years Gandhiji followed a line of action that refused to treat Britain's adversity as India's opportunity for wresting political power from her hands. Even Congress leadership refused to accept his advice; it was prepared to co-operate with war measures "provided responsibility was transferred from Westminster to India," to quote the words of the Poona resolution of the All India Congress Committee passed on July 27-28, 1940. It was no small concession when it declared that the Congress could not extend the principle of Non-violence to "India's national defence", and one of its leaders could say that "the declaration of freedom that we demand does not mean a withdrawal from the British plan of defence." The British failed to appreciate Gandhiji's decent attitude. They exploited differences between various elements of India's population for their narrow policy. Even when Japan over-ran Malaya and Burma, their War Cabinet sent Sir Stafford Cripps in a mission of reconciliation that broke on the rock of their own adroit duplicity, and confirmed Gandhiji's suspicion that they were beyond redemption. Therefore did he call for "an orderly withdrawal" of their power from India to be saved from the ignominy of their hasty flight from Burma. This call took shape in the "Quit India" Movement of August-November 1942, when a leaderless people took on their own accord measures that declared to all the world the opposition of India to British imperialism. They failed in their "revolt." But the forces of history co-operating with India's discontent have forced British power out of India. Gandhiji has symbolized and organized this discontent, and he lived to witness the success of one of his own objectives. British power before retiring from India forced division on India's historic continuity much against Gandhiji's approval and perception of the dangers that such a division would precipitate. During the last one hundred and six nine days of his life on this earth he strove with might and main to halt the cruel consequences of disruption released over the country. He fell a martyr to this attempt to maintain human decency in the land of which he had dreamt a glorious future of unity amid diversity, differences reconciled by a spirit of sweetntss and light that is the glory of humanity's quest of the True, the Good and the Beautiful. To this ideal we must re-dedicate ourselves. In the desolation and despair of the loss we must not falter. For, that would be a betrayal of the faith in us of the man whom we loved to regard as the Mahatma, the Great Soul, the Architect of India's Freedom.

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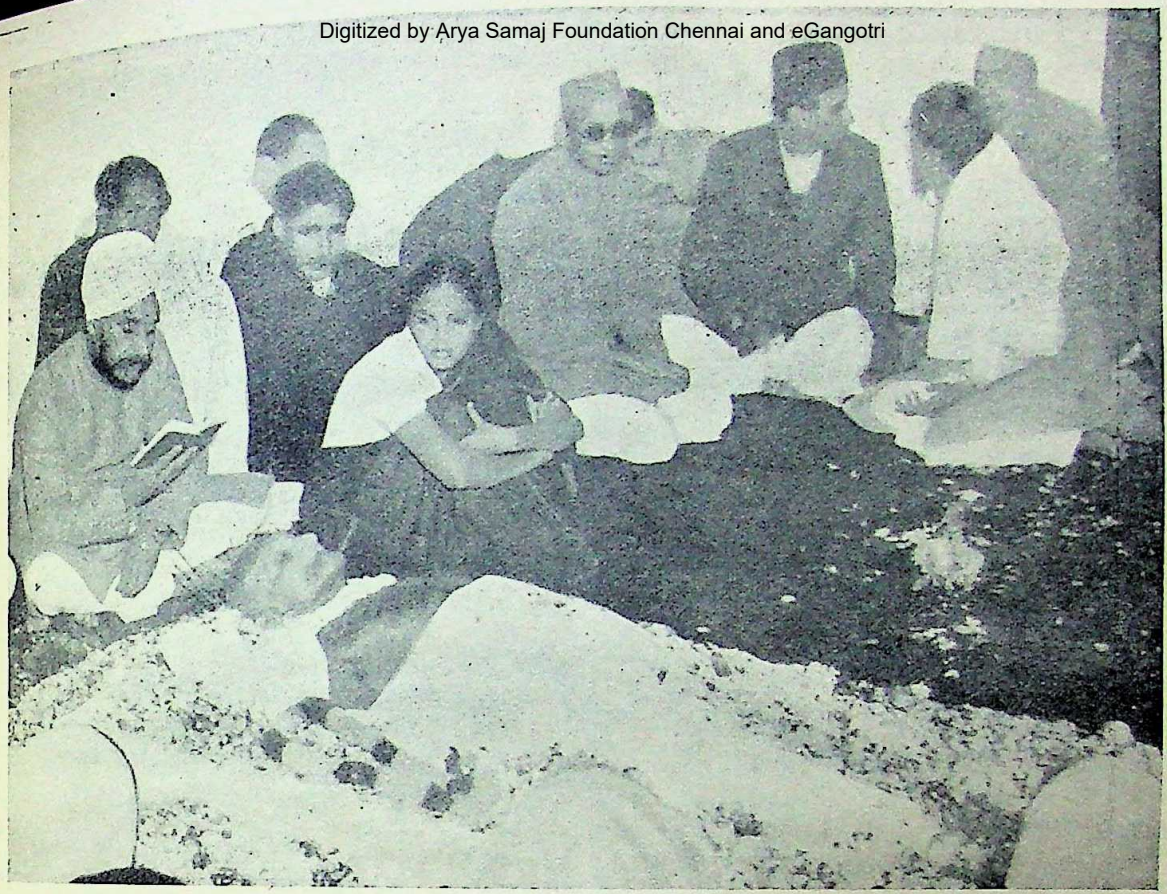
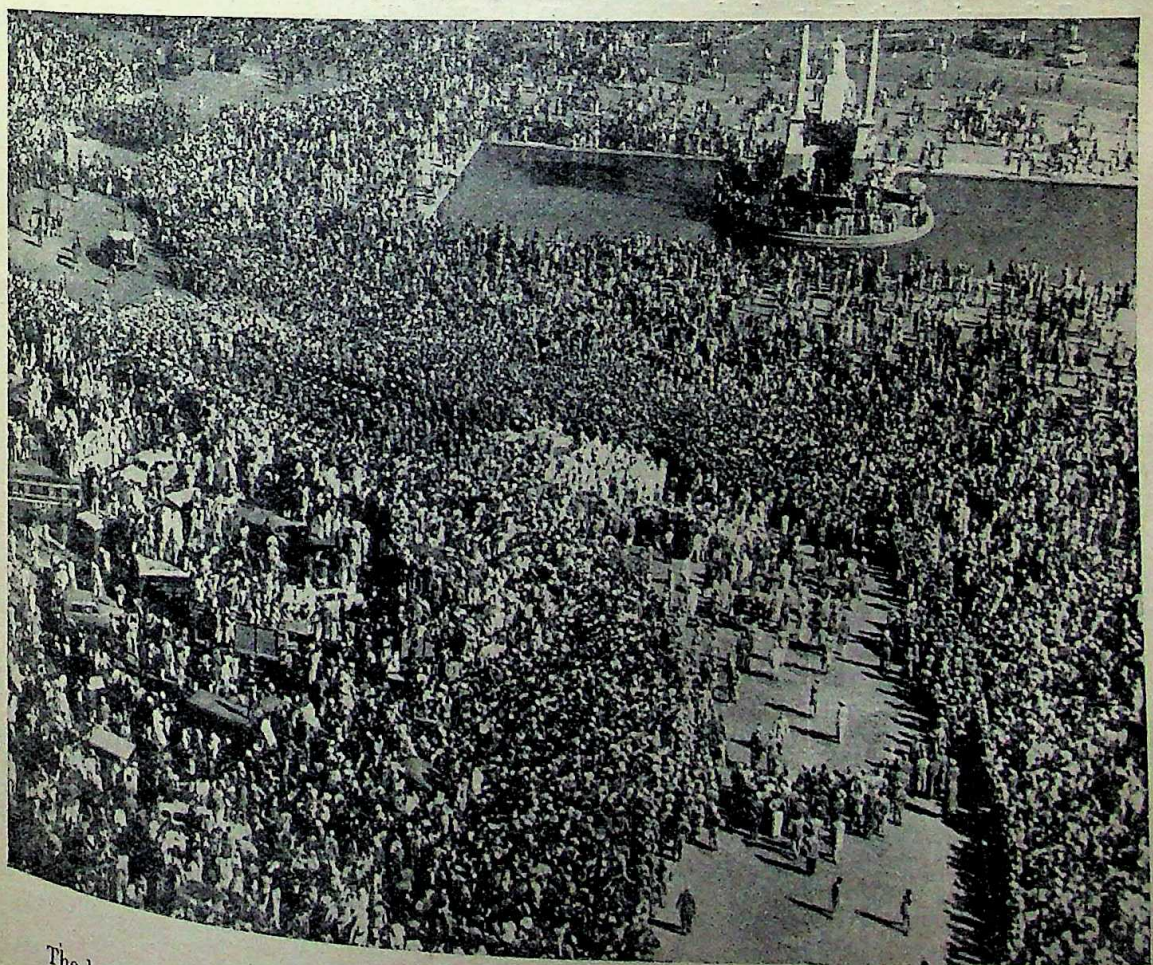


Mahatma Gandhi lying in State



The Funeral Procession

The long five-mile route from Birla House to the Jumna banks was lined on either side with people of every creed and every age

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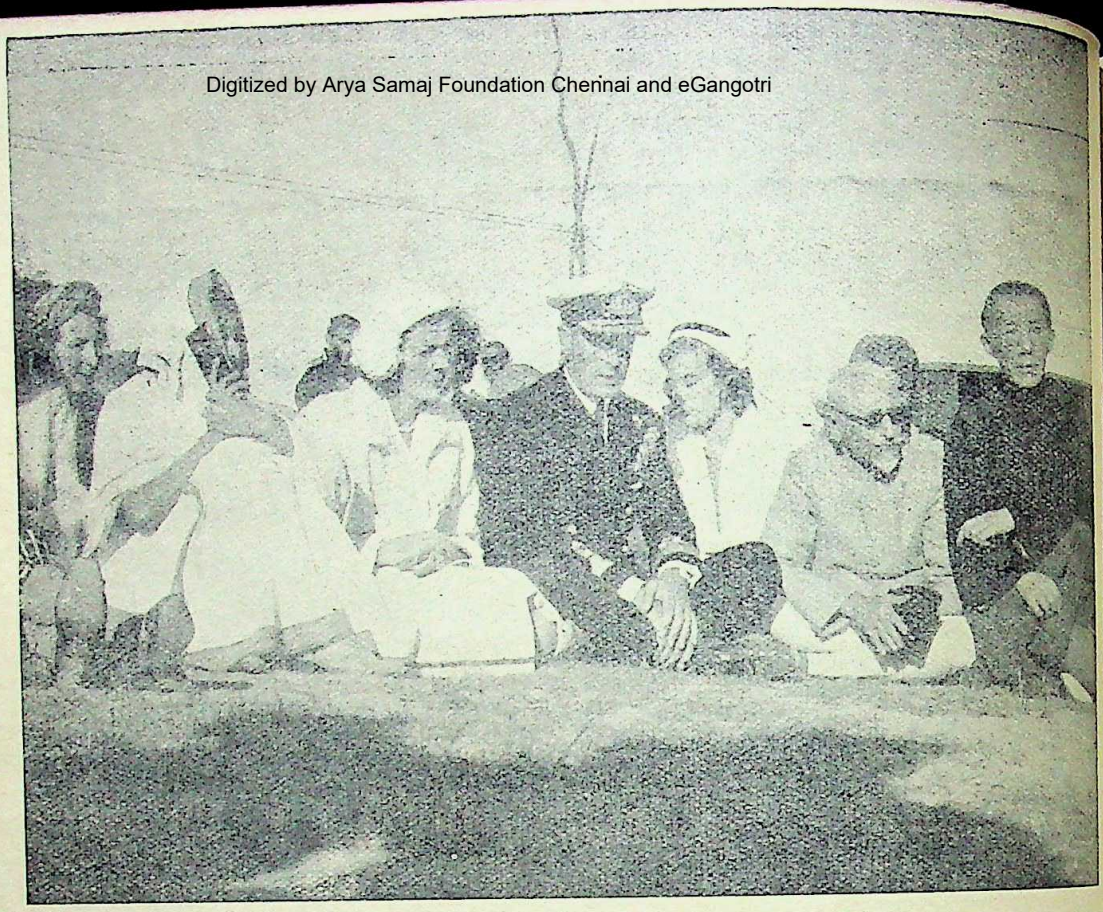
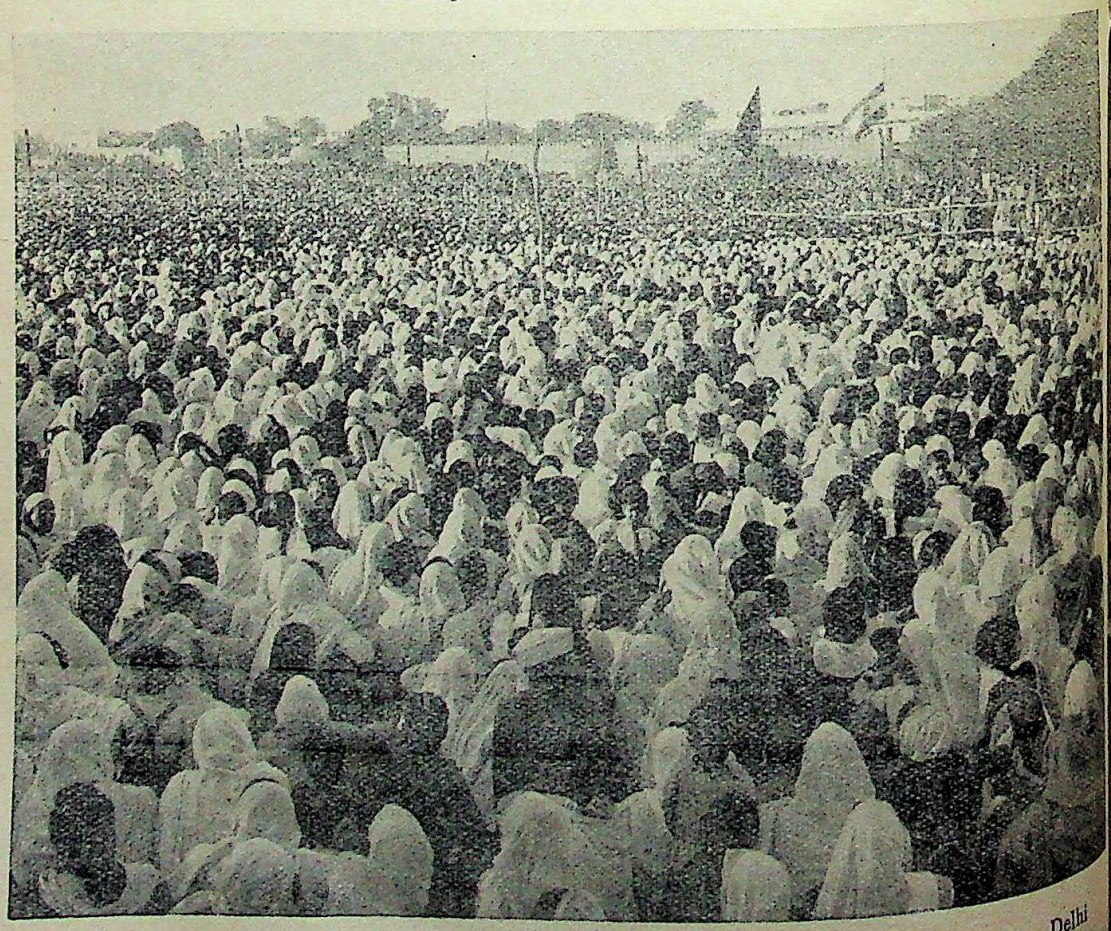


The End of the Journey

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Lady Mountbatten, Lord Louis Mountbatten, Hon'ble Pamela Mountbatten, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Lo Chia Luen watch the funeral pyre of Gandhiji on the bank of the Jumna



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the mammoth meeting at Ramlila Grounds in Delhi on February 2, when over a quarter of a million people gathered to pay their last homage to the Father of the Nation

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Gandhiji on the Congress

"Indian National Congress which is the oldest national political organisation and which has after many battles fought her non-violent way to freedom cannot be allowed to die. It can only die with the nation," wrote Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan* of February 1st, under the caption "Congress Position."

"A living organism ever grows or it dies. The Congress has won political freedom but it has yet to win economic freedom, social and moral freedom. These freedoms are harder than the political, if only because they are constructive, less exciting and not spectacular. All-embracing constructive work evokes the energy of all the units of the millions.

"The Congress has got the preliminary and necessary part of her freedom. The hardest has yet to come. In its difficult ascent to democracy, it has inevitably created rotten boroughs leading to corruption and creation of institutions, popular and democratic only in name. How to get out of the weedy and unwieldly growth?

"The Congress must do away with its special register of members at no time exceeding one crore, not even then easily identifiable. It had an unknown register of millions who could never be wanted. Its register should now be co-extensive with all the men and women on the voters' rolls in the country.

"The Congress business should be to see that no faked name gets in and no legitimate name is left out. On its own register it will have a body of the servants of the nation who would be workers doing the work allotted to them from time to time. Unfortunately, for the country they will be drawn chiefly for the time being from the city dwellers, most of whom would be required to work for and in the villages of India. The ranks must be filled in increasing numbers from villagers.

"These servants will be expected to operate upon and serve the voters registered according to law, in their own surroundings. Many persons and parties will woo them. The very best will win. Thus, and in no other way can the Congress regain its fast ebbing unique position in the country.

"But yesterday the Congress was unwittingly the servant of the nation. It was Khudai Khidmatgar—God's servant. Let it now proclaim to itself and the world that it is only God's servant—nothing more, nothing less. If it engages in the ungainly skirmish for power, it will find one fine morning that it is no more. Thank God, it is now no longer in sole possession of the field.

"I have only opened to view the distant scene. If I have the time and health I hope to discuss in these columns what the servants of the nation can do to raise themselves in the estimation of their masters, the whole of the adult population, male and female."

Gandhiji and Congress Constitution

The following are Mahatma Gandhi's suggestions regarding the Congress constitution:

"Though split into two, India has attained political independence through means devised by the Indian National Congress. The Congress in its present shape and form, namely, as a propaganda vehicle and parliamentary machine, has outlived its use. India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its 700,000 villages as distinguished from its cities and towns. The struggle for the ascendency of civil over military power is bound to take place in India's progress towards its democratic goal. It must be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies. For these and other similar reasons the A.-I.C.C. resolves to disband the existing Congress organization and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh under the following rules with power to alter them as occasion may demand:

Every panchayat of five adult men or women being villagers or village-minded shall form a unit.

Two such contiguous panchayats shall form a working party under a leader elected from among themselves.

When there are 100 such panchayats, the 50 first-grade leaders shall elect from among themselves a second grade leader and so on, the first grade leaders meanwhile working under the second grade leader. Parallel groups of 200 panchayats shall continue to be formed till they cover the whole of India, each succeeding group of pahchayats electing second grade leaders after the manner of the first. All second-grade leaders shall serve jointly for the whole of India and severally for their respective areas. The second-grade leaders may elect, whenever they deem necessary, from among themselves a chief who will, regulate and command all the groups.

As the final formation of provinces or districts is still in a state of flux, no attempt has been made to divide this group of servants into provincial or district councils and jurisdiction over the whole of India has been vested in the group or groups that may have been formed at any given time. It should be noted that this body of servants derive their authority or power from service ungrudgingly and wisely done to their master, the whole of India.

1. Every worker shall be a habitual wearer of khadi made from self-spun yarn or certificate by the A.-I.S.A. and must be a teetotaller. If a Hindu, he must have abjured untouchability in any shape or form in his own person or in his family. He must be a believer in the idea of inter-communal unity, equal respect and regard for all religions and equality of opportunity and status for all, irrespective of race, creed or sex.

2. He shall come in personal contact with every villager within his jurisdiction.

3. He shall enrol and train workers from amongst the villagers and keep a register of all these.

4. He shall keep a record of his work from day to day.

5. He shall organize the villages so as to make them self-contained and self-supporting through their agriculture and handicrafts.

6. He shall educate the village-folk in sanitation and hygiene and take all measures for prevention of ill-health and disease among them.

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7. He shall organize the education of village-folk birth to death along the lines of "Nayee Talim," in accordance with the policy laid down by the Hindusthani Talimi Sangh.

8. He shall see that those whose names are missing on the statutory voters' roll are duly entered therein.

9. He shall encourage those who have not yet acquired the legal qualification to acquire it, for getting the right of franchise.

10. For the above purposes and others to be added from time to time, he shall train and fit himself in accordance with the rules laid down by the Sangh for the due performance of duty.

The Sangh shall affiliate the following autonomous bodies: the A.-I.S.A., A.-I.V.I.A., Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Goseva Sangh.

The Sangh shall raise finances for the fulfilment of its mission from among the villagers and others, special stress being laid on collection of poor man's pice."

Pandit Nehru's Broadcast

Speaking in a voice quivering with emotion, Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister, broadcasting tonight from the Delhi station of AIR on the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, said: "The first thing to remember now is that no one of us dare misbehave because we are angry. We have to behave like strong and determined people, determined to face all the perils that surround us, determined to carry out the mandate that our great teacher and our great leader has given us, remembering always that if, as I believe, his spirit looks upon us and sees us, nothing would displease his soul so much as to see that we have indulged in any small behaviour or any violence.

"We must hold together, and all our petty troubles, difficulties and conflicts must be ended in the face of this great disaster. The best prayer that we could offer him and his memory is to take a pledge to dedicate ourselves to truth, and to the cause for which this great countryman of ours lived and for which he has died."

The Prime Minister said:

"Friends and comrades, the light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere. I do not know what to tell you and how to say it. Our beloved leader, Bapu as we called him, the father of the nation, is no more. Perhaps I am wrong to say that. Nevertheless, we will not see him again as we have seen him for these many years. We will not run to him for advice and seek solace from him, and that is a terrible blow not to me only but to millions and millions in this country. And it is a little difficult to soften the blow by any advice that I or anyone else can give you.

"The light has gone out, I said, and yet I was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illumined this country for these many years will illumine this country for many more years, and a thousand years later that light will still be seen in this country and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented something more than the immediate present; it represented the living truth—the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this an country to freedom.

"All this has happened when there was so much for him to do. We could never think that he was necessary or that he had done his task. But now, cularly, when we are faced with so many difficulties not being with us is a blow most terrible to bear.

"A madman has put an end to his life, for I can call him mad who did it, and yet there has been of poison spread in this country during the past years months and this poison has had effect on people's We must face this poison, we must root out this and we must face all the perils that encompass us, face them not madly or badly but rather in the way our beloved teacher taught us to face them.

"So we must not do that. But that does not mean we should be weak but rather that we should in str and in unity face all the troubles that are in front of

"A great disaster is a symbol to us to remember the big things of life and forget the small things, of we have thought too much. In his death he has remi us of the big things of life, that living truth, and if remember that, then it will be well with India."

Patel's Broadcast

"It is a day of great sorrow and shame for In said Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, speaking Hindustani from the Delhi station of AIR on 30th Ja He appealed to the people not to think in terms of ta revenge but "to carry the message of love and violence enunciated by Mahatmaji. It is a shame for that the greatest man of the world has had to pay his life for the sins which we have committed. We did follow him when he was alive; let us at least follow steps now he is dead."

Sardar Patel said that he went to Birla House 4 p.m. today and had about an hour's talk with Mah Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi then brought out his watch said: "This is my prayer time and I shall have to go

Sardar Patel left Birla House immediately, but he he arrived home he was informed that Mahatma G had been shot by a young man and had been take Birla House in a precarious condition. Sardar Patel ried to Birla House and found the Mahatma lying de

He said: "On his face was writ the usual spi forgiveness. There was no expression of anger or anno anywhere. It was the expression of his usual kindness forgiveness."

Sardar Patel referred to the recent fast undertak Mahatma Gandhi and said he survived death at that because he had still some useful work to do for India (Mahatma Gandhi) also escaped when a bomb was th by a madman very recently. But now he had fallen victim of a madman's bullet and "Bapuji is no more

Continuing, Sardar Patel exhorted the people to tain calm and perfect peace. This was Mahatma G mission—the mission for which he lived and died. mission must now be fulfilled by the people, who co it only if they forgot differences and bitterness emulated Mahatma Gandhi's motto.

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Suhrawardy's Statement

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy said : "I feel as if the bottom of the world has fallen out. Who is there who will now assuage the anguish of the oppressed, who is there who will now wipe their tears ? To him we had learnt to turn for guidance and for advice in all our difficulties and he never failed us.

"Weep, India, weep until thy heart breaks, for extinguished is the gift that shed truth and justice, a deep love for humanity and transcendental sympathy for the forlorn and the friendless.

"May we take his teachings to heart and, in the midst of our gloom and despair, endeavour to put into practice those grand tenets of peace and love of mankind for which he gave his life.

"I am sure he sees what we do ; let us try to fulfil his cherished dream of Hindu-Muslim unity and oneness of mind and spirit in the common service of humanity."

Zahid Hussain's Tribute

Mr. Zahid Hussain, Pakistan High Commissioner in India, said : "I am shocked and horrified to hear of the news of Mahatma Gandhi's sad and sudden death. It is an unparalleled tragedy the seriousness and gravity of which it is impossible to express in words.

"Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest cementing force between various communities of India and Pakistan, and India needed him most at this critical period of her history. He was the greatest sage of his time, who combined the spiritual balance of the East and the dynamic energy of the West.

"In him India and humanity have lost their noblest teacher, who even in his old age and in weak health carried on with energy and conviction his peace mission with unrivalled courage. Indian Muslims especially had in him a true friend and their loss is very heavy indeed.

"The cowardly act of the misguided youth who shot him dead will be unreservedly condemned by all irrespective of caste, creed or nationality. He is guilty of the greatest disservice to humanity."

Nehru's Tribute to Gandhiji in Dominion Parliament

On February 2, the Dominion Parliament paid homage to Mahatma Gandhi in an atmosphere of profound grief. There was nothing of the familiar look about the Chamber, no laughter, no exchanges of pleasantries, not even cheers or cries of approval when speaker after speaker rose to heights of eloquence in voices surcharged with emotion.

While the House was paying its homage, demonstrators outside the Chamber were shouting slogans condemning communal organizations.

Pandit Nehru, declaring that they must try to be worthy of their teacher, said that it was the first duty of the Government to root out violence. "So far as this Government is concerned, I trust they will spare no effort to do that because if we do not do that, if we, in our weakness or for any other reason that we may consider adequate, do not take effective means to stop this violence and this spreading of hatred by word of mouth or writing or act, then, indeed, we are not worthy of being in this Government, we are certainly not worthy of being his followers and we are not worthy of even saying words of praise for this great soul who has departed.

"In ages to come, centuries and, might be, millennia after us, people would think of this generation when this man of God trod the earth and would think of us who, however, small also tread the holy ground where his foot had been. Let us be worthy of him."

Pandit Nehru added that this tragedy was not merely the isolated act of a mad man. "It has come out of a certain atmosphere of violence and hatred that has prevailed in this country for many months and years, more especially the past few months. That atmosphere envelops us and surrounds us and if we are to serve the cause he put before us, we have to face this atmosphere, combat it, struggle against it, root out the evil of hatred and violence."

The Prime Minister said : "It is customary in this House to pay some tribute to the eminent departed, to say some words of praise and condolence. I am not quite sure in my own mind if it is exactly fitting for me or any others in this House to say much on this occasion.

"For I have a sense of utter shame, both as an individual and as the Head of the Government of India, that we should have failed to protect the greatest treasure that we possessed. It is our failure, as it has been our failure in the past many months, to give protection to many an innocent man, woman and child. It may be that the burden and the task were too great for us or for any Government. Nevertheless, it is failure.

"The fact that this mighty person whom we honoured and loved beyond measure has gone because we could not give him adequate protection is shame for all of us. It is shame to me as an Indian that an Indian should have raised his hand against him, it is shame to me as a Hindu that a Hindu should have done this deed, and done it to the greatest Indian of the day and the greatest Hindu of the age.

"We praise people in well-chosen words and we have some kind of a measure for greatness. How shall we praise him and how shall we measure him, because he was not of the common clay that all of us are made of. He came, lived a fairly long span of life and has passed away. No words of praise of ours in the House are needed, for he has had greater praise in his life than any living man in history, and during these two or three days since his death, he has had the homage of the world. What can we add to that ?

"How can we praise him, we who have been the children of his, and perhaps more intimately children of his than the children of his body, for we have all been in some greater or smaller measure the children of his spirit.

"The glory has departed and the sun that warmed and brightened our lives has set and we shiver in the cold and dark. Yet he would not have us feel this way. After all, the glory that we saw all these years, that man with the

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divine fire, changed us also, and such as we are, we have been moulded by him during these years and out of that divine fire many of us also took a small spark which strengthened us, made us work to some extent on the lines that he fashioned. And so, if we praise him, our words seem rather small, and if we praise him, to some extent we praise ourselves.

"Great men and eminent men have monuments in bronze and marble set up for them, but this man of divine fire managed in his lifetime to become enmeshed with millions and millions of hearts so that all of us became somewhat of the stuff that he was made of, though in infinitely lesser degree. He spread out over India not in palaces only or in selected places or in assemblies but in every hamlet and hut of the lowly and those who suffered.

"In a large measure, he made this country during these last 30 years and more, and attained to heights of sacrifice which in that particular domain have never been equalled elsewhere. He succeeded in that. Yet ultimately, things happened which no doubt, made him suffer tremendously.

"Though his tender face never lost its smile and he never spoke a harsh word to anyone, yet he must have suffered for the failings of this generation whom he had trained, suffered because we went away from the path that he had shown us and, ultimately, the hand of a child of his—for he after all is as much a child of his as any other Indian—struck him down.

"Long ages afterwards history will judge of this period we have passed through. It will judge of the successes and the failures. We are too near it to be proper judges and to understand what has happened and what has not happened. All we know is that there was a glory and it is no more. All we know is that for the moment there is darkness, not so dark certainly because when we look into our hearts we still find the living flame which he lighted, and if this living flame exists there will not be darkness in this land and we shall be able with our effort, remembering him and following his path, to illumine this land again, small as we are but still with the fire that he kindled into us.

"He was perhaps the greatest symbol of the India of the past, and may I say of the India of the future that we could have had. We stand on this perilous edge of the present, between that past and the future to be, and we face all manner of perils, and the greatest peril is sometimes the lack of faith which comes to us, the sense of frustration that comes to us, the sinking of the heart and of the spirit that comes to us when we see ideals becoming unreal and we see the great things that we talked about somehow becoming empty words, and life taking a different course.

"Yet I do believe that perhaps this period will pass soon enough. Great as this man of God was in his life, he had been greater in his death and I have not the shadow of doubt that by his death he has served the great cause as he served it throughout his life.

"We shall always mourn him because we are human and cannot forget our beloved master, but I know that he would not like us to mourn him. No tears came to his when his dearest and closest went away, only a firm solve to persevere, to serve the great cause that he chosen. So, he would chide us if we merely mourned.

"That is a poor way of paying homage to him. only way is to express our determination to pledge selves anew, to dedicate ourselves to the great tasks he undertook and he accomplished to such a large ex So we have to work, we have to labour, we have to fice and thus, to some extent at least prove wortry follo of his."

Congress Party Meeting

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, and Sardar are understood to have exploded rumours that there differences between them and stigmatised the auth this whispering campaign as "dishonourable."

There was keen interest and considerable speculation on the outcome of a party meeting held this eve There was a record attendance of members at the me which took place immediately after the adjournment the Assembly. Some expected startling developments follow the meeting, which, however, terminated w unanimous expression of confidence in the Governme

All members agreed that Sardar Patel made one of most memorable speeches they had heard. He spoke 40 minutes and, when he came to Mahatma Gandhi and subsequent events, he broke down and then left meeting abruptly.

The party was meeting for the first time Mahatma Gandhi's death. There was no specific agenda presumably the meeting was convened to discuss the situation arising out of the assassination of Mah Gandhi. The meeting ended, it is authoritatively with an expression of complete confidence in the Go ment.

At the outset, the Prime Minister is reported to reviewed briefly the events culminating in the Mah death. Emphasising the complete unanimity of the Go ment, especially between himself and Sardar Patel major questions of policy, Pandit Nehru characterised "dishonourable" the rumours spread and the speculation encouraged even by some responsible Congressmen there were differences between them. Although adm there was a temperamental difference in approach few problems, the points of agreements were so man the others became insignificant. He expressed his that some people should have seized the opportunity exploit the death of Mahatma Gandhi for narrow ends.

Sardar Patel, who, it is understood, was pressed party to speak, explained the situation for nearly quarters of an hour. Declaring that he was one w Prime Minister on all national issues, he pointed he and Pandit Nehru for over a quarter of a cent at the feet of their Master and struggled together freedom of India. So far they had no prob differences, and it was unthinkable that today, Mahatma was no more, they would quarrel. The S

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had said he had failed to protect the Mahatma. He denied the charges by giving details of the numerous security arrangements taken to protect Mahatma Gandhi as far as human foresight could provide.

Before the bomb incident, Birla House was entirely ringed by armed guards. After the bomb incident, there was a police officer in almost every room. He knew Mahatma Gandhi did not like it, and he had several arguments with him. Finally, the Mahatma gave way, but sternly insisted that under no circumstances would he permit the search of people who would come to attend the prayer meetings. He had almost a premonition, for he (Mahatma Gandhi) had said that, if anybody wanted to assassinate him, he could do so at the prayer meeting. God's will be done. So there was no question of the police searching anyone coming to join the prayer meeting congregation.

Nevertheless, there were 30 plain clothes police officers who mingled in the prayer gathering, which was about 500 on the day of his assassination. The assassin was said to have knelt down before Mahatma Gandhi and as he rose whipped out a pistol and fired before anyone could apprehend him. This was a calamitous misfortune which could not be guarded against. A further complicating factor was that nearly 80 per cent of the Intelligence Staff consisted of Muslims, who had left for Pakistan, and the Central Government had to go abegging for staff from the various provinces.

They should not give way to hysterical agitation and suppress the Hindu Mahasabha in its entirety, thus laying the Congress open to the charge of wiping out all opposition. While they (the Government of the day as supported by the party) must act firmly, they must also act with fairness and justice.

Referring to certain strong criticisms made against the Home Ministry in particular by the Socialist Party leader, Sardar Patel is reported to have emphasised that the Socialist Party as such were offered seats in the Congress Working Committee. They refused to co-operate. They were then offered seats in the Central Government. They refused. He then made the offer to hand over one entire province to them so that they could carry on their experiments without let or hindrance. They refused. And today they exploited the greatest misfortune and calamity of the nation for party ends and the Sardar wondered if there could be any more place for them in Congress organizations as such.

They ridiculed the Services, despised the police and the entire administrative machinery and yet they wanted to come in and rule the country. How and with what they were going to rule he could not imagine.

Points made by other speakers at the party meeting were: that at least after this great tragedy the present members of the Government should become security conscious and that Sardar Patel should not go on early morning walks giving interviews to some 200 people on an average a day in an open park; that Pandit Nehru should be careful; they must find out how the RSS or, for that matter, any other body which was nowhere in the political picture of India when the Congress contested the last and recent elections had now become a menace and whether the whole tragedy was not due to the policy of "appeasement" which the Congress had followed *vis-a-vis* the Muslim League.

Finally, the meeting is reported to have unanimously endorsed the banning of the RSS in the present circumstances and expressed its unqualified confidence in the Government in the present crisis.

Pandit Nehru's Allahabad Speech

After the immersion ceremony was over (February 12), Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a meeting. The vast concourse of people heard him with rapt attention. Pandit Nehru spoke with warmth and feeling which is seldom associated with him.

He made a fervent appeal to the people to carry out the last wishes of Gandhiji and wipe out the poison of communal hatred which was sweeping India and which was the real cause of Gandhiji's death.

Pandit Nehru stressed that the way adopted by some people including some high-placed persons, to oust the present Government from office was wrong. Such methods were adopted only by scheming persons who lack support of the masses of people. It is not by killings of this sort that Government can be changed. People must follow methods of reasoning with their Leaders and Ministers.

Pandit Nehru said: "Today has ended the last journey of the Father of the Nation. For the last fifty years Mahatma Gandhi had travelled all over the country, serving the people of India in a selfless manner and preaching his gospel of Truth and Non-violence. That great man will walk no more among us, but his message will always live with us."

Continuing Pandit Nehru said that with the immersion of Mahatma Gandhi's ashes their relation with him had not come to an end but on the contrary a stronger link in the relationship had been forged.

"It was our fortune that we lived in the same age as Mahatma Gandhi and we saw him in flesh and blood. The next generation will not have seen him but that, too, will derive the same strength from his as we did, because the impact of his personality will last for all times to come.

"Before his death we could always go to him and benefit from his advice. We shall not be able to do so now. We could not look up to him and ask him to share our burdens and difficulties. We have to face things now without his help. But what he taught us will always be there to inspire and guide us."

Pandit Nehru said that as Gandhiji led this country towards her freedom, he also preached against violence and communalism. But soon after he had won them their freedom, they stood divided among themselves and a wave of violence was sweeping the country. Freeing a downtrodden people, and the way he did it, was a remarkable achievement unparalleled in the history of the world, but the free India today stood humiliated abroad and bruised in her own soul.

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Of late, Pandit Nehru continued, poison had spread in the country and communalism had the upper hand. Certain sections among the people were getting more and more inclined towards violence and violence had ultimately claimed their "most beloved Bapu" as a victim.

This violence, if not checked, would bring about the destruction of their freedom, and they must return from the banks of the Ganges with a firm resolve to put an end to it. A large number of young men of India had gone in the path of violence and they must now be made to see their folly and retrace their steps.

The very idea of using force against political opponents is distasteful to us and dangerous for our future. We have decided to have in our country a democratic form of Government. Every citizen here has the right to express his views without imperilling the peace and only that Government will function here which enjoys the confidence of the majority of the people. Those who do not like this form of Government and want to seize power by violent methods have no place in the free "India," declared the Prime Minister.

How did the poison of communal hatred and violence spread in the country, asked Pandit Nehru. It had spread, he said, because some people holding responsible places in public life had misled the younger generation and exploited innocent people to achieve their own selfish ends. "Maybe, in the past our hands have been too weak to deal effectively with it, but, after parting with the last remains of our father on the banks of this sacred river today who is among us, who will not pledge himself to put an end to violence and communalism?"

"Today we shall return to our homes with sad and heavy hearts. But mingled with our sorrow is also a feeling of pride at having had a great leader like Mahatma Gandhi to direct our freedom movement. He taught us a novel way of fighting our battles, and our battles became non-violent and peaceful."

"In gratitude for what he has done for us we owe him a duty. It is our duty today to complete the work started by him and establish an India of his ideal. In India we must give equal rights to all persons irrespective of their religions and we have also to extend to the rest of the world that lesson of the equality of all men. If we fail to do all that then it will only mean that the people of India did not deserve so great a leader."

For the last forty years, Pandit Nehru added, the people had been shouting 'Gandhiji ki Jai'. Gandhiji never wanted his personal 'Jai'. In reality India's victory was his victory. He founded India's independence on the sure and sound footings of Truth and Non-violence and they must all endeavour to make that an ever-lasting monument of his Jai, Pandit Nehru concluded.

Mountbatten's Broadcast

New Delhi, Feb. 12: The Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, broadcasting tonight said: "The best tribute that we can pay to Gandhiji's memory is to turn our hearts, and our minds and our hands," to building a secular, democratic State in which "all can lead useful creative lives and in which a genuinely progressive so can be developed based on social and economic justi

Lord Mountbatten said: "The death of Mah Gandhi came with the shock of a personal bereave to millions of people in every part of the civilised wo Not only those who worked with him throughout his or who, like myself, had known him for a compara short time, but people who never met him, who never him or even read one word of his published works, as if they had lost a friend.

"Dear friend: that is how he would begin his le to me and how I used to reply, because it was so ob ously the right way to address him. And that is how and my family, will always think of him.

"I met Gandhiji for the first time in March of year; for my first act on arriving in India was to w to him and suggest that we should meet at the ear possible moment—and at our first meeting, we deci that the best way we could help one another to d with the tremendous problems ahead, was to maint constant personal contact. The last time he came see me was a month ago, a few minutes after the pr meeting at which he had announced that he would unto death unless communal harmony was restored. last time I saw him in life was when my wife and went to visit him on the fourth day of the fast. Dur the ten months we had known one another, our meeti had never been formal interviews; they were t between two friends—and we had been able to establ a degree of confidence and understanding which w remain a treasured memory.

"Gandhiji, the man of Peace, the apostle of Ahim died by violence, as a martyr in the struggle agai fanaticism—that deadly disease that has threatened jeopardise India's new-found freedom. He saw that cancer must be rooted out before India could embark the great task of nation-building which lies ahead.

"Our great Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, has se the high aim of a secular democratic State in which can lead useful, creative lives and in which a genuin progressive society can be developed, based on social economic justice; and the best tribute that we can to Gandhiji's memory is to turn our hearts, and our mi and our hands, to building such a society upon foundations of freedom that he so firmly laid during lifetime. Gandhiji will have rendered his last greatest service of all to the people he loved so wel the tragic manner of his death has shocked and spu us into sinking all differences and joining in a susta united effort—beginning here and now. Only in this can his ideal be realised, and India enter into her inheritance."

Pandit Nehru's Broadcast on February 14

The Prime Minister said:—

"Two weeks have passed since India and the w learnt of that tragedy, which will shame India for to come—two weeks of sorrow and searching of h and strong and dormant emotions rising in a flood

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of tears from millions of eyes. Would that those tears washed away our weakness and littleness and made us a little worthy of the master for whom we sorrowed. Two weeks of homage and tribute from every corner of the globe, from kings and potentates and those in high authority, to the common man everywhere who instinctively looked to him as a friend, a comrade and a champion.

The flood of emotion will tone down gradually as all such emotions do, though none of us can ever be the same as we were before, for he has entered in the very texture of our lives and minds.

People talk of memorials to him in statues of bronze or marble or pillars and thus they mock him and belie his message. What tribute shall we pay to him that he would have appreciated? He has shown us the way to live and the way to die and if we have not understood that lesson, it would be better that we raised no memorial to him, for the only fit memorial is to follow reverently in the path he showed us and to do our duty in life and in death.

He was a Hindu and an Indian, the greatest in many generations, and he was proud of being a Hindu and an Indian. To him India was dear because she had represented throughout the ages certain immutable truths. But though he was intensely religious and came to be called the Father of the Nation which he had liberated, yet no narrow religious or national bonds confined his spirit. And so he became the great internationalist believing in the essential unity of man, the underlying unity of all religions and the needs of humanity and more specially devoting himself to the service of the poor—the distressed and the oppressed millions everywhere.

His death brought more tributes than had been paid at the passing away of any other human being in history. Perhaps what would have pleased him best was the spontaneous tributes that came from the people of Pakistan. On the morrow of the tragedy, all of us forgot for a while the bitterness that had crept in, the estrangement and conflict of these past months, and Gandhiji stood out as the beloved champion and leader of the people of India, as it was before partition cut up this living nation.

He was the great unifier in India, who taught us not only a bare tolerance of others but of a willing acceptance of them as our friends and comrades in common undertakings. He taught us to rise above our little selves and prejudices and see the good in others. His last few months and his very death symbolise to us this message of large-hearted tolerance and unity. A little before he died we pledged ourselves to this before him. We must keep that pledge and remember that India is a common home to all those who live here, to whatever religion they may belong. They are equal sharers in our great inheritance and they have equal rights and obligations. Ours is a composite nation, as all great nations must necessarily be. Any narrowness in outlook, any attempt to confine the bounds of this great nation, will be a betrayal of his final lesson to us and will surely lead to disaster and to the loss of that freedom for which he laboured and which he gained for us in large measure. Equally important is the service of the common man in India who has suffered so much in the past. His claims must be paramount and everything that comes in the way of his betterment must have second place. Not merely from moral and humanitarian grounds but also from the point of view of political commonsense, it has become essential to raise the standards of the common man and to give him full opportunity of progress. A social structure which denies him this opportunity stands self-condemned and must be changed.

Gandhiji has gone though his flaming spirit envelops us. The burden is upon us now and the immediate need is that we should endeavour to the utmost of our ability to discharge that burden. We have to hold together and fight that terrible poison of communalism that has killed the greatest man of our age. We must root this out not in any spirit of illwill to misguided individuals but in militant opposition to the evil itself wherever it may be. That evil has not ended by the killing of Gandhiji. It was an even more shameful thing for some people to celebrate this killing in various ways. Those who did so or feel that way have forfeited their rights to be called Indians.

I have said that we must all hold together in this hour of crisis for our nation and must avoid public controversy as far as possible and lay stress on the points of agreement on essential matters. I would make a special appeal to the Press to help this urgent task and to avoid personal or other criticisms which encourage fissiparous tendencies in the country. I would appeal more specially to the millions of my colleagues and comrades in the Congress who have followed, haltingly enough often, the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

It has distressed me beyond measure to read in newspapers and otherwise learn of whispering about vital differences between Sardar Patel and myself. Of course, there have been for many years past differences between us, temperamental or other, in regard to many problems. But India at least should know that these differences have been overshadowed by fundamental agreements about the most important aspects of our public life and that we have co-operated together for a quarter of a century or more in great undertakings. We have been sharers in joy and sorrow alike. Is it likely that at this crisis in our national destiny either of us should be petty-minded and think of anything but the national good? May I pay my tribute or respect and admiration to Sardar Patel not only for his life-long service to the nation but also for the great work he has done since he and I have functioned together in the Government of India. He has been a brave captain of our people in war and peace, stout-hearted when others might waver, and a great organiser. It has been my privilege to have been associated with him for these many years and my affection for him and appreciation of his great qualities have grown with the passing of time.

Recently certain reports about what I said at a private meeting appeared in the public press which were un-

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authorised and which led people to believe that I had used strong language to criticise my old friend and colleague, Jayprakash Narayan. These reports were incorrect. I should like to say that I have deeply regretted some of the policies pursued by the Socialist Party in India and I think that they have been led by the stress of events or emotion into wrong action and wrong statement. But I have never had any doubt about the ability and integrity of Jayprakash Narayan whom I valued as a friend and I am sure that a time will come when he will play a very important part in shaping India's destiny. Unfortunately the Socialist Party has adopted rather negative policies for a long time and has often ignored wider considerations which must be given priority.

I plead therefore for tolerance and co-operation in our public life and a joining together of all the forces which want to make India a great and progressive nation. I plead for an all-out effort against the poison of communalism and narrow provincialism. I plead for a cessation of industrial conflict and a joint endeavour of all concerned to build up India. In these great tasks I pledge myself and I earnestly trust that it may be given to us of this generation to realise somewhat the dreams that Gandhiji had. Thus will we honour his memory and erect a worthy memorial for him."

Kashmir Question at the U. N. Security Council

The Kashmir Question at the U. N. Security Council is still at the debate stage which has not yet been concluded. A series of Round Table Talks between India and Pakistan have been held but were of no avail due to the usual intransigence of Pakistan to admit truth. Rather efforts have been made to evade the real issue under discussion by trying to convert the Kashmir Question into one of Indo-Pakistan Relation. It is needless to say that this alteration is of much benefit to Pakistan and they are trying for it. The text of Indian proposal on Kashmir is as follows:

First objective to be achieved is the stoppage of fighting and termination of military operations in Jammu and Kashmir State.

For this purpose the Government of Pakistan should use all efforts to stop the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir by persuading tribesmen and others now in the State territory who have invaded Kashmir to withdraw from that territory; they should further prevent the passage through Pakistan territory of such invaders to Jammu and Kashmir State, deny the use of such territory for operations against the State and also refuse supplies and other materials, direct and indirect to such invaders.

2. After the fighting has ceased and there are no raiders from outside left in the State and there is no further need to continue military operations in the State, the next objective would be the restoration of peace and normal conditions. For this purpose:

(*a*) All citizens of the State who have left it on account of the recent disturbances will be invited and be free to return to their homes and to exercise their rights as citizens.

(*b*) There shall be no victimisation.

(*c*) All political prisoners in the State shall released, and

(*d*) No restrictions shall be imposed on legitimate political activity.

It is anticipated that a period of about six months after the termination of military operations will required for the restoration of normal conditions and for infusing full confidence into the minds of citizens who have migrated from the State to persuade themselves to return to their homes with a sense of security.

It is further recognised that due, among other things, to the present upheaval in Kashmir, the sources of Jammu and Kashmir State are not at present adequate to maintaining law and order.

The efficient maintenance of law and oredr in the State during the interval between the termination of military operations and the taking of the plebiscite is essential if the plebiscite is to be free and unfettered.

So long as the State remains acceded to India the Government of India are responsible for its defence. Although after the cessation of hostilities, the strength of Indian troops in the State will be progressively reduced, it will be necessary to maintain Indian troops of adequate strength to ensure not only protection against possible future attacks from outside, but also for giving support to the civil Power when required in the preservation of law and order.

3. The Emergency Administration under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah will immediately be converted by the Maharajah into a Council of Ministers in which Sheikh Abdullah will be Prime Minister and his colleagues will be appointed by the Maharajah on his advice.

4. A Commission already decided on should be over to India at once for the purpose of watching and ensuring by advice and mediation that the measures agreed on as necessary for the stoppage of fighting and the termination of military operations are implemented effectively and without loss of time, and reporting to the Security Council its conclusions.

5. The principle is recognised that the new constitution to be framed for the State and determination of the question of accession are matters entirely for the free decision of its people.

It is hoped that the Maharajah of Kashmir and his Government would undertake to ensure this by taking the following steps:

(*a*) The Interim Government should come as soon as the restoration of normal conditions has been completed, take steps for convoking a National Assembly based upon adult suffrage and having due regard to the principle that the number of representatives from each voting area should as far as possible be proportionate to the population.

(*b*) A National Government based upon the National Assembly should then be constituted.

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(c) The National Government will then proceed to have a plebiscite taken on the question of accession. The plebiscite will be taken under the advice and observation of persons appointed by the United Nations.

(d) The National Assembly will then proceed to frame a new constitution for the State based on the principle of full responsible Government.

The following is the text of the Pakistan resolution:

"Whereas India and Pakistan recognised that the question whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall accede to Pakistan or to India must be decided through the democratic method of a plebiscite to be held under international authority, control and responsibility, in order to ensure complete impartiality whereas the parties being both members of the United Nations agree that such a plebiscite should be organised, held and supervised under the authority and responsibility of the Security Council.

The Security Council takes note with satisfaction of this agreement, and being of the view that the establishment of certain conditions is essential for the holding of such a plebiscite, resolves to direct the Commission to set up under its resolution of January 20, 1948, as follows:

The Commission shall arrange for (a) the establishment of an impartial interim administration in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, (b) the withdrawal from the territories of the State of Jammu and Kashmir of the armed forces of the Indian Union and the tribesmen, also all tresspassers whether belonging to Pakistan or the Indian Union.

(c) The return of all residents of the Jammu and Kashmir State who have left or have been compelled to leave the State as a result of the tragic events since August 15, 1947, (d) the holding of a plebiscite to ascertain the free, fair and unfettered will of the people of the State as to whether the State shall accede to Pakistan or India.

Calls upon the parties concerned to give full co-operation and assistance to the Commission in carrying out these and such other directions as may be given to it by the Security Council."

The first attempt at an evasion of the real issue was detected when, during the Round Table talks, the following draft resolution was put up by M. Langenhove, President of the Security Council:

Whereas India and Pakistan recognise that the future of the State of Jammu and Kashmir must be decided through the democratic method of a plebiscite or a referendum to be held under international auspices, in order to ensure complete impartiality; whereas the parties being both members of the United Nations agree that such a plebiscite or referendum should be organised, held and supervised under the authority of the Security Council, the Security Council takes note with satisfaction of this agreement which it will take the necessary measures to carry out.

In this connection, the commission of the Security Council, established by the resolution of January 20, 1948 shall take into consideration that among the duties incumbent upon it are included those which would tend towards promoting a cessation of acts of hostility and violence and which are of particularly urgent character.

In pursuit of this aim the commission shall use every diligence to ensure that its mediatory action be exercised without delay and that its proposals to the Security Council be submitted as soon as possible.

Such proposals shall include measures designed to ensure co-operation between the military forces of India and of Pakistan with a view to attaining the objectives above-mentioned and to maintaining order and security in future.

The Commission shall also report to the Security Council on the results of its mediatory action as to the fulfilment of such conditions as are necessary to gaurantee the liberty of the plebiscite.

Thus where India had solicited the Security Council's aid in effecting withdrawal of the raiders, who were given passage by Pakistan and were receiving active warlike aids from that Dominion, she was confronted with the plebiscite question first with the inevitable corollary that, instead of the raiders, India would have to withdraw troops from Kashmir which now forms an integral part of India and the responsibility of whose defence rests on Indian shoulders.

So, when the debate opened and when the President suggested that the Security Council might concentrate its attention first on the question of holding a plebiscite, Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyengar pointed out that the urgent matter was to stop hostilities. The question of a plebiscite could be taken up last. Sir. M. Zafarullah Khan, Pakistan's representative, supported the President's suggestion that a plebiscite was the most urgent question to be discussed. Mr. Ayyengar intervened and again emphasised that it was the end of fighting in Kashmir that should be given precedence over all other questions in the dispute. The suggestion of M. Langenhove, supported by Pakistan, was defended by Mr. Noel-Baker, the British representative. It became clear even at the early stage of the debate that Pakistan was concentrating on two points, namely, the withdrawal of Indian troops from Kashmir and the removal of Sheikh Abdullah's Administration. The plebiscite resolution virtually concedes both of these unfair demands of Pakistan which holds that only a "neutral" administration can operate "an entirely free" plebiscite. The India Government claims that it cannot consent to withdraw Indian troops until law and order has been restored. The Indian delegation pointed out that as regards the Abdullah Administration it is a constitutionally recognised Government for the State and any imposition of a so-called "neutral" government would be an unprecedented action by the United Nations in interfering with the domestic affair of India. Mr. Noel Baker's plea for an Interim Government in Kashmir "free from smell of brimstone" as nearly "impartial" as India and Pakistan could make it for arranging plebiscite in the State came as a surprise and was considered as ex-

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tremely diabolical by Indian and Left-wing British circles in London. In their view, the British Delegation was prescribing the same kind of Interim Government in Kashmir as India had before partition in the expectation of similar results.

Hyderabad

The reign of terror let loose in Hyderabad continues with its fury unabated. Swami Ramananda Tirth, President of the State Congress, has been taken into custody. Mir Laik Ali, Prime Minister and Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, Minister of Finance and External Affairs, accompained by a number of officials of the Hyderabad Government, reached New Delhi on January 30, for a talk on the Standstill Agreement. Mr. K. M. Munshi, India's Agent General in that State, also arrived with the State party in the same plane.

The stage is thus set for the opening of the vital talks between the Governor-General and officials of the States Ministry of the Government of India on the one hand and the Hyderabad Government on the other regarding the recent conduct of Hyderabad in respect of the implementation of the Standstill Agreement. As a preliminary to these discussions, the Hyderabad Premier, Mir Laik Ali saw Sardar Patel immediately after his arrival.

The India-Hyderabad talks will, *Hindustan Times* reports, be divided into two parts. For the first day or two attention will mainly be concentrated on the differences between the two Governments on financial matters and the breaches of the Standstill Agreement which Hyderabad is alleged to have committed in this respect. These fall under three heads:

(1) The so-called loan of Rs. 20 crores of Hyderabad to Pakistan;

(2) The banning of the Indian rupee in Hyderabad; and

(3) The banning by Hyderabad of the export of all precious metals and precious stones.

The India Government's view is that all these three things constitute grave breaches of the Standstill Agreement. While it is admitted that Hyderabad's ban on the export of precious metals and precious stones is not a very serious matter as India is never an importer of precious metals and precious stones from Hyderabad, an extremely serious view of the conduct of the Nizam's Government on the first two subjects is taken in New Delhi.

Consolidation of Indian States

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for States, addressing a press conference at New Delhi, on January 29, on the consolidation of Indian States, said that the movement for merger, by which he meant either merger with the provinces to suit geographical situations or amongst themselves, was progressing rapidly, such a move now had the support of both the Rulers and the Ruled.

Sardar Patel's statement gives a graphic summary of this historic achievement and is reproduced below is as served by the *A. P. I.*

As you are all aware, on the lapse of Paramount every Indian State became a separate independent and our first task of consolidating about 500 States was on the basis of accession to the Indian minion on three subjects. Barring Hyderabad and gadh, all the States, which are contiguous to India, to the Indian Dominion. Subsequently, Kashmir came in.

With the birth of independence in India, the urge enjoyment of similar freedom naturally inspired the ple of the States. Here the process of democratisation administration had not made anything like the same gress as was made in the adjoining provinces. The was agitation on the part of the people and occasi clashes between the Rulers and the Ruled.

Some Rulers, who were quick to read the writing the wall, gave responsible Government to their peo Cochin being the most illustrious example. In Tra core, there was a short struggle, but there too the R soon recognised the aspirations of his people and ag to introduce a constitution in which all power would transferred to the people and he would function as constitutional Ruler.

Similarly, in Mysore, there was a struggle for a s time in which the popular will triumphed eventually, we know that there has been a complete transfer of po from the Ruler to the people.

While these big States were temporarily able to c with popular movements, the smaller States were not a even to maintain law and order with their limited re sources and with the people in opposition to the admini tration. This was particularly evident in the Eastern States, in one of which States, namely, Nilgiri, the si tion had so deteriorated as to result in the Ruler leav the State.

In another State in this area the Ruler could return to the capital and had to approach the Mini of States to advise the local Praja Mandal to keep as the Ministry was about to take up the question of solidation of States. These States had formed a s ficial union which could not last as it was not based linguistic, cultural and economic affinities.

The law and order situation in some of the States so bad as to cause apprehension to the adjoining adm trations of Orissa and the Central Provinces. You the sequence of events thereafter. I went there in middle of December, met the Orissa Rulers at Cu and the Chattisgarh Rulers at Nagpur, and it was de that the best interests of the people as also of the Re lay in administrative integration of the States with adjoining provinces.

As early as 1930 the Simon Commission recommen the integration of these States with the adjoining vinces but nothing came out of the proposal.

The transfer of administration from the Rulers the Provinces was smooth and peaceful and has warmly welcomed by the people of the States excep

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one or two places where ugly incidents occurred. But I shall not refer to them as they were not of any consequence and do not affect the main theme, namely, that the marger of the States was carried out willingly and has caused satisfaction all around.

The merger of Eastern States electrified the whole atmosphere. The people of the States found that here was a remedy for their difficulties arising out of their limited resources and narrow outlook.

The eight Deccan States, which formed the United Deccan State by merging their sovereignties into the new State, a step which was then considered to be revolutionary, felt that even in the new State their life would be cramped and that they would not have the same amenities and benefits as the people of the adjoining province of Bombay would have with all the resources of Bombay.

The people who had assembled to frame a democratic constitution for their new State changed their minds and asked for the merger of their States into Bombay. The Rulers, who have always been known for their progressive outlook, appreciated the weight and soundness of this view and agreed to abide by the decision of the people.

The Constituent Assembly of the new State met only three days ago, *i.e.*, on January 26, and passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority in favour of merger into Bombay Province. The merger will thus be given effect to within a few days.

There are some others in the Deccan which had not joined the Union but in these States also the movement for merger had become so strong that the Rulers could not maintain law and order and have had to approach the Central Government to take over charge of law and order pending the merger of the States into the province of Bombay.

These States are Akkalkot and Jath. The Ruler of Jamkhindi merged the State into Bombay. There was thus no trouble in his State and the people have welcomed the decision and the action of the Ruler. Thus all the States in the Deccan, except Kolhapur will shortly take their place in the Province of Bombay to the mutual advantage of both, and to the particular advantage of the people of these States.

Next came the problem of Kathiawar. Kathiawar is a vertible jigsaw puzzle of different jurisdictions. The States in Kathiawar comprise 13 salute States, 107 limited jurisdictional States and 329 non-jurisdictional States and talukas making up 449 units altogether. The area involved is more than 22,000 square miles with a population of between 3¼ and four million.

The administration of the States is complicated by the fact that many of them have scattered islands of territory all over the place. The salute States of Nawanagar, Gondal and Junagadh, for instance, have respectively 9, 18 and 24 separate areas of territory. Added together, these 49 units divided the map of Kathiawar into about 860 different areas.

Because the jurisdiction changes every few miles, communications are in a primitive condition. Internal trade is rendered difficult by the export and import duties and the octrois which the various units levy, and this encourages extensive smuggling and black-market operations.

The administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order under these circumstances are greatly handicapped. The economic development of the region which has great potentialities is hampered by its political fragmentation. This state of affairs is good neither to the State nor to its people.

The late Political Department tried in its own way to solve the problem, but its measures were necessarily half-hearted and did not serve the purpose of unification. Its solution was that some of these smaller units should be attached to the bigger States. This scheme was tried out, but at least it was never a good working arrangement. In any case, the lapse of paramountcy brought this to an end.

Since I took charge of the States Department, the unification of Kathiawar has been one of the major tasks to which I have devoted myself. In the altered circumsances the Rulers of the Kathiawar States have fully recognised the difficulties in continuing the present system, and I am glad to announce that it has now been possible to work out a scheme and get the agreement of the States to it by which the whole of the Kathiawar region will be integrated into a new State of Kathiawar as a single bloc of territory.

Sardar Patel then briefly described the main features of the new set up. He said: "The new State of Kathiawar is known as the United State of Kathiawar. There is a Presidium of Rulers consisting of five members, each of whom shall be the Ruler of a covenanting State.

One member is elected from amongst themselves by the Rulers of the covenanting non-salute States. The other two members are elected by the members of the Council of Rulers consisting of the Rulers of the salute states other than Nawanagar and Bhavnagar.

The Council of Rulers elect one member of the Presidium to be the President or the Raj Pramukh and another to be the Vice-President of the Presidium. The first election has already taken place, and H. H. the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, who played a notable part in bringing these negotiations to a successful conclusion, has been elected as the Raj Pramukh with H. H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar as the Vice-President. The term of office of the Raj Pramukh and the Vice-President is five years.

There will be a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Raj Pramukh.

We have provided for the formation of an interim Ministry, as follows. There is already an electoral college in Kathiawar which elects representatives to the Constituent Assembly of India. Our plan is that the same electoral college should meet not later than the 20th February and choose the leader of the Interim Ministry. It will be his task to constitute this Ministry.

The Covenant also makes provision for the summoning of a Constituent Assembly. The details will be worked out by the new Government of the United State of

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Kathiawar. It is our intention that when this Constituent Assembly has been set up the Ministry should be reconstituted so as to reflect the majority opinion in the Constituent Assembly. Thereafter it will be for the Constituent Assembly to frame a permanent constitution for the new State within the framework of this Covenant and of the Constitution of India.

The privy purse of the Rulers has been fixed, and the amount shown against each is contained in schedule 1 to the Covenant.

This Covenant, as you will have noticed, applies only to the salute States and non-salute States. There are in addition a number of talukas and thanas which are administered by the Government of India through its Regional Commissioner in Kathiawar. We have prepared a separate Instrument for their signature which we hope to complete by the end of January.

You must have observed that recently the Rulers of Bundelkhand met at Nowgong and adopted a resolution for the creation of a United States of Bundelkhand in which all the Bundelkhand States and Rewa are likely to participate. It would be a State fairly large in area, but very substantial in mineral, forest and natural resources.

Mr. Menon is hoping to go there on or about February 8, 1948, to have further discussions with the Rulers and the people and to help them in bringing about a State based on complete transfer of power and somewhat on the model of the State of Kathiawar.

Another region where the Rulers and the people are thinking on similar lines is Central India or Malwa. I have just received information that the Rulers of this region are forming a unitary State on the lines of the State of Kathiawar based again on full Responsible Government, that is, Executive being fully responsible to the Legislature and Legislature being fully representative of the people of the area.

There is a similar move in Rajputana where all the smaller States and some of the bigger ones are hoping to join hands to form a State of Rajasthan which will help to preserve the tradition, culture and peculiarities of the life of the Rajputs.

I welcome all these moves as they solve the problems of consolidation as well as Responsible Government at one stroke and it is particularly gratifying to note that these moves are not impositions from above but joint and willing proposals of the Rulers and the Ruled.

There will still be a number of large States unaffected by the movement for merger or union. In these States there is a definite movement for full Responsible Government. As I observed before Cochin led the way and Travancore soon followed suit and the Interim Government introduced in Mysore has become a model for many States to follow such as Kashmir and Gwalior. I have reason to believe that the leading Rulers of Rajputana are thinking on the same lines and will not lag behind the other Princes in trusting their people and giving them full Responsible Government thus enabling them to shoulder the responsibilities of their own Government. I expect similar constitutional changes to be introduced very shortly in Bikaner and Jaipur. It is obvious that any State lags behind it will only do so to its own disadvantage and to the disadvantage of its people.

Nobody could have visualised this transformation of the country six months ago. Mr. Menon will tell you that a very senior officer of the Political Department told him just before the transfer of power that he was working his time over accession and standstill agreements and that not one State will accept the accession as proposed by the newly formed Ministry of States. Those officers are still alive and must be wondering how the changes that have occurred since they left, have really been brought about.

While I give plenty of credit to the people for a bloodless revolution in nearly one-third of the country I have nothing but praise for the manner in which the Rulers have co-operated with us, and with the people, in bringing about this development.

None is more conscious than myself that all this could not have been achieved but for their willing co-operation and their intense patriotism which was latent but which has just blossomed forth in all its fullness with the acquisition of independence by the country.

One State remains which is still causing us some anxiety. It is the State of Hyderabad. Its geographical situation, the composition of its people and its cultural and traditional ties with India are such that it cannot but be an integral part of India tied to it by the same bonds which characterise the relationship between India and the acceding States.

Accession in the case of Hyderabad is inevitable and will I hope come before long. Similarly democratization which will characterise the whole country cannot be delayed or withheld in Hyderabad. The people there must get their due, and I would only appeal to His Exalted Highness the Nizam to appreciate this situation and do the right thing in time.

Linguistic Provinces

The question of the reconstitution of the West Bengal Province, although an extremely urgent one, hangs fire. Both the B.P.C.C. and the West Bengal Government seem to be unconcerned about this pressing problem and refuse to move. Meanwhile, the Andhra agitation has borne fruit and it is going to function as a separate province from April next. Without waiting for the verdict of the Constituent Assembly on the new Andhra province has been created by means of an Order-in-Council. The demand for the creation of a Karnatak province has also gained strong momentum. A deputation on behalf of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee and the Karnatak members of the Constituent Assembly and provincial Legislatures waited on a deputation on the Congress Working Committee at the last Delhi Session and urged the immediate formation of a new Karnatak province. Nothing similar has as yet been done by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee or the Bengal members of the Constituent Assembly. Yet a demand is there in Bengal which finds expression in

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press and on the platform but bears no fruit on account of the extreme sloth that has overtaken the self-appointed men at the top of the Provincial Congress and the Government. The Karnatak members who waited on that deputation, stated, in a memorandum submitted to the Congress Working Committee, that if the Committee failed to move immediately into the matter, "We regret we shall have no other alternative but to seek your permission in terms of the resolution passed by the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee on January 14 to resign from our seats in the Central and Provincial legislatures."

The memorandum added: "The question of a separate province is important from the point of view of day-to-day existence for the suppressed people of Karnatak. Freedom by itself means nothing if it cannot also show the much needed change and improvement in all that goes to make up the daily life of the masses of these areas. Already in the composite areas of Madras and Bombay the voices of their representatives in the legislatures count for little or nothing. But with and upon the immediate separation of Andhra the day-to-day administration in these areas will become impossible particularly in the large and scattered border areas of Karnatak, if Karnatak is also not immediately separated. Areas like Nilgiris, South Kanara, the Kannada areas in the districts of Coimbatore, Salem and Bellary cannot continue their existence in the residuary province of Tamilnad where the people of Karnatak will have no voice at all. Our vital problems such as that of education, food, irrigation, industrial and cultural development cannot be planned or tackled. This will become possible only if and when we have a province of our own.

The Congress had, the memorandum said, "under the wise guidance and leadership of Gandhiji the foresight to form linguistic provinces in 1920 for its own organisation and for the fight for freedom. This foresight has been amply rewarded but the logical sequence of the formation of linguistic provinces for the purposes of administration is yet to come. We regret to note that our efforts in this behalf should be mis-understood in some quarters as fissiparous. We would like to point out that we believe with large numbers of eminent Congressmen that it would be a great act of constructive statesmanship to form linguistic provinces immediately so that they may develop to their full stature as live units of the Indian Union."

Dr. Kumarappa's Suggestions for Increasing Food Production

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa of the All-India Village Industries Association at an informal conference of the officials of the Ministry of Agriculture discussed various problems relating to the programme of making India self-sufficient in food. Dr. Kumarappa said, "So far the researches carried out on problems of agriculture have been mainly for the benefit of the rich. We must now reverse the process and undertake research schemes which will benefit the poor cultivators. Swaraj will have no meaning unless we realise that the masses are our masters and their needs should be paramount." He emphasised that India was an agricultural country and any shortage in food should not last for more than six months or for more than a year at the most. The Agricultural Department can be an insurance against food shortage. Dr. Kumarappa continued, "We have to tackle this question of food shortage on various fronts, such as the production, distribution, preservation and consumption of foodgrains. We have also to examine the possibilities of instituting reforms and changing conditions by which we can reduce the grain requirements of the people. The Agriculture Department is one of those Departments which must benefit mainly the producers."

One method of solving the problem was to give top priority to the production of food crops, such as cereals, oil-seeds, fruits and vegetables in preference to commercial crops. For this it would be necessary to plan on the basis of small self-contained village units. A group of 30 or 40 villages, for instance, with a population of about 50,000 could be grouped for such a purpose, and it would be easier to work out a balanced diet for the people in such an area. It would probably be necessary to introduce crop planning by legislation. We must have a regular plan of production not in regard to money crops but for food crops.

On the question of distribution, Dr. Kumarappa said that the primary aim should be to feed the local village population. That would also solve to some extent the problem of long distance transport, because long distance transport was necessary only to meet the requirements of deficit areas. If groups of villages were made self-sufficient in food, it would also be possible to eliminate, to a large extent, middlemen.

The Government should also develop multi-purpose co-operative societies which could help avoid the wastage which now results on account of untimely sowings. Co-operative Societies could also supply the needs of the villagers, such as seeds, implements and manure. The aim should be to help farmers to overcome their various difficulties.

India is a food-producing country and there is no need for imports from abroad. Dr. Kumarappa felt that there had been a diversion of land under food which had been diverted to money crops. Dr. Kumarappa expressed himself against any preference to money crops over rice.

To meet the villagers' need for manure, Co-operative Societies could be organised to arrange suitable subsidies for the manufacture and distribution of compost from night soil. Artificial manures might be utilised where farmyard manure was not available, but it should not replace natural manure.

Valuable researches in agriculture have been made during the past years; it is now necessary to fit these into the farmer's economy. Dr. Kumarappa referred to his recent visit to England where he had found the younger generation in better health than during the war. One explanation of this was the greater intake of fruits and vegetables and milk products than before, since England had less cereals than before the war. He did not

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see any reason why, as in England, people here too should not take more to vegetables. The intake of cereals need not be as much as it is now. There is no doubt that Dr. Kumarappa's suggestions are very weighty and deserve most careful consideration. We fully agree with him in his view that India can and must be self-sufficient in food. Due care and honest attention can accomplish this.

D. V. C.

The Bill for setting up the Damodar Valley Corporation is now before a Select Committee and it is expected to come up before the Indian Parliament in its current session. The Damodar Valley Project is a multi-purpose scheme. It is designed to control floods, irrigate about 763,800 acres of land and supply power to the extent of 350,000 kilowatts.

It is proposed to set up the D. V. C. on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority. It shall be the duty of the Corporation to promote the industrial, agricultural, economic and public health development of the area within its operation. And in order to carry out these functions the corporation may establish, maintain and operate laboratories, experimental and research stations and farms for conducting experiments and research.

The Damodar river is notorious for the frequent flood damages it has caused. The river flows through the province of Bihar and Bengal and drains an area called, on account of its industrial potential, the Ruhr of India. The industries that will be located along the lower reaches of the Valley must be protected from the ravages of flood.

The main lines of communication connecting the important port of Calcutta with the rest of India have been damaged on several occasions due to Damodar floods. This danger, which now threatens to become an annual feature, will be removed when the D. V. C. begins to function. The rice crop of the Burdwan district is subjected to heavy damage due to Damodar floods almost every year; this will also be prevented. Last but not the least, control of Damodar floods will remove a great source of potential danger to the city of Calcutta as well. Flood control is therefore a very important aspect of the D. V. C. project. This will be obtained by constructing a number of dams across the Damodar river and its tributaries, to provide large storage reservoirs which will hold back the floods. These reservoirs will be kept partially empty during the flood season to hold the rushing storm waters which will be released later at a safe rate. The many dams together have a flood control storage of 3,569,000 acres feet. This capacity to absorb floods is sufficient to reduce a flood much larger than any so far recorded and a peak flow of 1,000,000 cubic feet per second to a harmless 200,000 cubic feet per second.

The flood waters and the annual flow will be converted into a perennial flow and will also be harnessed to develop electric power. Electric power generating stations have been planned at all dams. The total installed capacity of all the hydro-electric stations put together will be about 200,000 kilow As the amount of this power available varies with season, a large thermal (steam) generating station an installed capacity of 150,000 kilowatt will also built. This hydro-steam combination will not meet most of the load requirement in South Bihar South West Bengal but will also form the backbo of the future inter-provincial electric power grid connecting the different provinces. The annual ene available from the hydro-electric stations alone amount to 800,000,000 kilowatt-hours. Prelimin estimates indicate that the energy will be available sale at very attractive rates which will rapidly adva industrialisation of the Valley.

At present the Damodar river partially irrig about 186,000 acres in the Burdwan district. Du dry years when the monsoon fails, this area is assured of sufficient water even in October. No wa is available for any summer crop. After the comple of the project sufficient water will be stored for rele to meet the irrigation requirement of about 763 acres in the districts of Burdwan, Bankura, Hoog and Howrah. Two crops will be assured where only grows now. Irrigation will also be available to a fi large acreage in Bihar. To achieve this object, th will, in addition to the dams, be a barrage in the low reaches of the Damodar from where the water will diverted into a network of canals on both the ba of the river.

The main irrigation canal will be made navigab for large, low-draft river-craft. This canal will provided with suitable berthing facilities and lo arrangements to enable through traffic at very econo rates between Calcutta and the neighbourhood of t regional coal fields. This additional means of transp will be a great value to the industrial development the Valley.

All these have to be achieved and that within short time. Previously, construction of a single da has taken as much as 10 years or even more. But t speed will be much faster now. Immediately we wa more food, more power and more industries. It therefore, proposed to go in for the most mod methods of construction which will enable us to co plete the whole scheme itself within a period of t years, if not earlier. This project, when completed w cost about Rs. 55 crores. Detailed minerological surv of the area has begun. Exploratory investigations establish useful industries have also been set on fo But, so far as we know, no load survey of the indu tries that are likely to spring up on the area served the D. V. C. has yet been made. A thorough p survey and an industrial plan for the area sho immediately be undertaken preferably by men co versant with local conditions.

Economic Development Plan

The Economic Programme Committee appointed the All-India Congress Committee under the chairm ship of Pandit Nehru, has accepted the recommenda

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made by the sub-committees, on agriculture, small-scale and village industries, large-scale and heavy industries, and co-operative distribution. These recommendations have been incorporated in a single report which has been submitted to the Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and will come up for discussion at the next meeting of the A.I.C.C. It is emphasised that the report is not a blue print, but "an outline programme, the details of which will have to be filled in by the permanent Planning Commission which has been recommended." The members who attended the meetings of the Programme Committee are Pandit Nehru, Dr. John Matthai, Maulana Azad, Shri Shankar Rao Deo, Shri J. C. Kummarappa and Prof. N. G. Ranga.

The Programme Committee's Plan has, as anticipated, roused loud protest from that section of bounty-fed Industrialists who have taken the full advantage of the war years to exploit the very consumers who have made large contributions by way of paying increased prices due to protective duties and have thus made it possible for the industries to come into existence, establish themselves and coin money during the war. The most momentous recommendation of the Committee is the abolition of the Managing Agency System. This is a system which was created by the early British entrepreneurs in this country for a thorough and most scientific exploitation of all the three parties to the industry, namely, the supplier of the raw material, the wage-earner and the share-holder. The Indian Managing Agency system has no parallel in the industrial life of any country in the world. It is therefore only natural that the proposal for its abolition, just at the moment when the Indian Managing Agents are aspiring to reap the full benefits of this pernicious system left here by the departing Briton, will evoke protests.

The aims and objects of the programme are as follows:

A quick and progressive rise in the standard of living of the people by expanding the volume of production. Equitable distribution of the existing income and wealth and prevention of the growth of disparities in this respect. With the progress of industrialisation widest diffusion of opportunities for occupations through an economy based on decentralization and compatible with the requirement of and adequate standard of living and the country's internal and external security, national and regional self-sufficiency and a proper balance between rural and urban economy.

The main recommendations relating to agriculture are:

Minimum levels of assured production of food, cotton and building materials in every province and every prescribed area on the basis of a scheme of balanced cultivation, removal of all intermediaries between the tiller and the State and replacement of all middlemen by non-profit-making agengies, such as co-operatives, remunerative prices for basic agricultural products and living wage levels and relief of indebtedness for agricultural workers, non-recurring permanent land improvement like anti-erosion etc. through direct investment by the State, farms to demonstrate efficient and modern methods of agriculture and pilot schemes for experimenting with co-operative farming under State auspices, organisation of co-operative colonies on Government unoccupied but cultivable lands, organisation of co-operative multipurposes enterprises and their unions for credit, processing and marketing and supply of manufactured goods from towns to villages, land generally to be owned by *bona fide* cultivators, fixing the maximum size and placing the surplus above the maximum at the disposal of the village co-operatives, consolidation of small holdings and prevention of further fragmentation, substitution of land revenue system by progressive taxation of agricultural income, organisation of agricultural finance corporations operating through co-operative societies and statutory village Panchayats with well-defined powers and adequate financial resources and machinery of conciliation between landless and landholding peasants.

The main recommendations regarding industry of all types, village, small-scale and heavy are:

Categories and spheres of industries are that industries producing articles of food and clothing and other consumer goods should constitute the decentralised sector of Indian economy and should, as far as possible, be developed and run on a co-operative basis. Such industries should for the most part be run on cottage or small-scale basis. Larger units are inevitable in the case of heavy industries, *e.g.*, manufacture of machinery and other producer goods. The choice of size will be determined by the net balance of economic and social advantage, preference being for smaller as against larger units.

To avoid economic insecurity and destructive competition the respective spheres of large-scale, small-scale and cottage industries should de demarcated. In the conditions prevalent in our country emphasis will be on opportunities for employment of our unutilised or partially utilised man-power and minimising the use of costly capital goods. Large-scale industry should also be utilised to improve the economic basis and the operative efficiency of small-scale and cottage industries. Certain lines of manufacture should be reserved for cottage industries. Cottage industries may be protected from the competition of large-scale industries through State control of competing large-scale industries, grant of subsidies or some method of price equalisation, control of investment and licensing of new undertakings.

Regional self-sufficiency should be the aim with regard to all types of industries. The location of industry should be so planned as to make a district of average size, having roughly a population of ten lakhs, as nearly self-sufficient as possible in respect of consumer goods supplying the daily needs of the people. Fiscal and other measures may be adopted to foster suitable industries in different regions specially in depressed areas.

The small-scale and cottage industries should be promoted on non-profit lines through industrial co-operative under the State auspices through non-official promotional bodies, Government being represented in it but not con-

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trolling it. The structure that is built up should be a strong federal structure, consisting of primary societies, their regional unions and the allied federation. The industrial co-operatives should do the purchases, sales, arrangement of tools, workshops, guidance, and supervision. The major portion of the produce of these industries should be sold through consumers and multi-purpose agriculturists' societies.

To create the right type of leadership in the development of these industries a cadre of organisers, technicians and secretaries etc., with pay and conditions of service similar to that in public bodies, should be trained.

The Government should encourage the development of cottage co-operative societies in the initial stages, specially in case of losing industries and new industries, by using their products in their departments, organising propaganda and advertisement and arranging the demonstration of and training in the application of better tools and processes and undertaking and encouraging research for the purpose of developing these industries efficiently and for better utilisation of available natural resources through a permanent board of research.

New undertakings in defence, key and public utility industries should be started under public ownership. New undertakings which are in the nature of monopolies or in view of their scale of operations the country as a whole or cover more than one province should be run on the basis of public ownership. This is subject to the limit of the State's resources and capacity at the time and the need of the nation to enlarge production and speed up development.

In respect of existing undertakings the process of transfer from private to public ownership should commence after a period of five years. In special cases, a competent body may after proper examination, decide on an earlier transfer. The first five years should be treated as a period of preparation during which arrangements should be made to take over and run these undertakings efficiently. The progress of transition to public ownership should be controlled so as to avoid dislocation of the economic life in the country. State acquisition of these industries should take place when the excessive margins of profits prevailing in the existing abnormal conditions have declined to a reasonable level, in consequence of the fall in price or under pressure of appropriate legislation or administrative measures.

To secure efficient development and conduct of public-owned industries suitable administrative agencies should be set up, *e.g.*, (1) creation of an economic civil service which will furnish industry with executives of different grades, (2) training of requisite industrial cadre, (3) technical training and general education of the workers, (4) organisation of research and information, (5) control of investment and of shares or strategic resources, and (6) intensive and detailed economic surveys.

Departmental control should be confined to questions of policy. The system of statutory corporations should be developed with necessary adaptations to suit Indian conditions.

In private industry the existing system of manag agency should be abolished as early as possible. Pri industry will be subject to regulations and control in interest of national policy in industrial development.

The recommendations regarding the relations profit and capital, and labour-capital annuity are:

Return on capital will be computed on emplo capital, *i.e.*, capital plus reserves. Distributed profits be taxed at a higher rate than undistributed profits. five per cent dividend in terms of employed capital be the maximum limit for distribution of profits. A the date of declaration of the maximum limit the am of profits to be transferred to the reserve funds sho be limited to such sums as in the opinion of compe authority may be utilised for productive purposes by industry or industries. Out of the profits earned in year, the surplus, after setting apart three per cent employed capital as dividend and another portion to earmarked by Government for schemes of social welf and industrial improvement will be shared between workers and the shareholders in proportion to be fi by Government—the employer's share not exceeding any year a third of the basic wage or the national mi mum whichever is higher.

All resources available for investment should be su ject to the control of the State. The State should up finance corporations. Banking and insurance sho be nationalised.

Stable and friendly relations between labour capital should be maintained through profit-sharing increasing association of labour with management in dustry, and establishment of works committees in ea undertaking, regional labour boards with adequate elected representation of labour in each industry. T Economic Programme Committee has suggested th Central Planning Commission should be appointed advise and assist the Congress Governments in implemen the programme.

Honour to a Savant

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has don singularly graceful thing by making the first award o newly created *Sir Jadunath Sarkar Gold Medal* mediaeval Indian history to Chevalier Pandurang Pissurlencar of Goa. The Society had previously insti medals for earlier periods of Indian history, archaeo ethnology and scientific subjects. But last year, th to the unfailing enlightened liberality of Dr. B. C. M (its President) this new medal was endowed for Mu and Maratha history (1300-1802 A.D.). It is valued Rs. and bears Sir Jadunath's bust in *alto relievo* on one and the winner's name on the reverse. Ch. Pissurle is the undisputed master of the Portuguese connection India and the history of the Marathas and the Dec kingdoms (even Haidar Ali and Tipu) as far as it be learned from original Portuguese MS. sources. He also done some excavations in Goa with surprising re Bengal has rightly honoured a Portuguese Indian.

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ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN*

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A., M.L.A. (West Bengal)

It has always been argued by social interpreters of history that economics is, and has always been, moulded by the bigger process of history and there cannot be, as the classical economists claimed, a 'pure' theory of economics. If their contention could not be readily appreciated in the days of *laissez-faire*, it has become an obvious truism today. Economic policy, in recent times, is becoming more and more bound to the chariot-wheels of politics and foreign policy and economic warfare has become one of the most potent weapons in the armoury of politicians. It is, thus, difficult to examine dispassionately the present and future economic relationship between India and Pakistan without being drawn into the fast-developing vortex of the politics of the situation. Yet, as objective economists, we should try to have an objective assessment of the economic relationship between India and Pakistan avoiding as far as possible the politics of the matter, though it would be well to remember that all our economic calculations and forecasts ultimately depend on political developments, specially in such matters.

In discussing objectively the economic relationship between India and Pakistan, we shall have to examine the whole range of economic relationship and try to examine the effects of the division of India on every branch of economic relations, such as fiscal relations, budgetary and financial relations, trade and commercial relations, monetary and currency relations and so on. In doing so, it would be convenient to distinguish between the long-terms and the short-term problems, for they have not got identical bearings and incidence. Let us begin with the short-term problems.

The Short-term Problems: Economic Consequences of Partition

What are the short-term problems? We may examine them under the following heads, *viz.*, (1) Division of assets and liabilities; (2) Transfer of capital and capital goods; (3) Flight of capital with its consequential repercussions on the money-market; (4) Transfer of officers and the strain on the Budget; (5) The problem of the refugees, their lost properties and their claim for compensation; and (6) The rehabilitation cost. Let us begin with the division of assests and liabilities.

Division of Assets and Liabilities

The principles governing the division of assets and liabilities between India and Pakistan have been made clear in the recent agreement concluded between India and Pakistan. But before we proceed to examine the principles enunciated in that agreement, it is necessary to take note of the two other points.

(*a*) *Principles followed at the Centre are just the reverse of the principles followed at the Provincial level*: It is a very curious phenomenon that in dividing the assets and liabilities, no uniform policy has been followed at the Central and the Provincial levels. Rather, the principles followed at the provincial levels are just the reverse of the principles followed at the Centre. As a result of the agreement concluded between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, the responsibility for all undisposed-of claims or the responsibility for all public debts and pensions falls on the Government of India. But in Bengal, it is not the Government of West Bengal but the Government of Eastern Pakistan that has taken over the responsibility for all past claims. Thus the Pakistan Government is not the residual legatee in all-India affairs, but at the provincial level, it is the provincial unit of the Pakistan Government that has become the residual legatee of all provincial matters. We do not know why there has been such a lack of uniformity between the principles adopted by the Centre and those adopted by the provinces and we have yet to work out in whose favour this lack of uniformity works. But this is clearly an anomaly which should be examined into immediately and rectified if possible.

(*b*) *Pakistan getting double help.* In the agreement referred to above, the Government of India have agreed to give to the Government of Pakistan a loan of some crores to be repayable in a certain number of years. It may be naturally assumed that the total *over-all* receipt by the Government of Pakistan from the Government of India consist of that loan, besides the assets already divided. But that is unfortunately not the fact. When the partition of India and the partition of Bengal and the Punjab were being given effect to with terrible speed, the Muslim League started having loans and advances not only from the Government of India but from the provincial governments as well. One instance may be cited; when advances from the Government of India to the Government of Pakistan were still being negotiated, the embryonic Government of Eastern Pakistan drew from the still undivided funds of the Government of Bengal, a few lakhs for the construction of capital at Dacca. Plea was put forward that unless some advances were immediately given, the work of capital construction would be stopped and there could be no evacuation of the Writers' Buildings on the 15th of August, 1947. Loans had therefore to be advanced on an Eastern Pakistan Suspense Account and the Government of West Bengal can now claim repayment of all the loans and advances given on this account. But the important point to be noted in this connection is that *all such loans and advances are not a part of, but in addition to*, the loans and advances given by the Government of India. It has to be investigated whether even now the Government of India have yet been appreciated of these

* This paper is based on the points discussed in a speech delivered at the 30th Session (Calcutta) of the All-India Economic Conference on December 23, 1947.

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advances by the Government of West Bengal. It would therefore be wrong to assume that the amount of total help Pakistan has got from India consists of the amounts specified only in the agreement at the all-India level. In the terminology of international trade, we may say that the amount mentioned in the all-India agreement is only the "visible" item; the "invisible" item of help that Pakistan has got from India is to be found in the loans and advances made by the Provincial Governments. Unless these provincial loans and advances are immediately included in the all-India accounts, Pakistan will be having it both ways and India will, in reality, be more adversely affected than she would apparently seem to be.

(c) *Principal Features of the Agreement at the All-India Level*: After we have disposed of the two preliminary points, we may now turn to examine the principal features of the agreement concluded between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan. The main features are as follows:

(i) *Cash Balances*: The undivided Government of India's cash balances as on the date of partition are estimated at a little under 400 crores, inclusive of the securities held in the cash balance investment account. Of these, Pakistan's share has, by agreement, been fixed at Rs. 75 crores. To this amount will be debited the Rs. 20 crores already made available to the Government of Pakistan on the 15th August, 1947 and the expenditure incurred on that Government's account to date. (The whole balance of 55 crores has now been paid as a result of Mahatma Gandhi's fast).

(ii) *Sterling Assets*: Under paragraph (3) of part 4 of the Pakistan (Monetary System and Reserve Bank) Order, 1947, Pakistan's share of sterling assets will be of the note circulation after adjusting any expansion against Pakistan securities in that Dominion. It has now been agreed that India should sell to Pakistan, for Indian rupees, additional blocked sterling up to an agreed limit as and when demand is made until the 31st December, 1947 according to a specified formula.*

(iii) *Liabilities of the old Government*: The Government of India have assumed initial responsibility for the liabilities of the old Government [in the provinces the case has been just the reverse], subject to an equitable contribution by the Pakistan Government. It was agreed that Pakistan's share would be made up of the value of assets, physical and financial, which lie in Pakistan or are taken over by the Pakistan Government plus the share allocated to Pakistan of the uncovered debt, namely, the excess of liabilities over the assets of the undivided Government, *less* the liabilities assumed directly by the Pakistan Government. Pakistan's share of the uncovered debt has now by agreement been fixed at seventeen and a half per cent.

(iv) *Valuation of Assets*: For the valuation of assets taken over by the two Dominions it has been agreed that book-values should be accepted in all cases. In the case of strategic railways however the book-value by agreement is being written down arbitrarily by about 50 per cent.

(v) *Payment of debt by Pakistan*: With regard to the payment of debt by Pakistan to India, it has been agreed that the total amount will be paid in Indian rupees in fifty annual equated instalments for principal and interest combined. The instalments will be payable on 15th August each year, but no instalments will be payable for the first four years from the date of the partition. The rate of interest adopted will be the same as the average yield over a period of two years preceding the date of partition of the rupee and sterling securities of the Government of India with an unexpired currency of 15 years or over, rounded to the nearest one-eighth of one per cent.

(vi) *Pensions*: Each Dominion will continue to disburse the pensions now in payment in its territory, India continuing to pay the overseas pensions. The value of all pensions, both partly earned pensions and pensions in issue, will be capitalised and the liability shared in proportion agreed upon for sharing the uncovered debt to the extent that the capitalised value of the pensions disbursed by a Dominion is more or less than its share thus determined, an appropriate adjustment will be made in the financial settlement.

(vii) *Military Stores*: Pakistan's share of the military stores will be a third of the stocks held in India or Pakistan on the date of partition or a third of the maintenance and reserve requirements of the two Dominions calculated on an agreed basis, whichever is less. The balance, if any, will fall to India's share.

(viii) *Ordnance Factories*: As for ordnance factories no physical division will take place, the Indian Dominion taking full liability for their book-value. India has however agreed to make available to Pakistan a sum of Rs. [illegible] crores to be drawn and when required by way of [illegible]

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* The formula is quoted below:

"It is agreed that in addition to the sterling to which Pakistan would be entitled under para 4 (3) of Part IV of the Pakistan (*Monetary System and Reserve Bank*) Order, 1947, an amount of sterling calculated as below will be made available to Pakistan in the manner specified below:

(a) The total of the sterling assets in both the banking and issue departments on the 30th September, 1948, will be taken together;

(b) From this total will be deducted the lump sum payable to H. M. G. at the time of the final settlement of sterling balance on account of the capitalisation of pensionary liability, for H. M. G.'s military stores and fixed assets as on 1.4.47 in India, etc.

(c) Out of the remaining balance a sum in sterling which taken together with the gold held in the issue department will be equal to 70 per cent of the total liabilities of that department as on September 30, 1948, will be allocated in the manner prescribed in para 4 (3) of Part IV of the Pakistan (*Monetary System and Reserve Bank*) Order, 1947.

(d) Of the remainder, seventeen and a half per cent will be allocated to Pakistan.

(e) The difference between the total of what will fall to the share of Pakistan under (c) and (d) and what Pakistan would obtain under para 4 (3) of Part IV of the Order is the amount of additional sterling to be made available to Pakistan.

(f) In regard to the amount of the additional sterling [illegible] agrees to sell to Pakistan, from its amount No. II or similar [illegible] sterling for Indian rupees on demand being made by Pakistan [illegible] the 31st December, 1947."

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ance towards the setting up of ordnance factories and a few other essential institutions like a Security Printing Press. This amount will be added to Pakistan's debt to India.

(*ix*) *Division of Railways etc.*: Division of the railways, telegraph lines, post-offices, mints, etc., was decided on a territorial basis. Moveable stores have been divided on different principles. Thus, the railway rolling stock was divided on the basis of mileage traffic, while other stores were divided, broadly, on maintenance requirements.

(*x*) *Central Revenues*: In regard to central revenues accruing in the two territories after August 14, 1947 it was decided by the Partition Council that each Dominion would retain the amounts collected in its territory. India agreed however to discuss, at a later date, if Pakistan so decided, for pooling and sharing the revenues collected up to March 31, 1948. Arrangements have also been made for avoiding double taxation.

(*xi*) *Trade and Economic Controls*: As regards trade and economic controls, it has been agreed that until March 31, 1948, *status quo* should be maintained as far as possible and modification in and removal of controls should not be affected except by consultation between the two dominions. It has also been decided that during the interim period terminating on February 29, 1948,

(*a*) No customs barriers should be raised between the two Dominions.

(*b*) Existing import and export policies should be continued.

(*c*) Existing customs, tariffs, excess duties and cesses should be left unchanged.

(*d*) No restrictions should be imposed upon free movement of goods and remittances including capital equipment and capital.

(*e*) No transit duties or taxes should be levied on goods passing from one territory to another and the existing trade channels or patterns of trade should not be interfered with.

Pakistan has reserved the right to revise her attitude in these matters, in view of the fact that her proposal that the customs revenue should be polled and shared during the interim period had not been accepted.

(xii) *Armed Forces*: Armed Forces have been divided on a territorial-*cum*-communal basis.

(4) *Possible Effects of the Agreement*: We reserve our observations on the possible effects of the above agreement till we have examined the other short-term problems as also the long-term problems. It is however important to note for the present the immediate effects of some of the clauses of the Agreement. Space will not permit me to examine the effect of each clause in detail, but it has, I believe, been made clear above how in certain matters at least Pakistan has got more than she could legitimately claim. The division of the armed forces and of their equipment, including the division of the navy, is a case in point. Then again, as we shall have occasion to refer later, Pakistan has no liability for the present except on paper and she will have nothing to pay immediately. It has become, under the agreement, the entire responsibility of the Government of India to make payment on Pakistan's behalf,—for instance, to the security-holders, to overseas pension-holders, to claimants of all old liabilities and so on. But though saddled with this heavy responsibility on the one hand, the Government of India have no immediate prospect of obtaining payment of the dues which other countries owe her. Pakistan has been given a moratorium for four years; the very slender hopes of getting back our sterling assets are fast fading away; even if we get some sterling, that will be badly needed for nationalising foreign industries here as also for importing capital goods from abroad. India's balance of trade had already been an adverse one in 1945 and, with the elimination of the food-surplus areas from the territories of India, her balance of trade would continue to be adverse in future. If we keep these facts in view, it not a very encouraging phenomenon to find India saddled with the heavy responsibilities she has been actually saddled with and compelled to undertake the burden of putting Pakistan on her legs when she herself would have to make the most strenuous effort if she has to get out of the economic morass of the second world war and just start along the road of economic recovery and reconstruction. Briefly speaking, the agreement has not been helpful; rather, it has put further hurdles in the way of economic progress when that way was already difficult enough.

These are likely to be the probable effects of the agreement. We now proceed to examine the other short-term problems.

Transfer of Capital and of Capital Goods

The division of India is likely to lead, even in the short period, to many other economic difficulties besides those arising out of the Agreement. One of such difficulties that will materially affect the economic relationship between India and Pakistan will be the transfer of capital and capital goods from one dominion to the other. I do not refer here to the panicky flights of capital and the abnormal capital transfers that must accompany any transfer of population, but I am discussing here the more normal and more inevitable transfer of capital and capital goods consequent upon the division of India's economy. It is necessary to note the following more important points:

(1) Capital being more scarce in Pakistan, and therefore fetching a higher return, it would be more profitable to invest capital in Pakistan, provided the investors are prepared to take the necessary risk. In this situation, businessmen who had business in both the dominions but more business in Pakistan than in India, will naturally like to concentrate, if political conditions so permit, on business in Pakistan. Conversely, there will be a section of businessmen who would be shifting their capital from Pakistan to India. Such transfers will relate not only to capital but also to capital goods. To take one instance; it is quite natural and understandable that some of the jute-mills which were hitherto localised, for some reason or other, near about Calcutta, will have to shift to Eastern Pakistan by the sheer logic of partition. As we shall show later, India has sufficient jute to feed about half the total capacity

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of the existing jute-mills; it is only natural that the other half would, instead of being located here while depending completely on Eastern Pakistan's jute, find it more profitable and expedient to move to Eastern Pakistan.

(2) These remarks apply also, in a modified degree, to foreign capital. Some of the foreign capital now invested in India may move to Pakistan if possible. New capital issues too by foreign countries will henceforward be influenced by these considerations and if there is no question of transfer of capital here, there will be at least a diversion of capital.

In assessing the economic relationship of India and Pakistan these factors should be taken into consideration. As necessary figures are not available, it is not possible to estimate, even roughly, the probable extent of such transfer of capital and capital goods.

Panicky flight of Capital and Repercussions on the Money Market

We have referred above to more or less normal transfers of capital and capital goods that must come in the wake of partition. But that is not all. Any study of the economic relations between India and Pakistan will be unreal and incomplete if we do not refer also to the panicky flight of capital and its repercussions on the money market. Any very accurate assessment of the magnitude of the problem is not possible in the absence of necessary figures. But it is well-known that the cataclysmic political upheavals in Western Pakistan led to such a great flight of capital that restrictions had to be placed on such flight. Fortunately, there has been, as yet, no such cataclysmic upheaval in Eastern Pakistan, but it is also well-known that in spite of the comparative peace, there has been considerable flight of capital from Eastern Pakistan to India, particularly to West Bengal. Those banks which had their assets mainly locked up in the Eastern Pakistan had a most difficult time and some of them have virtually collapsed. Repercussions of these flights of capital, such as runs on banks and their consequential failure have been great on the money market and they have upset all the normal transactions and have produced most undesirable and unwanted effects, though to a limited extent.

Transfer of Officers and the Strain on the Budget

The Government of India asked all their officers to indicate their choice for India or Pakistan with an option to revise their choice within six months. This was agreed to by the Pakistan Government. At the Provincial level, a similar option was given by the West Bengal Government to all the servants of the provincial Government, with the difference that, because of the objection of the Muslim League, there could not be given here any option of revising the choice within six months. The result has been that most of the Hindu officers have opted for West Bengal and the Government of West Bengal, and not the Government of India, have been compelled to take over a large number of surplus officers. Information is not available as to what extent officers have been surplus so far as the Government of India are concerned, but the strain on the finances of the Government of West Bengal on account of the surplus officers will be apparent from the fact announced in the Press that out of an estimated budget surplus of approximately Rs. 3 crores during the period of 15th August 1947 to 31st March, 1948, Rs. 95 lakhs had to be paid each month for the two and a half months of 15th August 1947 to 31st October,—the period during which most of these surplus officers could not be absorbed and therefore had to be given leave with pay.

Refugee Problem

The last, but not the least, point to be discussed is the refugee problem. This problem has now assumed such great magnitude that the expenditure necessary for their reception and rehabilitation will run into crores and crores of rupees. This problem has two aspects. First, time has come to enquire as to who should be made responsible for the lost properties and belongings of the refugees. Though it is primarily a political question, still, in the economic sphere, it may not be unreasonable for the Government receiving the refugees to claim compensation on their behalf for the losses they have sustained from the Government from the territory of which the refugees have to come away. The same principle also applies to the expenditure incurred on rehabilitation. As a matter of fact, this is no new principle. After the Bihar disturbances the then Government of Bengal claimed that the cost of maintaining and rehabilitating Bihar refugees in Bengal should be borne by the Government of Bihar. When the matter was referred to the Government of India, the then Government of India, headed by Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, accepted the proposal and introduced it on an all-India basis. Now if that formula had been agreed to at that time by both Congress and the Muslim League, there is no reason why it should not be revived again in the context of Indo-Pakistan population transfer. This is all the more necessary in view of the fact that huge expenditure by the Government of India on refugees from Pakistan is eating up all the reconstruction funds badly needed for developmental purposes. If those funds are thus eaten up, there will be a very severe blow at the root of India's economic recovery and progress. In discussing, therefore, the economic relations between India and Pakistan it is impossible to ignore this point. The world has come to find out a way out of this sad state of affairs and to see to it that there is no death-blow, because of this problem, to all our prospects of economic reconstruction and progress.

Summary of the Short-term Problem

We have discussed some of the important short-term problems. What are our main conclusions? Unfortunately, facts of the situation compel us to be very pessimistic in our conclusions. We find that

(1) Pakistan has been getting double help from India and having it both ways in her favour.

(2) The Agreement that has been concluded is likely to place a heavy burden on India without any appreciable corresponding benefit.

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(3) Over and above this, there is bound to be a more or less normal transfer of capital and capital goods.

(4) In addition to all these, there has been a panicky flight of capital which has made the money-market unstable and uneasy if it has not led to an actual big-scale trouble.

(5) The burden of surplus officers has also been, in some cases, a heavy one.

(6) Lastly, the huge expenditure on refugees is eating away the little surplus we could gather as our blood-price and any talk of economic reconstruction will be a pure myth if our surpluses are eaten up in this way.

This is indeed a gloomy picture, but it is not an unreal picture. Instead of trying to have a show-down let us face facts and try to tackle them boldly and properly.

We now pass on to the long-term problems.

The Long-term Problems: Economic Relationship between India and Pakistan

As we tried to emphasise at the very beginning, long-term problems are dependent more or less on two factors. The long-term economic relationship between India and Pakistan must ultimately depend on the economic make-up as also on the economic objective and policy of these two States. These are the most important factors which condition long-term developments and set the limit as well as the direction of the economic development of any country. Secondly, however, long-term development depends, though in a lesser degree, upon how we make a start now. In other words, though long-term developments may change and correct the short-term factors, yet policy, in their turn, are dependent, at least partially, on the short-term factors themselves.

Viewed from this angle, ultimate economic relations between India and Pakistan will depend on their respective economic make-ups and their economic objective. But economic objective again is the result of a number of complex factors arising out of the economic framework of the country. Now, what would be the likely trends of economic policy in these two States? Any reply to this question would depend largely on an objective assessment of the economic framework of these two States and their probable economic needs. Let us, therefore, try to evaluate the economic strength of each country and find out in which direction they are deficient. It is not possible here to go into every possible detail and we shall therefore examine the main items.

(1) *Food*: Food is the basic necessity of life and India has recently been importing food annually to the extent of the value of about 100 crores of rupees. According to the calculations of the foodgrains Policy Committee (1943), the *normally* deficit provinces were: Assam (Deficit 14000 tons) Bengal (Deficit 5,17,000 tons) Bihar (Deficit, 2,75,000 tons), Bombay (Deficit 7,64,000 tons) Madras (Deficit 8,48,000 tons) and N.-W.F.P. (Deficit 38,000 tons). The normally surplus provinces were: Punjab (Surplus 7,54,000 tons), United Provinces (Surplus 69,000 tons), C.P. and Berar (Surplus 2,34,000 tons), Orissa (Surplus 1,82,000 tons), Sind, Br. Baluchistan and Khairpur State (Surplus 3,28,000 tons). It will thus be seen that apart from the partitioned provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, India has, on the account of other provinces, a net deficit of 14,16,000 tons whereas Pakistan has, on a similar calculation, a net surplus of 2,90,000 tons. Now if we correct these figures by taking into account the surplus or deficits of the two Bengals and two Punjabs, we shall find that the relative position of India and Pakistan will still remain unchanged. If West Bengal is expected to be a just self-sufficient province, East Punjab is going to be a deficit one. Similarly, if East Bengal happens to be a deficit area, West Punjab will have some surplus to spare. So, apart from actual figures of tonnage, it is quite safe to assume that for some time to come India will be a deficit country with regard to food-stuffs, whereas Pakistan will be a surplus one in this respect.

(2) *Important money-crops and raw- materials*: Apart from food, we shall have also to consider the respective position of these two Sates so far as the important money crops and raw materials are concerned. We concentrate on jute and cotton.

*Jute**: There was introduced in Bengal a jute restriction scheme in order to keep up the price of raw jute by limiting the supply. This was an artificial restriction on the acreage of jute. In our calculation about potential jute production we should take the figures before the introduction of the restriction scheme. We therefore take the figures for the year 1940 when the restriction scheme was not introduced. On that basis we get the following figures :

Jute Acreage and Production in 1940

Jute Acreage

	Area (1000 acres)	Per cent of Bengal Total	Per cent of all India Total
West Bengal	391	7·9	6·9
Eastern Bengal	4 548	92·1	80·2
Total Bengal	4,939	100·0	87·1
Bihar	282	—	5·0
Orissa	28	—	0·4
Assam (excluding Sylhet)	309	—	5·5
Total Indian Union	1010	—	17·8
Total East Bengal and Sylhet	4,595	—	81·1
Others	64	—	1·1
Total India	5,669	—	100·0

Jute Production

	Lakh Bales	Per cent of Bengal Total	Per cent of all India Total
West Bengal	9·04	7·9	6·9
Eastern Bengal	105·61	92·1	80·1
Total Bengal	114·65	100·0	87·0
Bihar	5·71	—	4·3
Orissa	0·52	—	0·4
Assam (excluding Sylhet)	7·87	—	6·0
Total Indian Union	23·14	—	17·6
Total East Bengal and Sylhet	106·93	—	81·1
Others	1·79	—	1·3
Total India	131·86	—	100·0

* Calculations in this paragraph have been made by Shri Bimal Comar Ghosh, M.L.A. (West Bengal) to whom my thanks are due.

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It would appear from the above table that Indian Union is at present capable of producing annually about 23.4 lakh bales. It is estimated that the capacity of the existing mills is about 60 lakh bales each year. According to certain calculations, it would be sufficient for the purposes of the Indian Union if she gets 30 lakh bales annually. If these calculations are correct, the shortage of jute bales in the Indian Union will be to the extent of 6.8 lakh bales annually. If some of the fallow lands and cultivable wastes in West Bengal and other jute-growing provinces in the Indian Union can be brought under jute cultivation, the deficit can easily be wiped out. But the limiting factor in this respect will be the supreme demand for more food. Extension of jute cultivation in these circumstances will depend on to what extent land can be released or diverted from food crops. The prospects of such release or diversion do not appear to be very high at the present moment. It would therefore be safe to assume that India will be short in her jute resources, but certainly not to the extent she is generally supposed to be.

Cotton: Detailed figures are not available, but it appears that India will be more adversely affected in cotton than in jute. In 1939-40, the Punjab produced 10,17,000 bales (400 lbs. each) of cotton, Sind 3,09,000 bales and the N.-W.F.P. 3,000 bales. The area under cotton in the three provinces was 26,41,105, 8,54,390 and 17,351 acres respectively. These three provinces thus produced 13,29,000 bales out of a total 33,81,000 bales produced in India, or about 39.3 per cent of the total. After the partition of the Punjab, the resources of Pakistan will be less. But the same difficulties arise in the case of cotton as of jute. Cotton Textile Mills are mainly in India; of 380 cotton textile mills with over 10 lakh spindles and over 2 lakh looms that were in existence in India in 1938-39, no more than 7 mills with about 72,000 spindles and less than 2000 looms were in the Punjab and Sind, there being none in the N.-W.F.P. and Baluchistan.

(3) *Industrial Resources and Industries Potential*: A detailed discussion on this point is perhaps unnecessary. It will be generally agreed that though certain raw-materials, including minerals, are available in small quantities in Pakistan, an overwhelmingly major share of industrial resources and industries potential has come to India. In fact, this great difference in the industrial resource and industrial potential makes the economic structure and economic framework of the two different States entirely different. This is also the main reason why the economic development of India and the economic development of Pakistan will not proceed along the same lines, for the two States are not at the same stage of economic evolution.

Possible Lines of Development: Economic Facts and Economic Policy

As we have already indicated, the economic relationship between India and Pakistan will ultimately depend on the basic economic framework of the two countries and the fundamental economic policies they would be compelled to follow in order to develop their resources. This leads us to the following questions:

(1) What would be the basic economic framework of the two States for some time to come?

(2) Would their economies be complementary or competing?

(3) What would be the effects of the short-term economic consequences of partition on the long-term policies?

(4) What should be our economic policy?

Let us examine these questions.

(1) *The Basic Economic Framework*: It is not possible to discuss here, except in the briefest outlines, the basic economic frameworks of India and Pakistan. As we have tried to indicate above, India and Pakistan are not at the same stage of economic developments. Pakistan is poor in raw-materials, industries and capital—poor at least in a relative if not in an absolute sense—while India is at least comparatively speaking, in a better position. While Pakistan is yet in that agronomic stage where raw materials and food-stuffs have to be sent abroad to get capital, capital goods and even consumption goods, India has just emerged out of that stage and is on the threshold of an industrial regeneration. As we have tried to analyse above, Pakistan will have some food-stuffs and perhaps some raw-materials to sell. But India, for some time to come, will have hardly anything to spare. As we have already indicated, India will have shortages all round. She is now a food-importing country and she shall continue to be so for some time to come; she shall be needing capital goods without importing foreign capital. This means that if she does not get her sterling dues, she shall have to further tighten her belt to secure capital goods from abroad. There is thus no possibility of importing large quantities of consumers' goods abroad, for with our scanty resources of foreign exchange, capital goods will certainly have priority over consumption goods in the list of imports. Whatever consumer goods are manufactured in India are not even sufficient for her own purpose and she has hardly anything to spare. In these circumstances India herself will be in all-round want with practically nothing to spare. Pakistan, on the other hand, has not yet reached this stage of economic development and she will be willing to import foreign capital for development purposes, even in a controlled manner; she shall have to be dependent, at least for some time to come, not only for capital goods but also for consumers' goods; she shall also be compelled to import those raw-materials from other countries which she is in absolute need of.

(2) *Would the economies of India and Pakistan be complementary?*: Having regard to the above facts, it would be clear that the economies of India and Pakistan will not be complementary. India has almost nothing to give to Pakistan, for she has not much to spare and the little she may have to spare may be required by her for obtaining goods, specially capital goods, from abroad. Pakistan can sell her surplus food-stuffs to India, but having regard to the fact that food-stuffs will practically be her only saleable commodity in the international

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ket, it is doubtful whether Pakistan will not be more anxious to sell that food-stuff to a highly industrial country which can give her capital and manufactures rather than to India which is in far greater difficulties. Chances therefore are that there will be very little common field of transactions and inter-change between Pakistan and India in their pursuit of policies of economic development and as such it is futile to expect that their economies will be complementary, at least for some time to come.

(3) *Effects of short-term events on long-term policy*: We have tried to indicate above the basic economic structure of the two States and the basic features of their economy. Before we proceed to pass a final judgment on this matter, it would be necessary to examine the possible effects of short-term events on long-term policy. In our discussion of the short-term problems we have analysed the main features of the recent agreement as also have discussed certain other immediate problems. Apart from the huge burden they would immediately place on the shoulders of the Government of India, they would produce one result which will very vitally affect our long-term position. It will be noticed that during the war, the huge, though artificial, purchases from India resulted in a very favourable trade balance for India; but with the cessation of hostilities those purchases have stopped and the trade balance is gradually going against India. The following table, selected from data in the Reserve Bank Report on Currency and Finance, 1946-47 would make the trend clear:

Balance of Trade (in lakhs of rupees)

	1944	1945	1946
Imports	1,80,90	2,37,54	2,62,58
Exports (excluding re-exports)	2,18,84	2,18,13	2,77,55
Balance (excluding re-exports)	+37,94	—19,41	+14,97

This means that India is already in a position of relative disadvantage and if she has to secure a surplus for making payment for further imports without depending on more foreign capital, she would have to make tremendous efforts to secure that surplus. Now, the agreement that has been concluded, as also the other events that have happened, have combined to make her difficult position more difficult, even from the long-term point of view.

Professor Vakil of Bombay has, in a recent statement made the following calculations:

"For the next few years Pakistan will have no responsibility for making any payment regarding its agreed liabilities. In the meantime the Indian Union will continue to pay interest to the holders of Government securities in Pakistan. The gross payment on account of interest on all kinds of debts as budgeted for undivided India for 1947-48 was more than Rs. 68 crores. Even allowing for a most conservative estimate that only one-tenth of the holders of Government securities are in Pakistan, the payment of interest to such holders will be about Rs. 7 crores a year. This means that the Indian Union will have to export to Pakistan goods and services worth this amount during the coming years without any equivalent. Now after four years, Pakistan will begin payment to India. It is estimated that the liabilities of Pakistan will be about 400 crores, and the repayment of the amount over a period of 50 years together with interest will mean paying annually about 15 crores."

In Professor Vakil's opinion there will then be a net receipt by India of Rs. 8 crores, but for the present there will be unilateral payment by India to the extent of Rs. 7 crores. But having regard to the fact that inter-governmental debts are hardly repaid (India has not yet received her dues from Burma), it is very doubtful whether the dues from Pakistan will ever be received.

As we have not got the details of Professor Vakil's calculations, it is not known how he has arrived at the figure of Rs. 15 crores. But if Rs. 400 crores be the total liability of Pakistan and if this has to be paid back in fifty equal annual instalments with some interest charges, say at two or three per cent, chances are that the annual instalment will be more in the neighbourhood of Rs. 8 crores than of 15 crores. If this be true, then the position will be that India will be paying Rs. 7 crores and getting only Rs. 8 crores which will be a very narrow margin indeed. Now whatever be the actual figures, the main conclusions are obvious. The economic relationship between India and Pakistan for some years to come will be one of unilateral payment by India,—and that at a time when she will probably have an adverse balance of trade even without her payment to Pakistan. Secondly, even when instalments will begin coming in—if they begin to come in at all—India will not have any margin worth the name with which to ease her difficult trade position. This problem would be more and more aggravated because of the nature of their economic structures. As their economies are not complementary, India cannot receive from Pakistan, if she can receive anything at all, any commodity which will be helpful for her economic development. As in the case of German reparations, two sources would only remain open for India. First, she can take, only for the sake of taking, such commodities as would either be of no real value to her, or would actually damage her own raw materials market, or she shall have to continue giving fresh loans to Pakistan just to enable her to make her annual payments to India. In either case India would be the loser.

(4) *What should be our economic policy?* What should then be our economic policy with regard to Pakistan? We have already tried to indicate the nature of the problems, both short-term and long term. The nature of the policy to be followed both in the short-term and in the long-term becomes clear from the nature of the problems themselves. The main items of policy may be enumerated briefly as follows:

Short-term:

(1) Adoption of a uniform policy both at the Central and Provincial levels;

(2) Inclusion of all assistance given by the Province to Pakistan within the scope of the All-India agreement;

(3) Settlement regarding the cost of maintaining refugees and the cost of their rehabilitation, if possible, ac-

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cording to the formula agreed to by the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Cabinet;

(4) Careful control of panicky flights of capital and assistance to all banks which are in difficulty on this account;

(5) Avoidance as far as possible, of unilateral payments in the coming years; if possible, arrangements should be made so that the Pakistan Government mobilises the securities of the Government of India held by her nationals and exchanges them for Pakistan securities of equal value. The Pakistan Government should then hand over the Government of India securities to the Government of Indian Union, the liabilities of Pakistan to that extent being treated as cancelled. This should be done immediately, before the economic conditions in Pakistan become something very different from the economic conditions here.

Long-term :

(1) Decisions about monetary policy. As the Pakistan Government is going to have a separate currency, what would be the relation of our unit of account with their unit of account ?

(2) Decision about fiscal relations, particularly fiscal policy. A customs union has been suggested by some economists, but that would not work in view of possible political relations as also of the difference in the economic structures and possible economic policies.

(3) Realisation, if possible, of all dues within a shorter period.

Conclusion

We have tried to discuss above the main fea of the economic relationship between India and Pak and we have also tried to indicate certain lines of p in view of the immediate and ultimate problems. In d so, we have tried to confine ourselves to an obje economic analysis of the situation. But in conclusio may again point out that all economic calculation forecast in the matter may be upset by political developm The recent controversy over the imposition of a cu duty on jute by Pakistan or over the promised fin assistance to Pakistan are cases in point. We cannot get that the State of Pakistan has been born, not ou a spirit of friendship, but out of spite. Just as man to suffer from the original sin, it is too much to ex that Pakistan will be able, at least for some time to co to escape the limitations of its birth. At least r events do not give us any ground for such expecta Economic policy is bound to be linked up, in these cumstances, with political factors and we must al remember that even if what is justified in normal eco theory, may not be sanctioned, in this case, by pol prudence. The usual flight of abstract economic t therefore cannot but remain anchored here to the ground of realism. And in these days of historical in pretation of every aspect of life, we would not lose thing—rather we would gain everything—by having nomic theory conditioned by possible social trends.*

* This paper was written long before the writer's assumption office as Minister, West Bengal Government, and presents his indiv views only.

TWO NATIONS ?

A Peep into the Racial History of the Population of North-Western India

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

India has been divided on two nations theory. Without discussing the question what are the different elements that compose a nation it may be conceded that race is one of them. After the division of India on two nations theory it will be instructive to analyse briefly the racial composition of the population of North-Western India comprising territories now included in Pakistan, Kashmir and the tribal belt between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

A brief reference may be made at the outset to the infiltration of foreign racial elements into India from the rise and expansion of Islam up to the time of the establishment of the power of the Mughals in India.

Two great victories, first at Kadisiya (637 A.C.) and next at Nehavend (641 A.C.), made the Arabs masters of Persia and the fugitive last Sassanian emperor suffered the same fate as did the last Achaemenian emperor. After the loss of their freedom the Persians suffered the suppression of their old religion. Persia became an Islamic country. Within 644, when Khalif Omar died, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt had fallen to the Arab arms. This marked for the time being the westward expansion of the Vi rious Arab forces.

After the battle of Nehavend the Arab spread eastwards from Persia. Western Afghani was occupied and Herat became one of the prin cities of the Moslem world. Further eastern expan through Afghanistan towards India was blocked by the Buddhist Shahi kings of Kabul who were ceeded by the Hindu Shahi kings of Ohind. Barenis rock inscription in Mastuj records that 900 A.C. the inhabitants of the surrounding co were Buddhists and under the sway of Jaipal, kin Kabul. The Arab plan of conquest of India th the northern passes did not materialise.

The tide of Arab expansion to the east checke the north of India tried to effect a breach in the of India's defence in the west. It reached Mekra Baluchistan about 643 but was resisted by the Jat Jhalawan. Jhalawan formed a part of the kingdom Sind which extended from the sea to Multan and the desert to the hills of Baluchistan. By 705 an post was established in Mekran. After repe

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ttacks from the sea against Sind had failed an army as sent under one Budmeen to attack Tutta. This rmy was defeated. In 711 Mahomed bin Kasim at the ead of a body of Assyrian cavalry launched an attack n Tutta proceeding by the route of Shiraz and Mekran. King Dahir with his big army composed of Mooltanis, Sindhis and Rajputs fell fighting and the Arabs penetrated into the country as far east as Multan. The Arab power did not extend beyond this limit in the west. Thus Arabs were expelled from Sind by Mahmud of Ghazni. Next it became a part of the Delhi empire. Early in the 14th century Yadubamsi Sumra Rajputs of Sind established themselves in power in the country. The Sumras were succeeded by the Samma Rajputs. According to Ferishta, the Sumra dynasty ruled for five centuries. This would mean that they rose in power about a century after the Arab conquest. The Samma dynasty lasted till 1520.

The Arabs did not succeed in penetrating far into or getting an effective foothold in India during the enturies of their biggest conquests. Arab merchants ter established a colony at Quilon but the Mapillas hose origin is traced to these settlers are confined to small strip of the West coast.

The north-western gates of India were opened with the se of the Turkish dynasty of Ghazni. The defeat at the ttle of Lumghan (979) cost king Jaipal of the Punjab l the territories west of the Indus. Peshawar became e seat of the government of the conquered territories. Afghans and Afghnaised Turks known as Khaljis began o enlist in the army of Subuktugeen. In the second ttle of Peshawar (1008) king Anandapal of Lahore as defeated by Mahmood with an army composed of rabian horse, Turks, Afghans and Khaljis. In 1020-21 Lahore fell and a Moslem governor was appointed ere. Towards the end of the century the Suljook urks drove the descendants of Mahmood of Ghazni om their ancestral kingdom and Lahore became the pital of the last Ghazni kings.

With the victories of the Ghori Afghans who were nverted to Islam after the seizure of Ghor by the use of Ghazni (1010) the whole of northern India cluding the Gangetic plains, western India and parts central India were opened to the mixed hordes of ilitary adventurers of Afghan, Turkish, Persian and ongol origins, whom the pressure of the Mongols ced out of Transoxiana and Afghanistan.

During the reign of Altamish, the Mongol hordes rst upon India for the first time under Chengiz han and Lahore was sacked. This marked the begin- ng of intermittent forays by the Mughals or Mon- ls across the borders of India which increased in equency and volume as time passed. To the court of heias-ood-deen Bulban flocked the dethroned kings of rkistan, Transoxiana, Khorassan, Irak Ajemi, Azar- ijan, Iran and other countries whom the arms of engiz Khan and his successors had forced to flee m their countries.

Towards the end of the reign of Gheias-ood-deen Bulban, Mughal soldiers of fortune succeeded in establishing themselves at the court as a rival in power to the Khaljis.

The rise of the Khaljis to power opened the Deccan to the Central Asian adventurers who commanded the mixed armies of the Delhi kings. During the reign of Alla-ood-deen Khalji, the Mughals made furious onslaughts in great strength again and again, pushing up to the gates of Delhi in some of these attacks. By the order of the king, 15,000 Mughals, who were in the following of the king at Delhi, were massacred in one day. All the same, the power of the Mughals increased and the *ameer juddedas* or newly converted Mughal officers in the employ of the kings of Delhi proclaimed their independence in different provinces. There was a considerable body of Mughals in the army of the first Lody Afghan king of Delhi. It is interesting to note that these mercenaries took service under Shahbani Beg, the Uzbeg chief, who drove Babur from his ancestral kingdom and they also fought Babur on several occasions. The quarrels and rivalries among Afghan provincial governors paved the way for Babur who had both Turkish and Mongol blood in his veins.

After the battle of Panipat (1526) Babur announced his determination not to quit Hindusthan as his ancestor Teimur had done. The rival Afghan war lords realised the situation a little too late.

Large-scale infiltration into India of Central Asian hordes of military adventurers of miscellaneous origins practically ceased with the establishment of the Chagatai power in India. Akbar had to reconquer the country from mixed Afghan, Turkish and Mughal war lords and he turned to the children of the soil for support and assistance.

Later invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Durrani were of no consequence in respect of race infiltration.

There is no record in history to show that during the long period covered by the survey above there was any considerable, systematic race movement from Central Asia to India. The invasions of the Ghazni and Ghor kings were of little importance from the point of view of the racial history of the people of India. The invaders withdrew to Ghazni and Ghor with their armies composed of Tajiks, Turks and various Afghan tribes, occasionally with a sprinkling of Arab horsemen, carrying away huge loot and a large number of captives including females as slaves. There were of course large-scale conversions affecting entire tribes or communities such as the conversion of the Gukkurs of Western Punjab, the Mewatis or Meos of Gurgaon, Alwar, etc., but these conversions had political objects, namely, gaining local allies, raising local recruits and sowing the seeds of disruption among the enemy ranks. There is nothing to show that there was any change in this state of things after Babur settled down in Hindusthan. The monarchs of this house freely recruited troops from amongst Hindus and Indian Moslems and

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the recruitment of foreigners to their armies decreased proportionately.

It is very curious but it is a fact that all the invasions mentioned above and the predominance of Moslem political power for nearly six centuries in the country did not affect the racial character of the populations of N.-W. India and tribal areas. There has been probably some racial mixture at the upper levels of the Moslem society but for the bulk of the converted people it has been no more than a change of religion. This is amply proved by what follows.

The populations of N.-W. India and tribal territories belong ethnologically to one predominant type, the long-headed type. It is mixed in certain areas, namely, Baluchistan, Sind and some territories in the Hindukush with other types. To this predominant type belong the Pathans, the Rajputs, the Jats, the Gujars and the Kashmiris. This type is dominant in the Punjab, in N.-W. India, in the tribal territories; beyond the tribal belt it extends into Afghanistan; south and east of the Punjab it is the dominant type in Rajputana and Western U. P.; it is found also in Baluchistan, Sind, Central India and eastern U. P.

This type has been called Indo-Aryan by Sir Herbert Risley, Indo-Afghan by some others and other anthropologists have their own favourite names. With these different names, with controversies about the origin of the type and proportions of the admixture of other strains with the type it is unnecessary to concern ourselves here.

Tribal territories may be taken up first. The Pathan represents the dominant type in these territories.

It is admitted now that the Pathans or Pakhtuns are aborigines of these parts of India. The Pakhtun people are mentioned by the Greek historians under the name Pactyae and it is possible that the Pakthas, mentioned along with Sibas, Alinas, Visanins, etc., as enemies of the Aryas and described as cattle-lifters in the Rigveda are none other than the Pakhtuns. Of the four divisions of the Pakhtun people mentioned by the Greek writers the Gandarii have been identified with the Yusufzai, Mohmand and other tribes of the Peshawar valley, the Aparytae with the Afridis, the Satragyddae with the Khatak and the Dadae with the Dadi. In the early years of the Christian era, it has been said, the Pukhtuna held the whole of the Safed Koh and northern Suleman ranges from the Indus to the Helmond and from Swat and Jelalabad to Peshin and Quetta. The Afghans have spread into their country. The Afridi and the Khatak hold now only a small portion of their original territories, the Dadi have been absorbed by the Kakars held to be of Scythian origin.

The history of the Gandarii is interesting. About 5th century, dislodged from their original homes in the Peshawar valley and the neighbouring hills the Gandarii who were Buddhists at the time, moved in a body to the Helmond valley where they founded a city known as Gandhar. Here they mingled with the people of Ghor, held by some to be Tajik, by others to be of Turkish extraction, were converted to Islam by Arab missionaries and the mixed people came to be known as Afghans. In the 15th century, the Gandhari, represented by the Yusufzai, Mohmand, etc., re-entered their original country. The Yusufzai spread also to the Swat and Buner, driving the original inhabitants of these areas into Dir and Swat Kohistan. The Afghans were converted to Islam by Shahab-ood-deen Ghori.

The Pakhtuns were not, however, the only ex[illegible] Indian people inhabiting these territories. The Tar[illegible] of the Urash plains or Pakhli and the Dilazaks, [illegible] admitted into the tribal fold of the Pathans, were [illegible] originally Pathans. The original Swati people regar[illegible] as a race of Hindu origin, ruling the whole coun[illegible] from Jhelum to Jelalabad, were driven by the Yu[illegible] zais into Kafiristan and Hazara in the 15th cen[illegible] The Torwis, Garhwis and Gujars now found in [illegible] Bashkar of Dir and Swat Kohistan are said to be th[illegible] descendants. Both the Bashkar and Kashkar (U[illegible] Valley) have a considerable Gujar population. T[illegible] original Swati people are identified with the Dep[illegible] the early Hindu inhabitants of N.-E. Afghanistan [illegible] found scattered in Kuner, Bajaur, Lughman and N[illegible] grahar. The Waziris and Mashuds, now regarded [illegible] Pathans, are held to be of Rajput origin.

Round the nucleus of the original Pakhtun tri[illegible] have gathered non-Pathan elements of Indian ori[illegible] like the above and various tribes of mixed Afg[illegible] Turkish and other origins like the Karlarui of [illegible] Kurram agency, the Bhittani, the Kakar, the Pani, etc.

In the N.-W. F. Province, the Pathan is still [illegible] dominant tribe but non-Pathan tribes of Hindu ori[illegible] begin to appear in strength. Hindu castes from [illegible] Punjab are found scattered in the districts. In Ha[illegible] the Pathans are far outnumbered by the Gujars, Aw[illegible] Kharrals, etc. They are all Moslems. The Awans [illegible] held to be of Jat and the Kharrals of Rajput ori[illegible] In Peshawar, the Pathans are about 51 per cent of [illegible] total population and the rest is composed of Mos[illegible] Awans, Gujars, Baghbans, etc., who are regarded [illegible] Hindki, and Hindus and Sikhs. The Awans appear [illegible] Kohat and Bannu along with Jats and Rajputs (M[illegible] lem). In Dera Ismail Khan, the Pathans are [illegible] 31 per cent and the rest are Balochs, Rajputs, Aw[illegible] and Jats, etc. The Rajputs, Jats, Awans are Moslem[illegible] the converted tribes in the N.-W. F. Province [illegible] Awans are most numerous, followed by the Gujars [illegible] next by the Rajputs and the Jats in strength.

In Western Punjab in all the districts Mos[illegible] are in big majority over Hindus and Sikhs, but [illegible] Moslem majority is mostly composed of conv[illegible] Rajputs, Jats, Gujars, Awans, Arains, Khokars, etc. [illegible] river valleys of the western plains and the we[illegible] hills including the Salt Range were held by Pa[illegible] and Bhatti Rajputs. In the 11th century Mahmud [illegible] Ghazni fought a hard-won battle with the Bhatti [illegible] Bejee Ray who held the Salt Range country. The S[illegible]

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Tiwanas and Ghebs were Punwar Rajputs who were converted by Baba Farid of Pak Pattan. The Khokars, Wattu, Gadun, etc., are held to be of Rajput origin. The Gukkurs of Jhelum and Rawalpindi are held to be of Rajput origin. Mohamed Kasim Ferishta the historian says that they inhabited the country along the banks of the Neelab (Indus) up to the foot of the Sewalik and cut off all communications between Peshawar and Multan, and practised unheard-of cruelties on the Mahomedans. The Gukkurs and "most of the infidels who inhabited the mountains between Ghizni and Indus were also converted, some by force, some by persuasion" at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. Mahmud was murdered by Hindu Gukkurs.

The name of Gujarat in Rawalpindi division comes from the Gujars who form some 15 per cent of the population of the district at the present time while the Jats are about 25 per cent. They are mainly Moslem. In Mianwali, the Jats who form more than 32 per cent of the population and the Rajputs are mainly Moslem while the Awans are all Moslem. In Muzaffargarh, the Jats who form more than 29 per cent of the population and the Rajputs are mainly Moslem, the Arains are all Moslem. In Dera Ghazi Khan, the Jats who form more than 25 per cent are mainly Moslem and nearly all the Rajputs are Moslem. In Gujranwala, the Jats who are 27 per cent are mainly Moslem, In Lahore, Amritsar and some other places the Jats are Moslem and Sikh, in other areas the Rajputs, Jats and Awans, etc., are mainly Moslem. The Gujars, Jats and Rajputs in Sialkot are mainly Moslem.

In Ambala and Jullundhur divisions, the Hindus and Sikhs are in majority and the percentage of Moslems among Jats falls but the percentage of Moslems among Rajputs and Gujars continues to be high. In Karnal nearly 70 per cent of the Rajputs are Ranghar Moslems. Over two-thirds of the Rajputs in Hissar, Ambala, Ludhiana, Ferozpore are Moslems. The Khokars claim Rajput origin and the Awans who observe many Hindu customs are all Moslem. The Meos are found in Gurgaon, Alwar and Bharatpur. After the conversion of the Jadun Rajput rulers of Mewat in the 12th century, the Meos were soon converted en masse. They gave trouble constantly to the Delhi rulers and Ferishta records that Ghias-ood-deen Bulban massacred 100,000 of them in a single battle.

To turn westwards to Baluchistan and Sind from the Punjab.

In Baluchistan, the Med, Jat, Brahui and Baloch are the most important tribes. A number of Afghan tribes and Kakar Pathans have penetrated into the country. The Kakars are held to be of Scythian origin, which means that they are allied to the Baloch and the Brahui, though they have absorbed the Dadi branch of the Pakhtun race. Scythian origin is attributed to the Meds who are found also in Sind and are related to the Mhers, Mahars, Muhanas, etc. They have been converted in Baluchistan and Sind. The Jats, also converted, are numerous in Kacchi and Las Bela. The Brahuis are a mixed people with very strong Jat elements in some of the tribes. Three largest Brahui tribes are by themselves classed as Jadgal meaning Jat. The Balochs are a mixed people, Iranian elements mixing with the dominant type of North-Western India, probably represented here by the Jats. This Iranian element is represented further south by the Hindu population of Gujerat, South Maratha country, Coorg, Kannada country.

In Sind, the early inhabitants of the country, namely, Sumra and Summa Rajputs have been converted. The Jats have come from Kacchi. The Numrias held to be of Rajput origin have also come from Sind. The Muhanas are identified with the Baluchistan Meds and so are the Mahars of Sukkur and Larkana. The Memans are descendants of the Lohanas converted to Islam at Tutta in the 15th century. The Sodha Rajputs of Thar and Parkar have not been converted and the bulk of the Hindu population of the province is Lohana. The Khojas and Bohras were converted by Pir Sadruddin. Some of the Hindu elements of the population, the Kolis, Dheds, etc., have come from the east. There are Brahuis and Balochs from Baluchistan.

The Kashmiris belong to the predominant long-headed type of North-Western India. About 78 per cent of the population of Kashmir are Moslems. There are Hindu Rajputs, the mixed Hindu caste Thakkars, and Sikhs and Khattris from the Punjab. Of the Jats one-fifth of the total number is Hindu and the rest Moslem. The Gujars are nearly all Moslem. Among the Moslem Rajputs are the Jarrals, Bhaos, etc. The Chibs of Chibalhi are mostly Moslem. They are of Rajput origin allied to the Dogra. The Bambos and Khakas of the Jhelum valley are of Rajput origin. The Chucks who ruled Kashmir when Akbar occupied it were converted late in the 15th century.

The mass conversion of the people of Kashmir began from the end of the 14th century under Sultan Sikandur (1394) known as *Bootshikun* or iconoclast.

> "He destroyed nearly all the grand buildings and temples of his Hindu predecessors. To the people he offered conversion, death or exile. . . . By the end of his reign all Hindu inhabitants of the valley, except the Brahmans, had probably adopted Islam."

About the Brahmans Ferishta writes :

> "Many of the Brahmans rather than abandon their religion or their country poisoned themselves ; some emigrated from their native homes, while a few escaped the evil of banishment by becoming Mahomedans."

From the above account it will be seen that the main population of N.-W. India is represented by four principal races, namely, the Pathan, Rajput, Jat and Gujar, and their tribes. Historians have their theories about the Scythian, by which they mean Saka, Yuechi and Huna origins, of the last three races but ethnologically these theories are unsound and their historical correctness has not been tested fully. All the four races belong, according to distinguished anthropologists, to

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the same racial type. These races rise into prominence in history at different times.

The Pathan element intervenes between the Pashto-speaking and very much mixed Afghans with a strong Indian element in their composition and the Rajput-Jat-Gujar block in the West and East Punjab, Kashmir, Baluchistan and Sind. This block extends east to western U. P., south-east to Rajputana and from Rajputana to C. I. The Gujar has penetrated into the tribal belt, the Gujar and Jat into N.-W. F. Province while the Pathan has pushed to the east of the Indus in Hazara. In the vast tract from the borders of Afghanistan to the Chenab including in the west Baluchistan and Sind, and Kashmir in the north-east, the early inhabitants changed their religion between the 11th and 15th centuries. After the Chenab is crossed Hindu and Sikh Jats begin to be seen here and there but Rajputs and Gujars still continue to be Moslem. The desert to the east of Sind and Sirhind in the East Punjab appear to have arrested the all-out exp as it were, of Islam. In Rajputana, western Central India and Kathiawar the Rajputs, Jats Gujars follow their old religion.

But in spite of the change of religion, form voluntary, on the part of certain portions of the lation social relationships, common ties of lan economic conditions, cultural traditions, race geography have held together the people of Ind long centuries ; now they have been divided to the purposes of the politicians and imperialists alone will show whether the old ties will re themselves and defeat both or the artificial di will persist and permanently cripple India at and abroad.*

* Figures and facts have been taken among other wri Provincial and District Gazetteers and Census Reports published Government of India.

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THE POSITION OF INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS*

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

There is a mischievous superstition still governing the systems of our education today which shut out from our class-rooms in the schools as well as in the colleges visual works of beauty, the graphic works of form and colour, in which our best thinkers and workers have incarnated their dreams, and visualized their hopes and fears. There still lingers a superstition which clouds and darkens our educational syllabuses with the fallacy of a belief that education can come only through the medium of the spoken and the printed words, that knowledge can be gathered, with toil and tears, through portly tomes of books, cyclopaedias and dictionaries. The history of our visual arts has demonstrated that some of the finest and loftiest of the utterances of our greatetst sages and savants have been expressed in the silent and more pregnant languages of our visual and figurative arts, in the shapes of our images and icons, in the colours and designs of our pictures and portraits, in the signs, designs, and symbols of our textiles, in the brooding and soaring forms of our temples and shrines, in the visible records of our adventures and negotiations with the invisible Divinity, the Maker of all forms and colours in the Universe—the Supreme Artist and Architect of Nature.

There were periods in our culture-history, when the means of our knowledge and our education were recorded and sought for in the written and the spoken words as well as in the illiterate but stimulating signs and symbols of colour and of form. And through the latter, the most backward and the most illiterate of our brothers sisters could get an opportunity to come in contact the best thoughts of our sages and thinkers w spelling out a single line of our learned books, musty manuscripts of our Shastras. The visual w illiterate way offered the easiest way, the most c way, the cheapest way to the gates of knowledge. the walls and the niches of our temples and shri fered, in glorious forms of frescoes, and in movi inspiring forms of images and statues, the quintess knowledge in all departments of thought. The w visual education, the ways of knowledge without te been admitted and recognized in all the latest and systems of education in the West, and the gallery and the museum, the modern successors of temples and shrines, have been linked up and re the studies of our class-rooms in the schools and c And in the western countries, alive to the be visual education, the students are regularly taken museums and art-galleries in the cities to visualise the masterpieces and monuments of the graphic a they read and study in the pages of their printed In the Universities of China, which I had the pr visiting two years ago, I was delighted to find organised department of visual education, offering the graphic apparatus of the cinema and the slide repast of visual knowledge of most of the happe history in the past and the daily doings of the man and woman in all parts of the world. I h now been informed that our Minister of Educa is planning to found and develop a department

* The substance of an address delivered at the opening ceremony of the Besant Centenary Exhibition at Adyar on 1st October, 1947.

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education to supplement the means of knowledge and education now only available through the narrow lanes and the dark and dingy corridors of class-rooms, through the painful pages of our printed books. This is indeed, a very good piece of news and will help to banish illiteracy through illiterate means and methods, and open out extensive and expansive fields of a democratic education by destroying the privileges and limitations of an exclusively literary education and by demolishing the dubious and arrogant aristocracy of letters.

I do not decry the value of literature as such, both as a vehicle of culture and as the means of dissemination of scientific principles, and their application for the betterment of our life and for the liquidation of poverty by an intelligent use of the means of life and for improving and elevating the general standard of existence.

But in India the spread of literacy has been instrumental in upsetting the balance of the structure of our society by debasing our taste for all the beautiful aspects of life and by destroying our handicrafts and cottage industries. Our appreciation and admiration for the beauties of English literature had unfortunately generated a belief that our Indian literature, the various and variegated expressions of our beautiful provincial languages, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Hindi, Urdu, Maharastri and Bengali were inferior to the imported products from England. And though we are just now on the point of recovering our national self-respect and our pride in the beauties of the masterpieces of our vernacular literature, our Valmiki and Tulasidas, our Kamban and Manikyavachaka, the mischief that the *maya* and the infatuation created by the study of English literature led us to a blind and indiscriminate admiration of all phases of imported culture, destroyed our taste for all our indigenous products, particularly, the beautiful products of our historical handicrafts that at one time, filled, enriched and illuminated every nook and corner of our domestic life. The baneful effects of our debased and anglicised outlook, and our degraded taste was brought about by a domination of English taste and preferences in every phase of our indigenous life. By some unaccountable fatality our vernacular literature, our native arts and crafts, our social habits, our mental postures, were not improved or enriched by our contact with the West. And the great advice and warning which Mrs. Annie Besant gave many years ago is still ringing in my ears, when I had listened to one of her stirring orations: "Let our Indian life be *enriched* but it need not and should not be *dominated* by the thought and culture of the West." By another stroke of ill-luck, most forms of our Indian culture have been *dominated* and destroyed, and very little of it has been *enriched* by our contact with English culture.

Of all forms of domination that the British Rule had imposed on India, the intellectual and spiritual domination of our culture was far worse than the political and economic domination. And if our political destiny has been emancipated from the influences of the evil stars, our cultural emancipation is likely to take some time to come. For old habits take a long time to die, and the old products of our handicrafts will take a long time to recover their beauty and their skill, if they at all can be helped to repossess their precious heritage, unless we can make strenuous and well-planned efforts to restore their past glory. Our expert economists have advised us that our poverty can never be liquidated, unless India is industrialized immediately on a large scale, unless we set up large factories, machines and mechanisms and mechanical operatives to produce cheap classes of consumer goods on a very large scale. It has been demonstrated that factory products are the arch-enemies of all classes of handicrafts, and most of our historical arts and crafts have already been driven out and killed by the imported machine-made articles from Europe. And some of our wise economists advise us that our handicrafts and craftsmanship, our precious inheritances from the past, must be saved from the death-dealing competition of the machine-made articles imported from abroad or "Made in India." Many people believe that our precious heritage of beauty and of craftsmanship inherent in our handicrafts could be saved by the generous patronage of the wealthy and by the sentiments and sacrifices of our patriots with a vow to pay more and to use the hand-made products in preference to the machine-made ones. It is by raising the tariff-wall of love and patriotism that we could save our heritage of beauty and of skilful and creative craftsmanship. I do not know if this is a sound economic doctrine and if craftsmanship can be helped to survive its struggle with competitive industries. But I believe that craftsmanship and the cultivation of beauty stands for a spiritual communication between man and man and can invest our life with spiritual and divine values. The weaver who handles the warp and the woof of the silken threads with the skill and mystery of a magician to fabricate a piece of *dhoti* or *sari*, caters not only for the needs of our body but also for the needs of our mind and soul. For he very often weaves with his threads as symbols of his good wishes for us auspicious decorations and patterns intended to work as charms to chide away all evil thoughts and to inspire the leading of a clean, chaste, and spotless life. This personal human appeal, this piece of good wish conveyed by the maker of the cloth to the user of the cloth, this sense of spiritual communication between man and man, can never come through the products of dead machines. We are aware that our mill-owners are now employing artists to make designs and patterns for the borders of machine-made *saries* and *dhoties*, the designs of the artists being worked out in a scheme of mechanical reproduction. But they have not yet succeeded and it is doubtful if they will ever succeed in importing in their machine-made abominations the finesse and delicacy, the subtle flavour of beauty, the personal touch of the human hand and its spiritual expressivesess which characterize all our hand-made stuffs. Apart from the fact that the products of our handicrafts are superior in many respects to the products of the machine, their supreme quality of beauty is the most valuable spiritual incentive to life.

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"Admirable as it may appear to be in many of its achievements, a civilization submitting to the wide-spread and predominant use of mechanical contrivances, whose sole claim to existence is the supposition that by their means things can be made in greater quantity for the same expenditure of time and money, is a civilization wilfully denying itself the possession of things of beauty, and destroying in itself both the power to produce such things and the ability to recognize them when they are produced."—Eric Gill.

Those of us who are concerned for the existence of beauty in the world are often accused by so-called practical men of business of a lack of disinterestedness and of selfish motives. It is supposed that *we desire beauty because we are artists and lovers of Art*, and that were we not artists and connoisseurs of Beauty, we would be as indifferent to the matter as they are. It is supposed that as the cocoa-manufacturer wages war against the drinking of beer, because he may thus hope to increase the sales of his cocoa, and it is not to be supposed that he can have any other motive, so the artist wages his 'forlorn hope' against commercialism because thus he may hope to increase the sales of works of art. The fact is, however, that *we are artists because we believe in beauty*, and not that *we believe in beauty because we are artists.*

Roughly speaking a work of art, a creation of an artist, is simply "a thing well made", ultimately it is the sensible expression of man's love of God, and, in [illegible] work of man, beauty is its essential perfection. Be[illegible] is, therefore, a thing of religious significance, ine[illegible] independent of fashion or custom, time, or place, and [illegible] to be judged by the material criteria of a comme[illegible] civilization or by the threadbare culture of job-hunters [illegible] place-hunters.

We have become so accustomed to regard the a[illegible] merely as a purveyor of the lovable, the poet or the p[illegible] as a moral policeman, the philosopher as a sort of "you[illegible] man's guide to useful knowledge," that we are incap[illegible] of viewing justly the work of men who regard the ar[illegible] the priest, the poet and the philosopher as prophets [illegible] God. Beauty must be cultivated and kept alive in [illegible] the appliances and apparatuses of our daily existence, [illegible] we are to maintain a right relationship with our Cre[illegible] And this can be very effectively done by keeping alive [illegible] handicrafts as living expressions of beauty.

As our scriptures say, "*Atma-Samskritir Vaba Silpa*[illegible] 'the handicrafts are the surest means of the salvatio[illegible] our souls.'

If our society is to preserve its human and spirit[illegible] values, we must take steps to secure the place of t[illegible] artist and of beauty in our schemes of life, in our so[illegible] structure, and our handicrafts must be preserved agai[illegible] their fatal fight, against their competition of the ch[illegible] machine-made objects of our factories.

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INDIA'S FREEDOM IN DANGER

Need for Mental Re-armament

By Prof. BALKRISHNA

"The way things have been shaping themselves," observed Pandit Nehru recently, "it is evident that India is faced with grave dangers from all sides." He went to utter the warning that "unless we are adequately and immediately prepared to meet that critical situation, our freedom may prove short-lived." This warning, coming from India's Prime Minister and foremost thinker, must be immediately heeded by all Indians, be they administrators or soldiers, workers or peasants, professionals or producers.

No one can fail to see the dangers that stare India in the face. They are both internal and external. Internally India is sitting on the verge of a volcano. The economic situation is extremely explosive. Prices are mounting. Essential commodities are in short supply. Black market is flourishing. Millions of people are uncertain of their morrow's meal. Many do not have the necessary clothes. Thousands are homeless and houseless. Naturally the intensity of the struggle for existence is daily increasing. All these are the pre-symptoms of a serious revolutionary upheaval. These are, in any case, alarming signs of the break-down [illegible] human values. The communal conflicts, the railw[illegible] crimes, the lust for loot—all these indicate a grad[illegible] break-down of the society, civilisation and culture [illegible] the people. The psychological front is thus in a dang[illegible] of collapse. This danger is heightened by the serious [illegible] disturbed political situation of the country. The [illegible] flicts between the princes and the people, betw[illegible] Hindus and Muslims, between one linguistic gro[illegible] and another show no signs of abatement. India is [illegible] the throes of a political revolution, the consequences [illegible] which few people are able to visualise today. If th[illegible] internal situation is explosive, the external situatio[illegible] is alarming. The great power blocs, Western Dem[illegible] cracies and the Eastern Soviets, are moving towards [illegible] titanic conflict—a conflict which would engulf all th[illegible] countries and peoples of the world. This state [illegible] potential war between the two power blocs is keepi[illegible] the world in a condition of economic collapse and [illegible] psychological hysteria. India feels, in her economy a[illegible] in her spirit, the echoes of this distant war. Near[illegible]

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home, the policies of Pakistan are proving to India a source of constant anxiety. No one is sure of what Pakistan may do tomorrow. Driven to frenzy by its inner maladies it may madly throw its uncivilised hordes on India. Again it may encourage a civil war—communal or princely—in the dominions of the Indian Union. It may adopt any other devilish trick to injure India simply out of spite against her.

The Indian people have to prepare themselves to meet these dangers. The most important aspect of this preparation is to build up the morale of the Indian people. It implies that the people are to be made aware of their situation and resources. Further it involves the creation of confidence in the Indian people about their ability to meet and overcome all these dangers. It demands the suggestion of the ways in which they can successfully meet this challenge of their history and destiny. In short, it implies a tremendous drive for the intellectual and emotional discipline of the Indian classes and masses.

This building up of the morale of the people and the fortifying of their spirit can be achieved only through a sustained and intelligent propaganda, a propaganda carried through the radio and the cinema, the press and the literature, the school and the university. It is unfortunate that many people fear propaganda on account of its misuse by the Nazis. They feel that propaganda is the tool of dictatorships, and that once this is made use of on a large scale India would also become a dictatorship. But this is an altogether incorrect view of its nature and significance. The truth is that it seeks to create a collective will in the people of a country. In its nature, therefore, it is opposed to dictatorships which essentially rest on force and not on persuasion. It is really the life-breath of Democracy, the government which lives and moves by popular will. It is but another name for mass education carried on with the instruments that science has placed at the disposal of man.

Propaganda is then the need of the hour. It will enable us to fight the powers of darkness—both in India and abroad. We shall be able to fight with it the psychological war which Pakistan is waging against us in the different parts of the world and specially in the Middle East. It will enable us to extricate our people, especially the Punjab refugees from the slough of despond into which they have fallen. It will help us in fighting the ignorance and superstitions of which our millions are passive victims. It will re-establish the human values in the breasts of those who have today forgotten the living God in their heart. It will enable us to recapture our soul and face the world with confidence.

But such a propaganda implies a tremendous effort on the part of our Government and professions. It is somewhat disappointing to find that there are no signs, as yet, of such an effort being thought of, not to speak of its being organised. It is no doubt true that the dynamic personality of Sardar Patel has made its impression on the Information and Broadcasting Department of India. But even now it can be said without any fear of contradiction that the Department has not succeeded in galvanising itself into vital activity. The department unfortunately suffers from the original sin of its being begotten by the alien rulers of India. They organised Publicity not to give India her soul, but to enslave her mind and body. Their objective was not to educate the Indian people about their spiritual and physical powers but to opiate their minds and paralyse their will. The Department was the issue of their ideal. It grew in this atmosphere. It, therefore, failed to develop the tradition of ceaseless effort for the education of the mind and the heart of the people. It was satisfied if it succeeded in keeping the people chained to amusement. It is no doubt true that many members of the service were not in sympathy with this exploitative mission of the Department. But they could not effect any change in it. They consequently became passive tools of the Department. In any case this objective had a blighting influence on the service personnel. They became passive and complacent. This tradition of complacency, it is to be feared, still dominates the service personnel. It is because of this tradition that they are unable to take the initiative to make the psychological front invincible and unbreakable.

Another shortcoming that weakens our effort in this sphere is the lack of co-ordination. It is no doubt true that Democracy is opposed in its nature to a totalitarian effort or organisation. But co-ordinated effort is not necessarily totalitarian in character. It merely implies the harmonious planning of the themes and the timings of the various branches of the Publicity organisation. It implies, for example, that at a time like the present, the Broadcasts, the Publications, the Press Information, all echo and explain 'the secular state policy' of the national government as the solvent of the political problem of India. It is not suggested that other aspects of life should be altogether ignored. What is suggested is merely that the central problem facing the Indian people today should be kept the central theme of Publicity. The songs, the dramas, the lectures, the publications—all should be connected with this theme. It may be urged against this view that this would take away all attraction from the publicity programmes. But this danger can be avoided with a little imagination. It is not necessary that Art should teach by sermonising. But all the same it can be made so enchantingly suggestive that it leaves the desired effect even though the effect is not directly indicated or pointed out. Moreover, as stated above, the other themes are also to be kept, but they are to be kept only as side ones.

This points out the thrrd drawback in our Publicity. It is not well integrated to the external situation. It is no doubt true that the external world forces itself on the publicity organisation, and it has to give a

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grudging recognition to it. But on the whole, there appears to be no conscious attempt on the part of the Publicity organisation to keep its ears to the ground and hear the least rumblings of the popular mind. Probably this is because of the old tradition of the Department when it was not expected to keep itself alert to popular opinions and trends. But in the present context it will not do. The Publicity Department has to provide for 'listening posts' that will keep it into contact with all the aspects of the Indian situation. The Publicity organisation must realise that it is not only the national entertainer, but also the national teacher and the national sentinel. It can give the proper guidance and it can fight the forces of evil, only if it has a clear view of these and knows how to counter them.

The Publicity technique also requires to be improved. The film is not being used as a means of education and publicity. The alien government compelled the cinema houses to show the information films in order to carry on its war propaganda. There is no reason why the film should not be used now to carry on the educative propaganda essential for economic reconstruction and social peace. The publicity organisation can very well link its activities in this respect with that of the Agriculture, Health and Education Departments of India. Funds can be pooled for the preparation of films having for their main theme the rural life in its different aspects. These can be shown to rural audiences by mobile squads organised for this purpose. The necessary mechanical and electrical appliances are already there that can be provided to the mobile squad. Again posters are not being used to any appreciable degree. Further, suggestive pictorial insertions in the daily and the periodical journals can be very usefully adopted for this purpose. Further, the Publicity organisations can have central *rural listening stations*. These listening stations can well be the Panchayat homes of the village circles, each of ten villages. In villages having a fairly good population separate listening stations may be provided. With the progress of electrification there would not be any difficulty in making this arrangement. Even now these stations can be established and provided with battery sets. The funds for these sets can be provided partly by the Central Government, partly by the Provincial Governments, partly by the District Boards and partly by the Village Panchayats. The teacher of the Panchayat school must be given training to handle such sets and can be employed as a person in charge of it. Even today such stations can be established in all villages where such arrangements can be made.

The Publicity organisation also must be overhauled. In the first place, it appears to be necessary to make the region, rather than the function, the basis of organisation. For example, there should be a section for the Hindustani Region which deals with all the aspect of publicity for the Hindustani-speaking area. The Broadcasts, the Publications, the films, the pamphlets, the Press insertions, the listening station organisations, the mobile squads for the Hindustani region should be under the control of this section. It should be divided into various sub-sections, but the items of the programmes should be correlated to an over-all plan. Of course, this relationship should be flexible and dynamic. The plan itself should be the function of the national weal and the changing environment it encounters. It is no doubt difficult to make the necessary adjustment between the two, but it can be secured with imagination and prevision. This regional organisation will secure organic unity in the programmes and activities of the Department and will consequently enable it to function much more effectively.

The outlook of the service personnel needs a radical change. They have to realise that they are not more the passive tools of an alien imperialism but the missionaries of the new gospel. They have to make their contribution, howsoever little it may be, in the creation of a new, happy, healthy, prosperous and glorious India. They must realise that they are the soldiers of India who fight not with machine guns but with the microphone. They must remember that like soldiers and sailors they have to keep an eternal vigil on the frontiers of India ; only the frontiers they guard are not of the soil but of the soul of India. Unlike the enemies the army men have to fight, their enemies are invisible but more deadly. They have to save from these cruel enemies the health and happiness, the peace and prosperity of their generation and of the posterity. Their struggle is more glorious for it does not leave in its trail death, desolation and destruction. They wage an incessant struggle to create and not to destroy, to bring joy and not sorrow, to enlighten and not darken the soul of a people. They should have the faith that propaganda alone can save the soul of India. Therefore, it is their duty in this hour of darkness to fill the mind of the Indian people with the light and the heart with the determination that will lead them to save their freedom and future and to march on from success to success and from glory to glory.

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SOME EARLY BRONZES OF SOUTH INDIA

By BRAJA NATH GHATAK, M.A.

The art of casting metal images of gods and goddesses, all over India, retains an interesting history of development. Our Silpasastras have mentioned the specified merits of different metals, in which bronze occupies an important position. In the collection of Hemadri, an author of the sixth century A.D., bronze and metal images are referred to as being superior to stone ones (*sailajad lauhajam srestham*). Though we cannot be certain, and as the problem remains still undecided, whether there were images for worship in the Vedic period, we have little doubt of their existence in the pre-Buddhist period, and it is reasonable to conclude that some such images must have been cast in gold and other metals. Moreover, both in the Buddhist and Brahmanical texts, the act of donating images of gods (*devadanam*) has been always held pious. Such an act of donating to the God was a time-honoured custom in India, and early references of this can be found in the *stupas* of Bharhut and Sanchi, where the act of donation of pillars and architraves (*suchidanam* and *thaladanam*) were considered meritorious from the religious point of view, in an age when the image of Buddha had not yet been idealised. With the idea of development of Buddha's representation in human form, this act of donation was usually through an image and such images were, as a rule, of bronzes and other metals, gold being very rarely used. Similar was the case with other gods and goddesses, both Buddhist and Brahmanical.

In the south, Aryanization of which was a much later event, and where Vedic religion, though basically mixed up with the local habits and customs, beliefs and practices seldom being completely independent in any country, was undoubtedly a northern penetration, the development of this art of bronze and metal casting went on lines almost similar to those in the north. But as the rigours of religion had greater stringency and were more severe in the south, and so the necessity to satisfy the religious ardour of the lower people, who had no access to the central sanctum of the main temple, was more keenly felt, the development of this branch of art was slightly on a new direction. The practice of setting up of metal images of deities and saints, the reason for which was the inability of the masses to approach the main deity of worship, must have had an earlier origin. It must have begun from the time when the system of "moving images" (*chalam*) was introduced. The deity in the central shrine, inaccessible to many who could not even step into the temple, gave the idea of its being represented through a replica, which could "move" and be shown to the public. Thus were introduced the "moving images" which were otherwise known as *bhoga-murtis* or *utsava murtis* as distinguished from the *Dhruvabera i.e.*, the fixed or *achala* images. The purpose of these images, which could be carried in front of processions on festive days, was to satisfy the religious hunger of all and sundry who longed to see their God throughout the year, but could not approach Him, nor could even have a look at Him owing to his chance of birth! These festive or ceremonial images (*utsava murti*) were cast in metal, generally in copper and bronze (but rarely in gold and silver) and thus, in a way offered ample scope for the development of this art of metal-casting and the growth of skill and craftsmanship of the artists in this branch, which has special significance in South India.

Siva with Uma, Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden

The date of South Indian bronzes is notoriously difficult to estimate. Usually their dates go back to the Chola period, but by no means they are the earliest. According to Coomaraswamy, so far as the internal evidence can establish, the earliest images are those in which the aesthetic quality is the highest. But the measure of aesthetic quality cannot afford any criteria for time—aesthetic quality transcends all age. The earliest images are those, in most of which the archaic element is the highest and where the roundness of form and the plasticity of volume are most pronounced and clearly felt.

The art of image-making in copper and other

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metals must have flourished earlier than the Cholas. In the legendary account of the conquest of Kanchipuram of the Pallava by the Chola king Adondai Chola we have a reference to a bronze gate which was taken as trophy by the victorious Chola king. This surely indicates that the Pallavas, the master-builders of the South,

Siva-Kama Sundari (Siva's Desire)
Treasurywalla Collection

had special training and taste for metal-casting. Those who could patronise the erection of gates, made of solid metal, must be responsible for other sorts of art productions of the same metal. Thus this art may not have been unknown in the Krishna-Godavari region (Vengi) under the Andhras which was a seat of Buddhist culture for more than five hundred years. The heritage of the South Indian art, specially under the Pallavas of Kanchipuram, was a strongly influenced culture of the Krishna-Godavari region, and there cannot be any doubt that the art of the Pallavas was much indebted to the art of the school of Vengi. This is supported by facts of history too. The Hirahadagalli plates (3rd century A.D.) of Sivaskandavarman refer to the grant of a village in Satahani-Ratha (in the Bellary district). This fact when associated with the reference to a place named Satavaghanihara in an Andhra inscription of the second century A.D. discovered in the same region indicates the probable identification of the two places and the political succession of the Andhras by the Pallavas of Kanchi. The Prakrit grants of the Pallavas also show that their kingdom extended right up to the Krishna river. The Andhra King Pulamai II embellished the famous white marble stupa of Amaravati, which was known under the Pallavas as Dhannakada, on the bank of the Krishna river, and the Pallavas, as we know, succeeded them in this region shortly after this event. Metal images of Buddha have been found from the sites at or near Amaravati. Throughout the Buddhist period this art was widely practised so much so that images, of purely Indian tradition of comparatively early period, have been found in many far-off places outside India, in Java and in Ceylon. The famous Dong Duong Buddha, discovered in Java, is said to have been taken from India by Fa-hien, on his homeward voyage from this country, when it was shipwrecked. In style and modelling, it has been said to have belonged to the school of Amaravati, and may be compared with a figure of Gautama Buddha from Buddhapad near Bezwada, which may be taken to have belonged to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Similar figures of bronze have been found in Ceylon too, which was India's sister island, and which, in many respects was influenced by culture from South India. The Simhalese figures of Avaloketisvara and Pattini Devi of the 7th or 8th century A.D., are indications not only of a perfection of the art of metal casting, but of a wide range and extensive sphere of this branch of South Indian art.

The earliest of the Buddhist bronzes in South India have been found at Buddhavani or Buddhapad about twenty miles westwards from the right bank of the river Krishna and 30 miles from the nearest mouth of its delta. That this place was of immense importance to the Buddhists can be known from the description of Hiuen Tsang who visited this region in about 639 A.D. He says that in his day the temples where Buddha was worshipped numbered only 20 whereas there were 100 temples erected to the Brahmanical gods in the vicinity. He also says, "For a hundred years past no monks have been residing here." Hiuen Tsang visited these places when Vengi had already been conquered by Kubja Visnuvardhana in about 605 A.D. More than that the region had lost its Buddhist

* Sewell, *Stupa, Buddhists and Relics of Buddha*, J.R.A.S., pp. 617-37.

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significance long ago, about "a hundred years past" in about the early sixth century A.D. Curiously enough it is well corroborated by the images which convey a style so crude that from it the dates can be ascertained earlier than the sixth century. The standing images, varying in size from one to two feet, which apparently

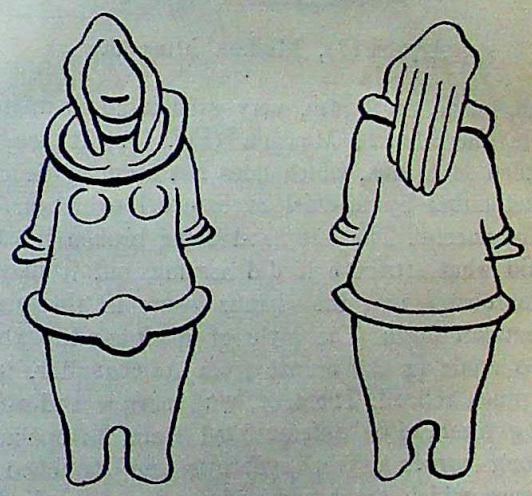
The Buddha from Buddhapad

seem to be of Buddha (Fig. 3) with their heavy torso, fully rounded faces and comparatively stunted physiognomy, together with the peculiar arrangement of the garment, remind us of the Gupta formula of Indian sculpture. Besides the standing figures, a seated figure, similarly formulated stylistically, is important from the standpoint of iconography too, in representing a serpent in relief in the front side of the pedestal. The independent heads, with curly hair, so characteristic of early Buddha images, bump of wisdom and the eyes half-closed, have plastic qualities in them.

It cannot be said that the early bronzes from South India were mainly restricted to the Buddhist pantheon. In fact, of the earliest evidences that we have, very few are Buddhist. The greater number consists of the Brahmanical gods or some other variety. In later period, however, kings and queens of royal dynasties and frequently religious personages were represented in this metal.

Of a quite different variety is a bronze figure from Adichanallur, Tinnevelly district (Fig. 4). This figure presents a very curious and archaic character. Its special features are the tunic, the trousers and method of dressing up of the hair. The workmanship does not seem much advanced and the style suggests some primitive elements. It resembles in many respects the features of a terracotta work and cannot be connected in any way with any principal cult images prevalent in South India. It is undoubtedly a feminine figure, suggestive perhaps of the earth goddess or the mother cult, prevailing most probably among the people who were still uninfluenced by the developed cult worship. There is no reason to regard this figure either as a "foreign" importation or belonging to the "non-Hindu" group.

A very old collection of bronze images is found in the south and west flanks of the rock-cut temple at Trichinopoly, which is said to have been built by Mahendra Varman I, the Pallava King, the great and reputed patron of art and architecture, and who adopted and popularised a completely new style. These images, however, cannot be definitely said to have belonged to the period of Mahendra Varman I, but some of them have got sure marks of antiquity. Some *panchalauha* specimens of Subrhamanya and Somaskanda have been found in the Kailasanatha temple, which is taken to have been built in the early part of the sixth century A.D.



Bronze figure from Adichanallur, Tinnevelley District

The Brahmanical group of early bronzes from South India does not form a large part. Of these, again, images of Siva are conspicuous. The history and development of the South Indian art in bronzes is very intimately connected with the phase of the religious development of the country. The development of the Saivite religion beginning from Mahendra Varman I in the sixth century was closely associated with the art of the period, reflected through the medium of both stone and bronze. By the ninth century, the wave of Saivism swept large over Southern India and guided the old art of bronze founding in a new direction, giving birth to a new school of unique distinction and quality. The artistic activities under the Pallavas had laid the foundations for a great school of Saivik sculpture of Mamallapuram, and it appears to have been left to the Cholas to inspire and develop the

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school of bronze sculpture as a parallel and complement to the stone sculpture.

Arjuna (?), Madras Museum

An image of bronze, very archaic in character, is now in the Madras Museum (Fig. 5). It has been identified as Arjuna, which does not seem to be corroborated either by internal or external evidence. The pose is graceful. The left hand being broken it cannot be said what attribute it did assume, but it may not be improbable that the hands were in the pose of *dhanurdhari hasta*. The style of workmanship though not so crude as the bronze from Adichanallur, is not very much refined. The face, with narrow and slightly bulging forehead is differentiated from its outline by the long curves of the eyebrows and stretched lips. The eyes which are broad open, are not marked by pupils. The flatness of the eyebrows and mouth have given the whole face a rounded appearance. It is very sparingly ornamented, but the folds of drapery, rounded and heavy, fully balance the deep-cut marks of the heavy necklace and ornaments of the leg.

The Siva-kama-sundari (Fig. 2) or "Siva's Desire" figure of Gauri in the bronze collection of Mr. B. N. Treasurywala is interesting from more than one point. Broad shoulders and heavy arms, the comparatively shorter neck in proportion to the large head carrying the Karanda Makuta, characterise the figure. The figure is also marked for its rounded limbs, which denote a comparatively early date. The face itself is featured by large open eyes, not containing the pupils, which have assumed a sort of flatness. The flatness of the whole face is again balanced by the same qual of the eyes, the whole being relieved by the inc lines of the eyebrows, etc. Viewed from the back, figure presents various ornaments sketched in only treated without the least care and effort; the love details is not desired for at all. A sure and unfa organic composition, together with the bold simpli and general flatness of modelling, has endowed image with a sense of primitiveness to be marked in early Saivite bronzes of South India. This figure typical inasmuch as it represents some of the impor features, both of stone and metal, either of Pallava or the Chola period, and may be classed its relative simplicity and heaviness, its plasti organic conception of the body, in its roundness lack of exhuberance and details, with the early sculptures of the Mamalla school. It is not very cult to see the tradition of this bronze as transl into the stones of Mahabalipuram.

We have already referred to the intimate com tion of the artistic tradition between South India Ceylon, between Indonesia and the early sculpt of the Krishna-Godavari delta. The Saivite image Java in the Ethnographisch Museum at Leiden is probably one of the earliest surviving bronzes of South. In style and pose, in general characteris which represent very archaic features, the image Siva with his consort Uma upon his thigh (Fig. points to a period much earlier than the adva school of Chola bronzes. The provenance of this im so far from the Indian soil, is an important factor the development and expansion of the Saivite relig of the South. The existence of inscriptions and o sorts of artistic evidences have proved beyond doubt that Java got her Hinduism from Telingana the mouths of Krishna, and the Indian immigra suggests a connection with the Pallavas rather than any other part of India. This image, which was doubtedly carried from South India, may be assigned the earliest period of Saivite activity under the Palla which got the starting impetus from Maheng varman I who was in the beginning of his care Jaina, but later on converted to Saivism by A This conversion of Mahendravarman which have taken place in the middle of his reign mark important epoch in the history of Saivism of the S and this event seems to have been referred to in king's life in the Trichinopoly rock inscription. F the standpoint of style as well as iconographic in also this Uma-Sabita-Mahesvara cannot be app mated with any other known specimens. The form Siva with his consort over the thigh has been su seded by other conceptions where Parvati is com represented as seated at a little distance from Siva

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U. S. LABORATORY STUDIES

Waterways Control

The U. S. Waterways Experiment Station in Vicksburg, in the eastern state of Mississippi, is a 245-acre Government laboratory which was designed for the study of problems involving the control and improvement of the Mississippi and other U. S. rivers and waterways. Within the boundaries of the Station are special laboratories, shop facilities, warehouses, an 80-acre lake and numerous miniature reproductions of rivers, bays and harbors. Working from plans submitted by engineers in the field, station specialists construct scale models of existing or proposed projects, conduct experiments and approve or alter plans under consideration according to the results of their research.

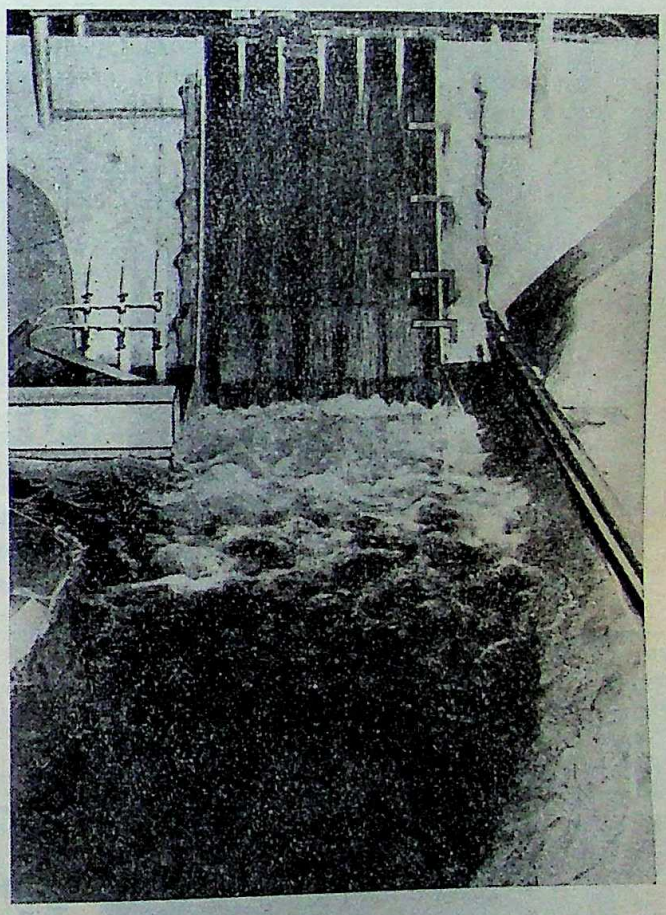
The Mississippi watershed includes all or part of the 31 States from the Rocky Mountains to the Appalachians, and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico, or 41 per cent of the total area of the United States.

To represent this great area the station has under construction at Clinton in the state of Mississippi, a model occupying about 200 acres—measuring 4,500 feet east and west, and 3,900 feet north and south. The model is being built to a horizontal scale of one foot representing 2,000 feet in nature and a vertical scale of one foot to 100 feet.

Besides the Mississippi River, the Ohio, Missouri, Arkansas and Red Rivers and other principal reservoirs, about 200 in number, levees, dikes, flood-walls and other pertinent works will be reproduced. Floods of known magnitude will be introduced into the model according to scale, following data obtained from the stream in nature. The course of the floods will be recorded by some 1,500 gauges installed in the model streams. Upon completion of the model, viewing towers and a road around the model will enable visitors to see it in operation.

In Oregon, the North Santian River, together with the Willamette and Willamette's other tributaries, is subject to floods almost every fall, winter and spring. A recurrance today of the 1861 record flood would inundate 7,000 farm units, including 3,000 villages and suburban homes and stores. In addition some 18 cities and towns would be partially flooded.

To assist in controlling these floods seven reservoirs will be constructed. Part of the project is the Detroit Dam, in Oregon. The dam was designed by the U. S. Army Engineers of Portland District. The plans were sent to the Vicksburg Experiment Station, where a scale model was built so that the proposed designs could be checked and undesirable conditions corrected. Tests were run of the design of the spillway, stilling basin, outlet conduits and power penstocks.



This miniature, built at the Vicksburg Experiment Station, is a model of the Detroit Dam, to be constructed on the North Santian River

The value of a preliminary check through the construction of scale models was shown in this case, for the tests resulted in several major changes in the designs. One of these was in the spillway. The model showed that water flowing over the spillway, as originally designed, had a tendency to erode a large hole in the stream bed below the dam.

An example of the care and detail that go into the construction of a model at the Vicksburg Experiment Station is the reproduction of the St. Johns River as it runs from Welake, Florida, to the Atlantic Ocean. A portion of the Atlantic Ocean and the stream and lakes that effect the tides were included in the model. Elaborate electric and mechanical equipment reproduced the tides. Salt water of the same saline content as the Atlantic Ocean was used in the coastal region

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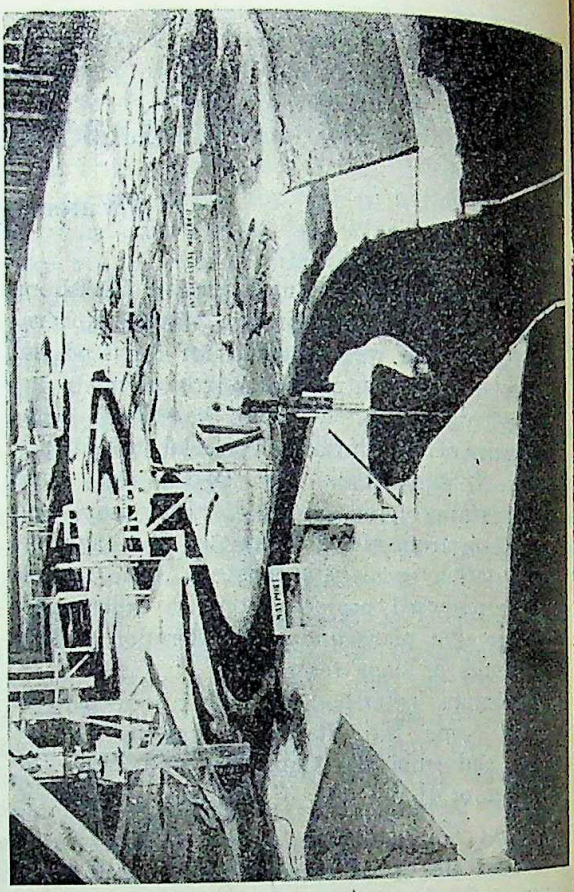
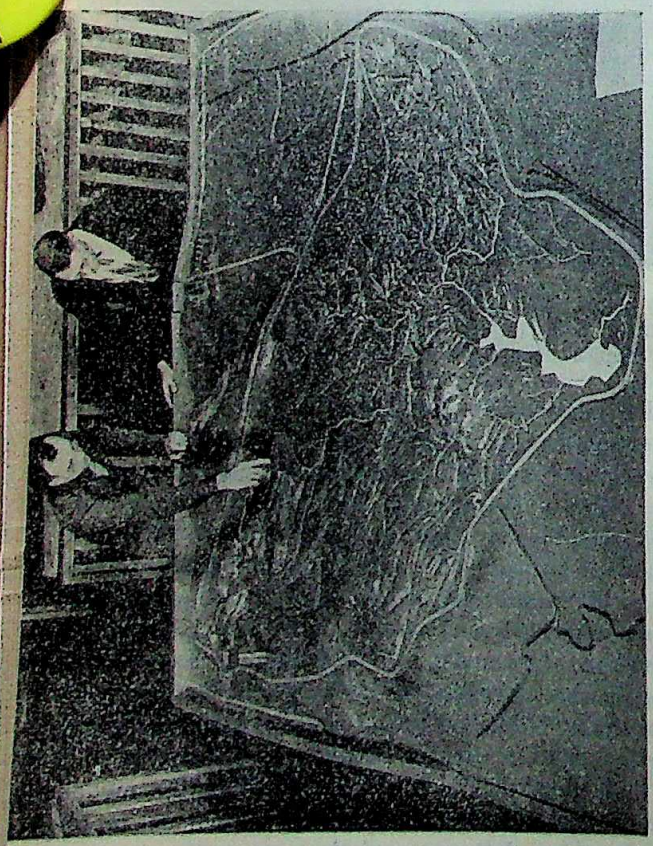
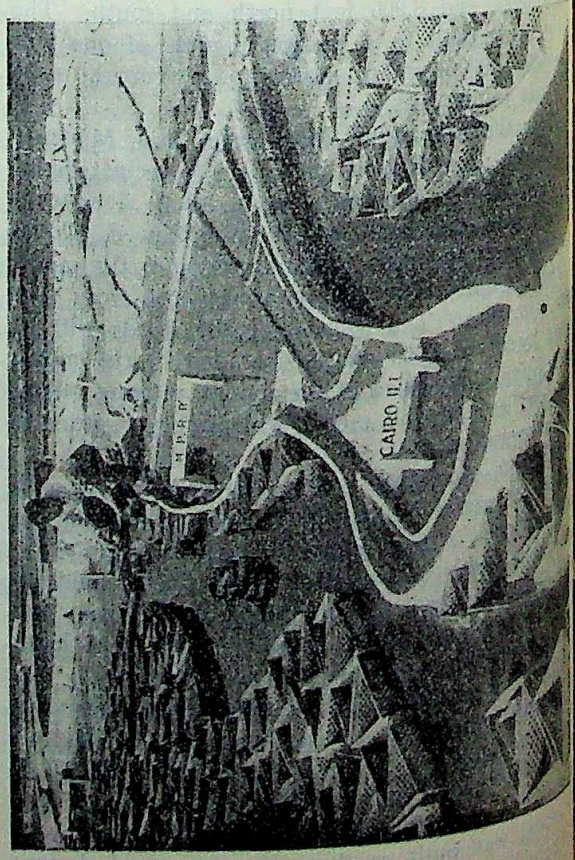
Rough grading of a portion of the Alleghany River channel, part of the model of the Mississipi River and its tributaries being constructed by the U. S. Waterways Experiment Station





A table model of the Mississippi Basin model which is being constructed at Clinton, Mississippi



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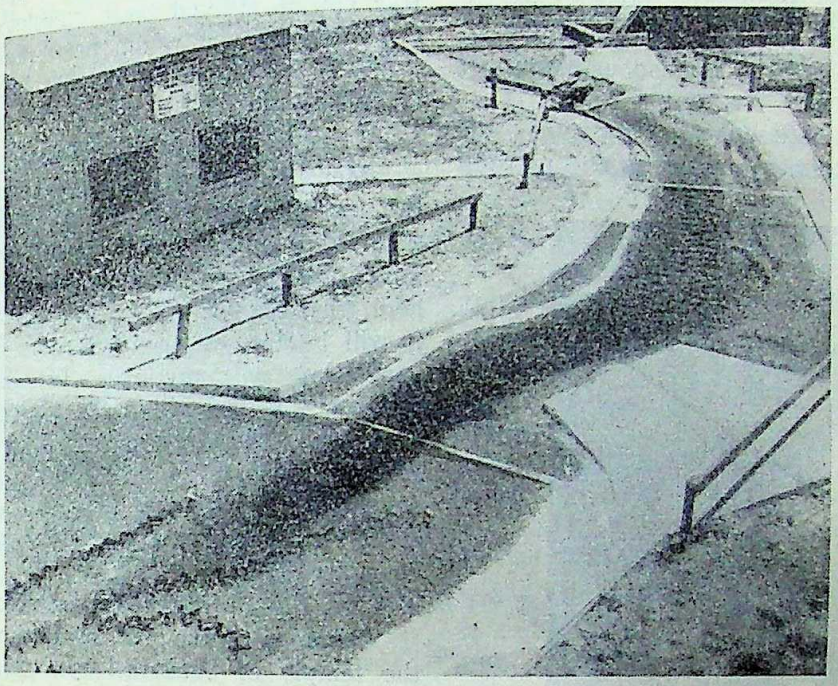
of the model, while the upstream end carried fresh water.



This model of Brady Creek, Texas, was built to study the flood problem at Brady

A flood problem facing the Texas town of Brady, which in 1938 suffered the highest flood on record, was sent to the Station. The engineers went one better than nature and checked preventive measures under double the flood effects on them. Even the effects of overbank growth, which tends to retard the flow, were provided for by the construction of stucco and bent screen wire arrangements.—*USIS.*

——:O:——

WHERE FRONTIERS MEET

By AJUDHAYANATH DAR

Every summer brings with it hundreds and thousands of visitors from almost every corner of the globe into Kashmir. During winter too Kashmir is visited by many visitors who love to go up and down skating over the snow-clad ravines of this happy valley. If you care to go through the glorious and colourful history of Kashmir, you will find that it was in Kashmir where the greatest of all monarchs, Asoka the Great, held his court with the object of enlightening the suffering humanity with the light of Asia. You will also find that Kashmir was the pleasure-ground of the great Moghul emperors. Last but not the least important was the evolving of the Cabinet Mission plan in this land of lotus and saffron. The three ministers of the British Government, while enjoying Easter holidays here far from the din and bustle of Delhi got their inspiration here and thus was born the May 16th, 1946 declaration advising Indians not to divide their land.

Natural Beauty

Jammu and Kashmir is one of the premier states of India. It covers about 84,471 square miles and extends between 32·17 and 36·58 North latitude and 73·26 and 80·30 East longitude. It is at this place where the frontiers of Russia, China, India, Pakistan and Afghanistan meet. Also being in the middle of Asia, Kashmir commands a great strategic importance in the world. In natural scenery Kashmir resembles Switzerland. But some people who have visited both these beauty spots, have told me that Kashmir can surpass Switzerland, if only it is a little cared for. Sir Francis Younghusband has said :

> "The country with which one is most apt to compare it is, naturally, Switzerland. And Switzerland, indeed, has many charms and combination of lakes and mountains in which, I think, it excels Kashmir. But it is built on a smaller scale. There is not the same wide sweep of snow-clad mountains. There is no place where one can see a complete

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circle of snowy mountains surrounding a plain of anything like the length and breadth of the Kashmir valley, for the main valleys of Switzerland are like the side valleys of Kashmir. And above everything there is not behind Switzerland what there is at the back of Kashmir, and visible in glimpses from the southern side—a region of stupendous mountains surpassing every other in the world."

Great poets and philosophers, emperors and actors, scientists and statesmen, politicians and patriots,

The Eve of Kashmir
Photo : Biggs & Co.

men of excellence and of brilliance, and architects and artists have talked, written and sung in praise of this Eastern Eden. Any person who comes to Kashmir is greatly thrilled by its towering mountains, vast stretching lakes, babbling brooks, huge glaciers, thick pine forests and beautiful gardens like Nishat and Shalimar. It is because of such beauty spots that a visitor never wants to leave Kashmir till snow makes it all white. It is flattering to find Sir Francis Younghusband beginning his book on *Kashmir* with the following words :

> "Bernier, the first European to enter Kashmir, writing in 1665, says : 'In truth the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warmest imagination had anticipated'."

This is all that Nature has provided for us. Now let us see what Man has made of it. A visitor when he roams about the Srinagar Bund, Srinagar Golf grounds and the Dal Lake finds Kashmir all the more beautiful. But have you gone into the Srinagar slums ? Have you seen those thatched roofs over those mud huts ? Have you seen small school-going-aged children working barefooted and bareheaded as labourers both in winter and in summer ? Have you seen the T... Kashmir,' as some other Eve has put it, having ... deprived of education and all that matters in ... Had you all studied these unwelcome facts, I am ... every one of you would have repeated in unison ... words of a reputed writer that "Kashmir is a hell ... its inhabitants and a heaven for the outsiders."

Its History

Men like Kalhana, the great historian, R. S. Pa... the great scholar, Dr. Stein, the great explorer ... such other eminent men have tried their utmost ... unveil the past of Kashmir. I do not want to re... here what they have written. All that you know ... it will be interesting to mention that Kashmir ... vast lake for many ages. This lake was known ... *Satyasar*. It is said, as the legend goes, that a ... saint whose life was dedicated to the cause of ... Kashmiris who lived on the hills above, meditated ... worshipped for a long time, till one day one of ... mountains was broken and the lake was cleared of ... its water.

Monuments of the Past

Remains of the past of Kashmir can be found ... the temple of Sankaracharya which bears a gl...

A smart Kashmiri
Photo : Maharaja ...

look over the city of Srinagar; the Martand ruins ... where the man-made sun dazzled all the night ... made day of the night at Srinagar, are but forty ... from that place, and the fort of Hari Parbat ... still stands, bearing testimony to the art and skill of ... Kashmiris of those days. But they are known ... Let me take you to an obscure place, probably ... unknown to the Archaeological Department of ... mir. This place is known as Bugibari (...

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called Boj Behari). I visited this place in 1943 with a party of eight friends. To our surprise we found there a spring on the top of a mountain. It is surrounded on all sides by a thick pine forest. All sides of the spring are lined with beautifully carved stones, the like of which can not be found even today except at

A Kashmiri mother

a few old ruins. People living there told us that the water of this spring is hot in winter and cold in summer, and in winter the snow at once melts over the banks of the spring. As we were loitering there we found in the middle of a thorny bush a very big carved stone. In the middle of the stone was the image of Lord Siva and on either sides we found the two images of Ganesh. This carved stone has been standing there for ages. Seen perhaps by only a few of us, it will witness many more events till one day again the eyes of the world will turn towards that side.

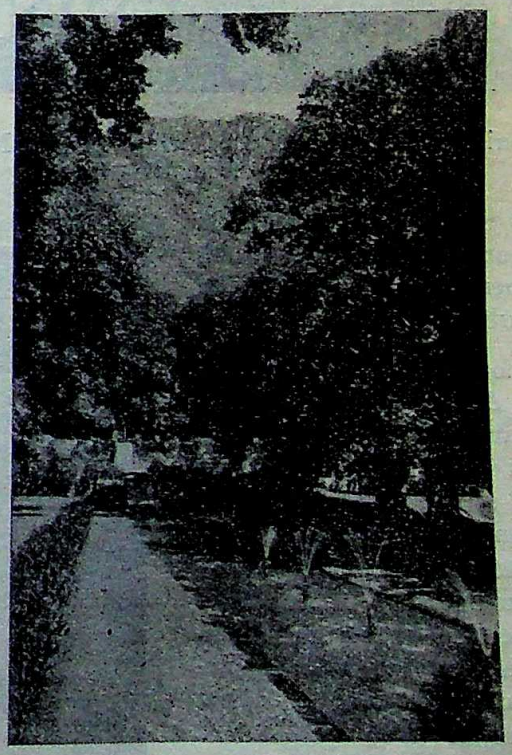
Not Only Beauty But Brains Too

Culturally Kashmir is much advanced. Kashmir can boast of a galaxy of talents that it has given to India. Kashmir has produced men like Pandit Motilal Nehru, the late Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, a lawyer who rose to be the President of the Indian National Congress and others. Let me quote Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a great contemporary Kashmiri, and a great lawyer, who will ever shine on the political horizon of India :

"Who has not heard of the great Rai Rayan Anand Ram Mukhlis, who not only occupied some of the highest positions in the Mughal empire, but also wrote a very valuable history of the Mughal dynasty? Who has not heard of the name of Pandit Daya Shanker Nasim, the immortal author of *Gulzar-i-Nasim*? Where is the Indian who will challenge today the fame of my late lamented friend, Brij Narayan Chakbast of Lucknow and who does not know that one of the founders of Urdu fiction was a Kashmiri Pandit, the never-to-be-forgotten Rattan Nath Dar 'Sarshar'? I can multiply instances but I refrain. Let me not overlook the names of travellers and diplomats like Pandit afterwards Mirza Mohan Lal, of judges like Pandit Shambhu Nath, the first Indian to take his seat in the Calcutta High Court, of lawyers and leaders of public opinion like the late Pandit Ajudhya Nath, the late Pandit Vishambar Nath, the late Pandit Prithi Nath Chak, Jagat Narayan Mullah and Sheo Narayan Shoman."

While quoting this distinguished Kashmiri, I cannot forget the name of my own grandfather, the late Pandit Ram Chandra Dar who was the first graduate of Kashmir, the proud possessor of many decorations of various Indian educational institutions and who travelled far and wide to awaken the common and the forgotten man of his land.

Here comes to my mind one of those immortal literary prodigies who swayed four hundred million people of India by his ever-ringing poem : *Sare jahan se achha Hindostan hamara* (The finest country in the world is our India). He was a Kashmiri—a Kashmiri who takes pride to be called a Kashmiri, who longs to be back to his land of honey and flowers, music and poetry, beauty and joy; a Kashmiri to whom the mountains of this valley always haunt in his imagination, I mean, Alama Iqbal, the great poet and philosopher.



Nishat Bagh, Kashmir

I need not remind you of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, one heading the great dominion of India and the other leading all the Indian States as President of the All-India States Peoples Conference.

This is something about my country and my people. This is the Eden of the East, Switzerland of India and the Marseilles of Asia. This is Kashmir,

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MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES

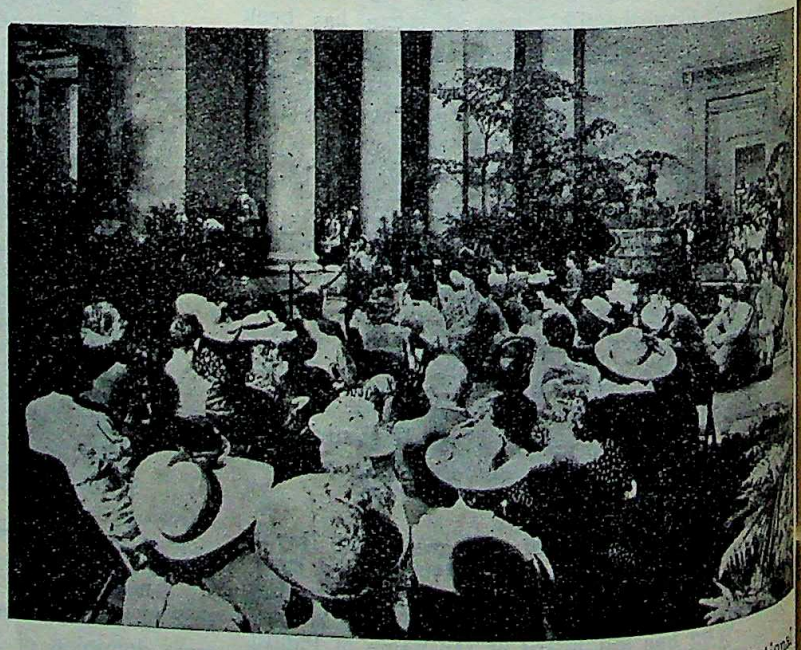
Music is one of the spontaneous native arts in the United States reaching deep into the lives of the people with the spirituals, folk songs and popular music which are America's own contribution to the world's store of music.

Interior of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City as seen from the stage

If not esentially a musical people, Americans are at all times music-conscious, and in recent years the great music of the ages, as well as contemporary rhythm, has been flooding homes of all types through the widespread use of the radio as well as phonograph records. From this familiarity is growing wider appreciation of music and a keener critical sense.

The Metropolitan Opera House in New York has for decades been the goal of the greatly gifted singer, like La Scala in Milan, Covent Garden in London and the opera houses of Paris and Vienna. The voices of all the great singers of the world from 1883 on have soared through the gild and crimson plush interior of the Metropolitan. The boxes have been filled season after season with successive generations of well-kn[illegible] families. The galleries have resounded with the bra[illegible] of music-loving Americans of [illegible] national origins, faithful always [illegible] their operatic traditions. The Me[illegible]politan performances are of unifo[illegible] high quality, presenting every [illegible] of European opera from Wagner [illegible] Verdi, and occasionally featu[illegible] American opera.

A development in the musical [illegible] which has been called "the m[illegible] vital folk music of our time" is [illegible] whose beat and rhythm has set [illegible] tapping from Paris to Siberia [illegible] from Africa to New Guinea. An [illegible] growth of the Negro spirituals [illegible] "blues", it has made tremend[illegible] advances in technique since [illegible] "discovery" in the southern city [illegible] the New Orleans, when wande[illegible] Negros, seeking work away f[illegible] plantations, set themselves up [illegible] cafes and dance halls. Today [illegible] and swing music at their b[illegible] receive serious critical atte[illegible]



The audience at the American Music Festival concerts in the National Gallery of Art in Washington

and several symphonies in this "popular" vehicle [illegible] musical expression, such as the late George Gersh[illegible] "Rhapsody in Blue," have found widespread acc[illegible]

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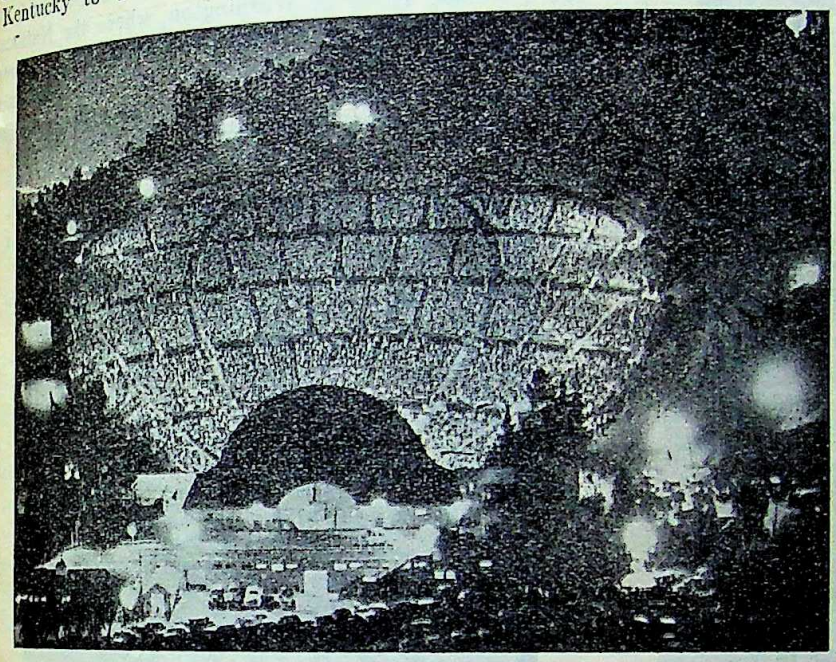
The preservation of ballads and folk songs of Britain from 100 to 200 years ago has been quite general in remote parts of the U. S. highlands from Kentucky to Georgia. They have been carried down by oral transmission from frontier cabins to the hearth of the present day home. One of the earliest of Kentucky's social and educational activities was the singing school, usually held in the church or schoolhouse.



Illuminated view of a symphony concert at Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles, California

The folk songs of America have been assembled in permanent form in recent years. As a result of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, which has enabled it to establish a complete recording laboratory, the U. S. Library of Congress is supplying duplicates of its folk song records to other libraries, schools and colleges and to the public.

Children Made Music-Minded

American children are being systematically trained to evaluate and share in good music. This is now a recognized part of the educational system. The High School of Music and Art, in New York City, trains hundreds of young composers and performers. Federal work projects organized and developed many community music activities, and concerts and other musical events given by its musicians have been heard by as many as 3,000,000 persons monthly.

Deep in the woodlands of the state of Michigan, in the north central United States, American high school boys and girls each summer study music at a unique summer workshop called the National Music Camp. The camp, which was founded in 1928 by the National High School Orchestra Camp Association, lies between two small lakes a mile south of the village of Interlochen, Michigan, and covers 500 acres of thick woodland.

While living a healthy outdoor life, the students study symphonic work by playing in a complete and well-balanced symphony orchestra—an unusually advanced type of training for students of high school age. The orchestra members receive special instruction in the various sections in which they play—strings, wood-winds, brasses, percussion, etc., under symphony orchestra artists.

On the shores of the lake at Interlochen, Michigan, students of the National Music Camp practise for many hours each day

Open-Air Music Festivals

Open-air music festivals have become popular in the United States within recent years. Outdoor summer concerts by outstanding orchestra includes those given in the Robin Hood Dell in Philadelphia; at Tanglewood, Massachusetts; at the Lewisohn Stadium of

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Hillbilly band plays folk songs in the Kentucky mountains

James P. Johnson (piano) and other well-known American jazz figures

New York City, which draws huge crowds; in Hollywood Bowl at Los Angeles, where audiences 25,000 persons attend the six-week series of sym concerts held each summer under the stars; and the Patomac River in Washington, where the Nat Symphony Orchestra is conducted from a barge moored close to the Lincoln Memorial and the audience assembles in canoes and small craft as well as on steps leading down to the river.

This little boy playing a big horn indicates the growing interest in music in the United States

The United States today has about 1,000 radio stations—nearly a third of the world's total. Nine per cent of homes own at least one receiving set. Stations are on the air seventeen and eighteen hours a day and half of that time they offer musical programs. Most U. S. musical programs consist of popular music but there is a considerable amount of radio time devoted to serious music. With four coast-to-coast networks and twenty-five regional systems, few important musical events now take place without being broadcast. The weekly broadcasts of New York Philharmonic and the Metropolitan Opera reach an audience of 12,000,000 or more regularly. The other symphony orchestras appear on coast-to-coast radio hookups, too. And in the past few years the broadcasting companies have been developing important orchestras of their own, like the first-ranking National Broadcasting Company Orchestra, conducted by Arturo Toscanini.—*USIS*.

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THE FATHER OF ENGLISH POETRY

By J. H. B. PEEL

Geoffrey Chaucer, who was born in London in 1340 and died there in 1400, has been called the father of English poetry—not because he was the first English poet, but because he was the first English poet to write in a style and a language which are readily recognisable today.

Chaucer, as it happened, was also the first of a long line of English writers, including Lamb, Trollope, and Humbert Wolfe, who were at the same time servants of the Crown.

Of Chaucer's life we know a good deal. We know, for instance, that in 1367 he received a pension for his services in the King's personal household; that he subsequently became a servant of the Duke of Lancaster; and that one of his first poems was an elegy on the death of the Duke's wife, "The Death of Blaunche the Duchesse."

In Italy

He travelled to Italy on the King's service, and while there he read widely in current Italian literature, acquiring therefrom a polished technique which placed him, as it were, head and shoulders above all other English poets of his day. He was appointed to many important official positions—notably that of Comptroller of the Customs of Wools, Skins and Leather—and received various other marks of royal favour.

But with the death of the King he fell upon hard times, and we find his presenting a petition—a complaint to his purse, he called it—begging assistance from the Court. This appeal was answered, and we know that Chaucer, on Christmas Eve, 1399, took the lease of a large house in the garden of the chapel of Saint Mary, in Westminster. The lease is still in the Muniment Room of Westminster Abbey.

His wife, whom he married while he was a young man, was Phillipa, a lady of the chamber to Queen Phillipa. The number of his family is not known, but he has a pathetic reference to his "little son Lewis," to whom, indeed, he dedicated one of his prose works, a long treatise on the Astrolabe. In his fatherly pride he opens the treatise with the words, "Little Lewis my son, I have perceived well by certain evidences thyne ability to learn science touching numbers and proportions." The treatise is written in English, "for of Latin thou canst know yet but small my little son."

Most Remarkable Man

After a life of action in the King's service, of long travels on the Continent, and of financial ups and downs, this most remarkable man acquired a fame which for the times was unparalleled. His work was known in France, in Spain, and throughout the Low Countries, and in England he was accepted as the greatest living writer, either in prose or in verse.

Geoffrey Chaucer

It is not to be expected that a poem written seven hundred years ago should be identical in form and language with modern poems, yet Chaucer's writings—and especially his famous Canterbury Tales—remain as alive today as when they were composed; indeed, it is especially because of this life in them that they are so popular. The spelling, of course, varies from our own in some words, and the syntax is often inverted, yet an educated Englishman can, with the aid of a glossary, enjoy all of Chaucer's works at a first reading; and with a little patience he will read them as fluently as he would read a modern newspaper, and with more profit and delight, maybe.

Altogether, Chaucer wrote some six or seven major poems; a number of shorter ones; and several translations into English of famous works, among them the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius.

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By far the greatest, and certainly the best-loved, of his works is the long poem Canterbury Tales, in which we are introduced to some typical pilgrims en route to the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral. These pilgrims, who include a Knight, a Miller, a Cook, a Prioress, and a man of Law, amuse one another by telling tales as they traverse the time-honoured Pilgrims' Way to Canterbury—a way, incidentally, whose scenery and travellers Chaucer must have known intimately, for his duties as a high Customs official took him often along the Kentish banks of the Thames, and sometimes no doubt into Kent and her seashore as well.

Without Peer

As a sidelight on English men and manners toward the end of the Middle Ages, the Canterbury Tales are without peer, for Chaucer introduces us to most of the stock types of the times—to merchants, to nuns, to friars, doctors, parsons, manciples, and housewives.

Some of the tales are broad, with a hearty Rabelaisian humour about them ; others are dramatic ; a few are sad ; all are imagined and retold with the verve of true poetic genius. The poem opens with as pleasing a view of the English scene as is to be found in the literature of any century, be it new or old.

When that Aprille with her shoures sote
The drought of Marche hath pierced to the rote
When Zephirus eek with his swete breath
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth
The tendre croppes, and the vonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe cours y-roone,
And smale fowles maken melodye . . .

Then we have masterly sketches of the var pilgrims ; the Knight, for instance.

A knighte there was, and that worthy man
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To ryden out, he loved chivalry,
Trouthe, and honou, fredom, and courteisye.

It is impossible to summarise this superb po panorama of mediaeval England ; those who read for themselves will find there an oblique portrait the poet himself—of a man, that is, who held chival views upon womankind, upon the elementary vir of truth and kindliness, and upon the delights of g humour.

Chaucer has never lacked panegyrics. In his age, Caxton wrote of him, "In all his works he celleth all other writers in our English." And i later age, Lowell wrote, "We find more and more we study him that he rises quietly from the con tional to the universal, and may fairly take his p with Homer in virtue of the breadth of his human

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PROF. DHARMANAND KOSAMBI

A Profound Pali Scholar and a Sincere Nationalist Worker

By Prof. P. V. BAPAT, ph.d.,
Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati

Prof. Dharmanand Kosambi was born on 9th October, 1876 at village Sakhwal in the district of Sasast in the Portuguese territory of Goa as the youngest of seven children—five sisters and two brothers.

He had no great opportunity to receive any education except at the primary stage in the village school, and he had to depend upon self-education by reading all the Marathi books he had access of in his native village. The life of Tukaram, the great Maratha saint of the 17th century and his *gathas* as well as a casual article on the Buddha (printed 1897) in one of the Marathi journals left a great impression on his mind. The last-mentioned article was responsible for his passion to acquire knowledge of Buddhism.

After several futile attempts to leave his home for further education, finally, with a firm determination never to return unsuccessful, and being disgusted with the life he was forced to live in ignorance (when he had a keen desire to study Sanskrit to know of the Buddha), he left his home towards the end of December, 1899 in search of a place where he could get increased facilities for ther education, especially in Sanskrit. He went to Po where he met the great savant Sir Ramkrishna Bhand who gave him encouragement, and he set himself earnest study Sanskrit, but not being satisfied with the op tunities available there, he started for Benares, the tional centre of Sanskrit learning. There he had the portunity of studying Sanskrit at the feet of the fa Maharastrian Pandit, Nageshvarpant Dharmadhikari, a ciple of Vedasastra-Sampanna Gangadhar Shastri Te He studied Kaumudi though he had great difficulty in ing his livelihood. He had to depend upon one free given in a free *annachhatra* (charity-house) con by the Maharaja of Gwalior.

But his sincere love for Buddha and his passio zeal for acquiring the knowledge of Buddhism imp him to set on a journey to Nepal with a fellow stu from Nepal who was studying with his teacher. He s from Benares on 2nd February, 1902 with this N friend Durganath. After enduring great hardship on

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way, he reached Kathmandu. He stayed there for about ten days but he saw the very unsatisfactory state of Buddhism prevailing there, and where he could not meet any learned Pandit or Sadhu who could explain to him the real teachings of the Buddha. So, in disgust, he left that place and went to Buddha Gaya where he met a Buddhist Bhikkhu, who drew his attention to Pali Texts, which, he said, could be learnt best in Ceylon. So he went to the Mahabodhi Society in Calcutta and with the help from some members of the Mahabodhi Society he started for Colombo in the latter part of March, 1902.

In Colombo, he studied Pali in the Vidyodaya College under the guidance of Shri Sumangalachary, who was very favourably impressed by his passionate zeal for the study of Pali. His proficiency in Sanskrit made a very favourable impression not only upon him but upon all the Sinhalese scholars with whom he came in contact. He studied Pali very zealously for about ten months during which time he also became a novice (Sramanera). His becoming a Sramanera enabled him to get in close touch with the life of the monks in Buddhist Viharas and this increased his opportunities for the study of Pali literature. In the later period of his stay he started studying English. But the non-vegetarian food in Ceylon did not agree with his stomach and he had to decide to leave Ceylon for India. He wanted to go to India and stay at a quiet place of pilgrimage where he could practise meditation and trances. But he could not procure enough money to take him back to a place like Kusinagar (Pali—Kusinara) the place where the Lord Buddha breathed his last. The little money that he could secure could take him only as far as Madras.

He stayed in Madras for a few months. There was a small Buddhasrama there, a meeting-place for lovers of Buddhism, where he came in contact with Prof. Narsu, who was very helpful in turning his attention to comparative study. Though he continued to study English, the work there never satisfied him. He wanted to go to the holy places of Buddhism in North India but he had no money to go there.

In Madras he came in contact with some Burmese students, who were willing to help him with money to enable him to go to Burma. There on account of his knowledge of Pali already acquired by him, he was ordained as a mendicant (Bhikkhu). In Burma he studied Visudhimagga, which was later to be his life-work. During his stay in Burma, he came in contact with a German violinist, who later on became a Buddhist monk under the name Rev. Nana-triloka. He has now become a great Pali scholar and is now staying in Ceylon. But here again Burmese food which did not agree with his stomach was a great stumbling-block which he could not overcome and he had to leave Burma. He came back to India early in 1904, although his spiritual Guru did not like his leaving Burma, where, as he said, a new Bhikkhu is expected to stay with his master for at least five years.

He came back to India and spent about two years in travelling, often going on foot and sometimes begging for his food if he could not get money for purchasing his railway ticket or food. He travelled from Calcutta to Bombay and then to North India—Ujjain, Gwalior and Sarnath near Benares, and from that place to Kusinagar (Pali—Kusinara) in Gorakhpur district. This last place was the holy place where the Buddha breathed his last. It was here that he often passed his days and nights in open verandahs or under trees or in cemeteries and practised meditation, sometimes he practised the meditation of love for all beings, including animals. On the whole, he enjoyed the new spiritual experiences at this place.

He visited Sravasti (modern Sahet-Mahet) where the Buddha spent several years of his life. He came to Benares again. to see Rev. Dharmapala (whom he had already met in Ceylon) who was fighting out in a court of law the case against the Mahanta of Buddha-Gaya for the possession of Buddha-Gaya for the Buddhists. He went to Buddha-Gaya and there he spent the afternoons in meditation on the bank of the river Nairanjana. He visited Rajagriha (modern Rajgir) also. The case that was filed against the Mahanta of Buddha-Gaya was won by the Mahanta. Kosambi desired to retire into the mountains and spend some time in meditation.

With the help of a Burmese Bhikkhu, he again went to Burma where he wanted to stay in the solitary mountains of Sagain. There he again met Rev. Nana-Triloka and went with him to Sagain and stayed in the *vihara* of U. Rajendra. After staying there for some time he went to Mandalay and stayed in the *vihara* of the monk U. Triloka. But soon on account of the excessive summer heat of Mandalay, he made up his mind to go to Moulmein where the rich merchants lavished great gifts of charities on Buddhist monks who had to engage coolies to carry their burden of gifts given to them. He taught Sanskrit grammar to a Bhikkhu Pannasami who taught him Abhidharmarthasangraha. But all along the difficulty of getting proper vegetarian diet still persisted. He again changed to a place called Beelouchoun but there was no improvement. He came to the conclusion that he would leave Burma and thought of reverting to a layman's life, as it was impossible, he thought, to observe the rules of a monk in India. But his teacher advised him to revert to a layman's life after returning to India, as after all he would not like a Bhikkhu reverting to a layman's life in his presence. He came back to Calcutta from Rangoon in January, 1906.

After coming back to Calcutta he was sought by Prof. Harinath Dey of the Presidency College, who wanted to appear in the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University in Pali. Prof. Dey wanted the help of a real, good scholar in reading one of the prescribed volumes, Atthasalini, Cm. on Dhammasangani, the last volume of the Abhidharmapitaka. Soon after he also undertook the work of teaching Pali in the National College, Calcutta. Later, with the help of Justice Mukherjee, Prof. Dey succeeded in securing for Prof. Kosambi an appointment as a lecturer in Pali in the University of Calcutta. But the students were more eager to pass the examination than acquire knowledge in Pali. So he resolved to leave Calcutta.

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The Maharajah of Baroda extended him his patronage on condition that he should go to Maharastra and write one book every year. Before he went away from Calcutta, he again went to Burma where he was presented a whole set of Pali books printed in Burmese script by Hon'ble Maung Ba Tu, whose acquaintance he had already picked up in Calcutta. He went to Moulmein to see his revered teacher, who received him with great hospitality.

After his return from Burma, he soon went to Bombay where he met Dr. V. A. Sukhthankar. He was staying at Borivli at the house of his friends, Madgaonkars. There, through Mr. Sukhthankar, he met an American Professor from Harvard University, Prof. Dr. J. H. Woods (whom afterwards he used to teach Pali) which event gave an altogether unexpected turn to his life. This Professor after his return to America probably spoke about this great scholar to Prof. Lanman of the Department of Sanskrit. Prof. Lanman was at that time working upon the Manuscript of the *Visuddhimagga*, an encyclopaedic work in Pali by Buddhaghosa, left behind by the late Mr. Warren. Prof. Lanman keenly felt the need of a scholar who would be helpful in guiding him in he editing of this Text. So in 1910, Professor Woods sent an urgent letter to Prof. Kosambi requesting him to go to Harvard University where Prof. Lanman would need his help.

After all the necessary preparations were made, he went *via* England to U.S.A. and began to work with Prof. Lanman. For some time Prof. Lanman did not realise the value of his help, but with the progress of work he began to realise the invaluable help given by Prof. Kosambi. But, on the whole, he was not satisfied with Prof. Lanman's dealings with him. As there had been no previous contract made with the University authorities before he came to U.S.A., there were clashes over financial matters with Prof. Lanman, who allowed him not very substantial allowances. So he had to insist on some letter from the President of the University on the financial provision for him. Another clash with Prof. Lanman was about the title-page of the book. Prof. Lanman wanted to put on the title page, as the name of the editor, his own name, with the addition of "from Warren's Manuscripts and with the co-operation of D. Kosambi." Prof. Kosambi insisted on the name of Warren as well as his own name along with that of Prof. Lanman, or said he, the name of Mr. Warren alone may be mentioned. Warren had, for years, worked on these Manuscripts and left behind him his whole estate to the University for the necessary expenses of the publication of this work. Over this last matter they could not arrive at any agreement. So Prof. D. Kosambi thought it best to leave Harvard University and come back to India.

After coming back to India, he was thinking of a centre where he could work for the spread of Pali and Buddhist studies. He was already acquainted with Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and as soon as he came to Poona, the authorities of the Fergusson College, secured, through Sir Ramkrishna, the services of Prof. Kosambi as a Professor of Pali. Professor Kosambi was keen on securing every opportunity to spread the knowledge of Pali and he worked in this College from 1912 to 1918. The writer of this account had the good fortune of being a student of Prof. Kosambi during this period. He left again in 1918 for U.S.A. for his work on the *Visuddhimagga*. There he worked on the text for about four years and came back to India.

Soon after his arrival in India, he began to take active interest in the institutions of the Congress workers under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and soon joined the Puratattva Mandir at Ahmedabad. He was getting more and more interested in the Congress movements and by then completely come under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi.

While he was thus working in the camp of Gandhi followers, again he had an invitation from the U.S.A. to complete the work of the *Visuddhimagga*. This time he was fully entrusted with that work and Prof. Lanman had no hand left in the same. He completed the work and the printing also was finished before he came back to India in 1927.

Although twenty years have now passed by, still, it is surprising to find that the authorities of the Harvard University have not yet seen their way to publish the work.

Thus although the editing of the work was thus completed by Prof. Kosambi, it was thought by the University authorities advisable to publish the translation also of the work. Prof. Kosambi before he left America had arranged for the translation also by recommending the name of the writer of this life-sketch to work on the same in collaboration with Prof. J. H. Woods. The translation was completed by 1932 and a fully revised copy of the typed sheets was also sent to the authorities of the University.

Prof. Kosambi joined actively the Non-co-operation Movement of 1931 and as such he was taken into custody by the British Government. But on reference to the High Court on some technical point, he along with others who were incarcerated with him, was set free.

Before long he was invited again by Prof. Woods of the Department of Philosophy to help him in the translation of the *Visuddhimagga*, that was jointly undertaken by the writer of this paper and Prof. Woods. The work that lay ahead could not be finished in time, as the writer of this paper had to leave U.S.A. at the scheduled time in 1932, when he had to be back again to join his duties in the Fergusson College, Poona. So Prof. Kosambi continued to work for a few months more after the writer had left U.S'A. Then after finishing his work, he went to Russia on his way back to India, where he was helped by the late Prof. Stcherbatsky in his Indian studies, particularly of Buddhism. But in Russia, too, he did not stay long. He soon returned to India and worked for a few months more with the writer of this paper in preparing the final draft of the full translation of the *Visuddhimagga*, which really formed the life-work of the great scholar stretching over 25 years of his life.

After finishing this work, before he again joined the national institutions of the Gandhian school of politics, he led for some years a rather quiet life at Bombay or Poona (either at Sarnath or Kashi Vidya Pitha), or at

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dha. He was not keeping in good health and he was not quite at ease. For some time he worked for a Buddhist Vihar at Parel in Bombay. He also wrote a book in Marathi on *A-himsa* which created quite a stir in the orthodox circle of the Hindu society.

For the last few months he was confined to bed, getting weaker and weaker. All over his body he had an itching sensation and he could not sleep. He thought that his life under such circumstances was of no use to society or himself. He was however, later persuaded by some of his friends to give up abstaining from food to which he had taken recourse. He gradually recovered and when he was brought to Bombay, the writer of this paper could see him in February, 1947 staying with his eldest daughter. The disciple never suspected that this was to be the last *darshana* of his *guru*.

Prof. Kosambi was anxious to see Mahatma Gandhi before his death and so he went to Wardha. But Gandhiji had already left that place on his peace-mission in East Bengal and for momentous talks about the Constitutional changes in the political set-up of India. Thus while his last wish remained unfulfilled he passed away quietly in the midst of admiring friends in the Ashram at Wardha on 4th June, 1947.

Not having gone through any regular training in any English school or University College, though he had acquired quite a good working knowledge of English mainly through his own efforts, he prefered to write his books in Pali or his own mother tongue Marathi. His literary and scholarly works well-known to scholars of Pali and Marathi are:

Works in Pali:

Pali Reader, including Asoka's Inscriptions.
Visuddhimagga: A work in the Harvard Oriental Series, ready in print since 1928 but not yet published by the organisers of the Harvard Oriental Series.
Visuddhimagga: Devanagari Edition, published in the Bharatiya Vidyabhavan Series, Vol. I.
Visuddhimagga-Tippani: A commentary in Pali on *Visuddhimagga*.
Abhidhammattha-Sangaha: With Pali commentary on the same. Devanagari Edition. This text was already printed in the Guzrat Vidyapith Series.
Nidanakatha.
Samantapasadika, Bahira-nidana vannana.

Works in Marathi:

Buddha Dharma ani Sangha: His three lectures delivered in Baroda. A standard elementary book on early Buddhism.
Buddha Lila Sara-Sangraha: An account of the life of the Buddha with the account of some of the past lives narrated in the Jatakas.
Selected Jatakas for Children.
Translation of Suttanipata: Published in *Vivida Jnana Vistara*.
Selections from Khuddaka-patha: With Marathi translation for constant reading (*nitya-patha*).
Samadhi-marga.
Bauddha-Sangha-Parichaya.
Ahimsa-Marga (?)
Nivedana: Autobiography up to his return from the first visit to U.S.A.

His autobiography containing an account of the later part of his life was also published by him in a Marathi journal. Besides these, he wrote many articles in leading literary journals. Some of these writings are also translated into Gujarati.

His profound study of the Pali Tripitaka enabled him to trace several of the numerous quotations occuring in the *Visuddhimagga*, the encyclopaedic work of Buddhaghosa. His wonderful memory amazed Prof. Lanman, who began later to appreciate fully the services of Prof. Kosambi who was trained up in the traditional methods of Paninian grammar. His grasp of the philosophical Abhidharma Texts and the facile pen which gave a lucid exposition in Pali is fully illustrated by his edition of the *Abhidhammattha-Sangaha* and his own comentary *Navanita Tika* on the same. His *Tippani* on the *Visuddhimagga* also is found to be highly useful by Pali students.

All readers of Marathi will ever remain grateful to him for his great services in the cause of Buddhism. He has left behind him a group of disciples who are now carrying on the work of teaching Pali in different centres of the University of Bombay—in Poona, Bombay and Baroda.

In his social life, he was always considered to be a man of progressive views and liberal in outlook. He was always kind and genial, and in meetings and conversations he often charmed his audience by telling stories which sparkled with wit and humour. He leaves behind him his widow, one son Prof. Damodar Kosambi, and three daughters who are all well-educated. His two daughters and son had the benefit of their education in U.S.A.

His life is thus a source of great inspiration to many a young man. It is a splendid example of what a young man with no more education than what could be secured in a village school and with no material resources at all to help him, can achieve, provided he has a dogged perseverance to pursue his ideal, in spite of all obstacles that may come in his way. Prof. Kosambi's passionate zeal for the knowledge of the real teaching of the Buddha alone sustained him through all the difficulties he had to face in his period of preparation. May his life kindle a kindred light in diffident hearts!

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N. C. KELKAR

By A. D. KULKARNI, B.A.

The intelligence of the death of Mr. N. C. Kelkar was received with great sorrow by India in general and Maharastra in particular. It is undoubtedly a great loss to Maharastra, for there are now many perplexing questions and difficult problems facing the country but there is no more that great son of India to solve them. The loss cannot be compensated in a short period. Every Maharastrian feels as if a dear friend, an affectionate elder has left him.

There are so many bright aspects in the life of Kelkar. His unparalleled wisdom and matchless ability have left a permanent stamp in various departments of life. This thing is not very well known outside his own province, for his energies were concentrated mainly upon the working of a great many organisations in Maharastra. He was the President of more than sixty institutions in Poona. All sorts of people were thankful to him for his prudent and self-less advice. In India he is acknowledged as a politician and an ardent disciple of Lokmanya Tilak. But this is a very poor appreciation of his work and therefore I intend to deal with some other aspects of his life.

He was born on 24th August, 1872. He had a fairly good educational career and he graduated in Law in 1894. From his early age he was fond of composing poems, writing articles, and playing games. When he was in the Matriculation class he composed a beautiful Sanskrit poem and his teacher who was a learned Shastri was amazed at the boy's brilliance.

Lokmanya Tilak happened to meet him at Satara. Kelkar was practising there as a pleader, he was really gratified to find that he could work with and under Lokmanya, and as desired by him he joined the *Kesari* and *Maratha*. *Kesari* was the voice of all Maharastra. This great paper with its great editor Lokmanya was the cause of 'Indian unrest' in the opinion of the Government. *Kesari* has retained almost the same eminent position through the passage of time. And here begins the real work of Mr. Kelkar. He was directly connected with *Kesari* for about 40 years. He was fortunate enough to work for 24 years under Lokmanya. He was the secretary of the Home Rule League. He attended the Round Table Conference. He was a member of the All-India Congress Working Committee. He was President of the Hindu Mahasabha. These are some of the incidents of his political career. But this political career though great is not as wonderful as his literary career.

He was not an editor without the artistic genius of a literary man. Most of his writings were contributed to journals and newspapers, but this does not mean that they lack literary sense. On the other hand every Ma reader knows that though they were journalistic co butions they always surpassed the writing of other wri Therein lies the greatness of Kelkar.

He tried his hands at various forms of literature adorned them most artistically. The present gener of Marathi writers bears a great reverence for Mr. Kel literary genius. He composed poems both in San and Marathi. His dramas are translated into Sanskri wrote essays, short stories, lives of great personalities torical books, humourous skits and many other th Kelkar's complete work consists of 16000 pages. line that he has written is redolent of literary flavo

There is one thing worth noting. Poets, nove and dramatists do not generally possess analytic ge very rarely they can analyze scientifically the various of literature, but Kelkar is an exception to this. He written dramas and has described their internal stru He has composed humourous skits and has written a le ed volume on humour. His writings are not une They are full of fine sentiments, wit and wisdom. Jayakar says that there is not a single line from the of Kelkar which is devoid of good taste. He is a L among litterateurs. His presidential address at the Ma Literary Conference is one of the finest pieces of lite composition.

Bacon said, "All knowledge is my province." S is with Mr. Kelkar. To read Kelkar is to forget the and to wander in the wonder-lands of imagination knowledge. His style has both simplicity and dignity. writing is learned without being dull, it has humour no malice. And because he was such a writer that K was able to keep the reputation of *Kesari* intact hard days during the forced absence of Lokmanya on account of his six years' incarceration in British Lokmanya paid a glowing tribute to his ablity and wise and capable management after his release.

Literature reveals the life of the writer. You differentiate between Mr. Kelkar as a man and as a To appreciate the work means to appreciate the perso He was a very simple and generous man. He always prepared to help others with a smiling face was not uncompromising and was doing constructive This grand old man, a thorough gentleman, a le critic, a great writer, a self-less worker is no more. Kelkar was the greatest personality in Maharastra Lokmanya Tilak. There might have been many who fered with him in his views but they also loved hi honoured him for his greatness.

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SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE TRIAL OF MAHARAJA NANDAKUMAR FOR FORGERY

By Dr. N. K. SINHA, M.A., Ph.D.,
Calcutta University

The trial and execution of Maharaja Nandakumar is an event so well-known and the details have been so thoroughly discussed by Beveridge and Stephen that further investigation appears to be unnecessary. But in the Mayor's Court and Supreme Court records I have found some papers yet unpublished that may be regarded as valuable indirect evidence.

Howell reproduces the version of the trial that was published by the authority of the Supreme Court in 1776. I am justified in saying on the basis of this authorised version of the trial that Nandakumar was condemned by the jury and the judges because they believed the evidence of Mohan Prasad and Kamaluddin. They either did not understand or would not understand the accounts (exhibit M) and the *Kararnama* (exhibit R). In his charge to the jury Impey again and again referred to the credibility of the prosecutor, Mohan Prasad and his chief witness Kamaluddin. These are his words :

> "Much depends on the evidence of Mohan Prasad. Most of you know him. You must determine how far he deserves credit and how probable it is that he would accuse an innocent man of a capital crime.
>
> "Attempts were made to impeach Mohan Prasad by particular facts of attempts to suborn and by general character. You must judge how far they have succeeded. They totally failed in the same attempts as to Kamaluddin.
>
> "The character of Kamaluddin was enquired into from Coja Petruse and you have heard the answer. Petruse had said in reply to a cross examination, 'ten people speak well of him to four who speak ill of him'."

Beveridge is justified in saying that Impey called upon the jury to convict Nandakumar in order to save the character of Mohan Prasad. He even advised the jurors to rely on their private knowledge of Mohan Prasad. They were asked to depend on Kamaluddin because "Coja Petruse, whom you all know" testified that he was reliable.

As I read the High Court records I was on the look out for papers unconnected with the Nandakumar case which refer to Mohan Prasad and Kamaluddin in order to get an idea of their 'general character.' I thought that this would be a more secure evidence on which the historian could depend than the gossip of Calcutta in 1775 on which the jurors were practically asked to rely. Mohan Prasad died in 1777. I have read all the papers of the Mayor's Court and its successor the Supreme Court from 1758 when Mohan Prasad's name first occurs in judicial records. I have seen 14 case records of the Mayor's Court unconnected with the Nandakumar case in which Mohan Prasad was either a plaintiff or a defendant. There are also as many cases whose records could not be found. I would thus summarise the evidence I have collected about his 'general character.'

Mohan Prasad was a Calcutta broker who acted as the agent of Hazari Mal, executor of the will of Amirchand, Diachand, nephew of Amirchand, Bolaqi Das, banker of Mir Qasim and Gangavishnu, executor of the will of Bolaqi Das. He used also to lend money to the servants of the East India Company for their private trade. Almost all the fourteen cases referred to, concerned his money-lending transactions with Englishmen. This was his principal business. In 1758, shortly after the death of Amirchand, Williamson who was then sub-secretary of the Council, was approached by Hazari Mal for appointment as his banyan. Williamson later deposed in connection with another case :

> "Hazari Mal came to me in 1758 hearing I was about to dismiss my banyan and desired I should employ him . . . he told me that he would be the person to transact my business but the ostensible persons would be Diachand and Mohan Prasad. Mohan Prasad was a merchant here. I cannot say whether he was employed in the service of Hazari Mal except from his coming to my house daily on his behalf."

We have also the evidence of one Ratanchand to the effect that in 1768 Mohan Prasad was a prisoner in the Cutchery, which decided disputes between Indians and was out of cash and not then in a position to lend money to Englishmen for their private trade. In 1770, in the case of George Sparks against the executors of Bolaqi Das, evidence was given to the effect that a debt that Meer Ashraf owed to Bolaqi Das was sold by the latter to William Bolts who asked the deed to be drawn up in the name of George Sparks. Mohan Prasad was the go-between. Mohan Prasad, according to the Banyan of Bolts, asked the latter to get him one quarter share of the purchase. A gomostah of Bolaqi Das said in his evidence that Mohan Prasad paid 5,000 rupees for his one-fourth share of the purchase. Impey remarked in another connection about this buying of debts, "The most Jewish, the most rapacious practice, this champarty—buying of debts".

Mohan Prasad was thus in the limelight in Calcutta as a litigant in the Mayor's Court as also in the Court Cutchery. He was at least in one case a Banyan's *benamidar*. His most thriving business was champarty and he shared in the profits of the private trade of the servants of the East India Company. Nandakumar, in one of his letters to the supreme councillors, described Mohan Prasad as a man whose villainy and intrigues were well-known. His being admitted by the Governor-General to private conference in the town and his gardens must be due to 'his enmity and malevolence to me.' This letter was written in March, 1775 and in May Mohan Prasad stood forth as his accuser in the Supreme Court.

Kamaluddin was described by Clavering as an infamous creature. His name is to be found only in the

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Supreme Court records of 1775 and 1776 and in the exhibits of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue of 1772, 1774 and 1775. In one of his petitions to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue in September, 1775 Kamaluddin describes himself as 'a man of no substance.' In 1772 the Calcutta Committee of Revenue brought about a new arrangement of the salt districts and Kamaluddin was accepted as the salt farmer of Hijli. He was to pay 75,000 in land-revenue and he had to furnish a certain quantity of salt at a fixed price and any surplus salt which he might make at an advance of Rs. 25 on the contract price. He was to sell salt only to the Company. He got an advance of three-fourths of the value of the salt. It was not to be expected that Kamaluddin, who was worth very little, would be given this contract unless he had some very influential persons interested in the transaction. His *Kutkinadar* or under-farmer was Dewan Basant Rai of Hughli. In the course of a cross-examination before the Committee, Kamal referred to Kanta Babu's son as a counter-security of Dewan Basant Rai. Kanta Babu was the well-known Banyan of Hastings. In September, 1775 the Dewan was asked by the President of the Committee of Revenue about the nature of the *Tuncaw* (tankhwa) in favour of Barwell, who was a member of the Council and a constant supporter of Hastings. Basant Rai sub-farmed in part to Kandarpa Das, whose security was Mohan Babu, an inhabitant of Calcutta, possibly Mohan Prasad. Justice Hyde in his notes wrote in 1776:

> "The deficiency of salt delivered by Kamal was due, it was alleged, to his selling the salt to Mr. Barwell . . . it is not impossible."

In one of his petitions Kamal also said that his *Thika* salt farms were underfarmed by Ramprasad Mukerjee on account of Lokenath Nandi, son of Kanta Babu. Kamal, a poor creature, who had to pay a very considerable amount of the money advanced to him as "Durbar charges" was in this business an instrument of Barwell, Kanta Babu and Mohan Prasad. Basant Rai, his principal underfarmer, complained against him in January, 1775 that Kamaluddin changed the standard maund for weighing salt which subjected him to a loss of 32 per cent. But with so many big men interested in his income from the salt farm he found it very difficult to fulfil his obligations to the Committee of Revenue. He became distracted and approached Maharaja Nandakumar whom he knew and who had known his father and grandfather and who had given him protection more than once. He hoped that Maharaja Nandakumar would use his influence with the Francis party to get him back the 'Durbar charges' he had paid. But Barwell's Munshi Sadruddin, who was Kamal's friend, must have intervened and advised him to see Hastings. Through the good offices of Sadruddin the 'Durbar charges' paid to Dewan Ganga Gobind Singh were returned to Kamal.

After this we find Kamal giving evidence in the forgery trial that he was Muhammad Kamal in 1765 and that his seal was forged on the bond. Impey asked the Jury to believe him because he was certified as a good man by Coja Petruse between whom and the Ma[illegible] according to Farrer, who defended Nandakumar, there [illegible] 'a declared enmity.' The party of Francis regarded K[illegible] as the man whose help enabled Hastings to get N[illegible] kumar convicted. It was perhaps at their instance [illegible] the Committee of Revenue threw Kamal into confine[illegible] for non-fulfilment of the terms of the contract. The [illegible] preme Court released him by a writ of *habeas corpus* [illegible] Committee again ordered him into prison and he [illegible] again released by the Supreme Court by a second [illegible] of *habeas corpus*. His son was shortly afterwards drow[illegible] in the Hughli and he himself was heard of no m[illegible] This wretched creature described by James Fowke [illegible] the scum of the earth, who had helped Barwell to [illegible] fraud the East India Company, became the instrume[illegible] Hastings in his parrying thrust in political fencing.

Warren Hastings has been generally regarded as [illegible] concealed prosecutor of Nandakumar. The system [illegible] *Benami* was so widely prevalent in India in those [illegible] that Hastings used it in the law-court with Mohan Pr[illegible] as his *Benamidar*. The foreman of the Grand Jury [illegible] mitting Nandakumar for trial was Stewart, acting se[illegible] tary of the council. The foreman of the petty jury [illegible] Robinson, a private friend of Hastings. Elliot, the in[illegible] preter before the Grand Jury and the Petty Jury, was [illegible] Private Secretary of Hastings. Farrer objected to [illegible] interpretation as he was intimately connected with [illegible] sons whom the prisoner regarded as his enemies. [illegible] connection of Hastings with Mohan Prasad and Ka[illegible] uddin has already been explained. Sadruddin, an[illegible] prosecution witness, was Barwell's Munshi. Raja N[illegible] krishna, who seemed to give evidence against Nandak[illegible] with seeming reluctance that appeeared to have impr[illegible] the Chief Justice, was connected with Hastings since [illegible] when Hastings first came to India, and owed much of [illegible] later prosperity to him. Coja Petruse was an old ally a[illegible] old creditor of Hastings. The most important witne[illegible] summoned to give rebutting evidence, were also intim[illegible] connected with Hastings. In his conspiracy case ag[illegible] Fowke, Nandakumar and Radhacharan, Hastings was a[illegible] later whether he had directly or indirectly countena[illegible] the prosecution against Nandakumar. He replied [illegible] never did; I have been on my guard. I have can[illegible] avoided every circumstance which might appear to b[illegible] interference in that prosecution." Hastings must be a[illegible] full credit for this circumspection. Mohan Prasad [illegible] sued for the cook's bill for the dinner and other e[illegible] tainments provided for the counsel, attorneys and [illegible] who were invited during the trial (Legallis *vs.* M[illegible] Prasad, 1776). Gangavishnu's will filed on the [illegible] January, 1776 directed Mohan Prasad to deduct the [illegible] pense incurred for the trial from the money of Maha[illegible] Nandakumar, when received. The effects of the Maha[illegible] were never forfeited and neither Gangavishnu, nor M[illegible] Prasad nor their heirs and successors could get any[illegible] from the estate of this man who was convicted of c[illegible] felony. (In the goods of Maharaja Nandakumar deceased [illegible] caveat of Raja Gurudas, 15th November, 1781) G[illegible]

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vishnu and Mohan Prasad had only to face the prospect of eternal damnation for having helped a sahib to kill a Brahmin.

Collusion between Hastings and Impey has been sought to be proved. There were reasons for suspicion. An indecorous haste marked all the proceedings. Hastings and Vansittart bound themselves over to prosecute Fowke, Nandakumar and Radhacharan for conspiracy on the 24th April. Mohan Prasad was bound over to prosecute Nandakumar on the 7th May, a Sunday. The conspiracy case was tried later after Nandakumar's trial and conviction for forgery. Farrer, in his evidence before the House of Commons, said:

"On the instance of Mr. Fowke I moved that the trial for the conspiracy might be brought on supposing the bills to be found before the trial for the forgery. The motion was rejected . . . The court made no order but that the prosecutors must bring on the trial as should best suit their own convenience."

The evidence of Gangavishnu was very important. He had paid the money and remained silent for a long period and was then hurried on against his will by Mohan Prasad. He was not dying, though he was very ill. The Court had only to go to the ground floor to take his evidence for there was a proposal of hoisting him to the Court room over the ropes. This was sufficient to scare an invalid.

The protest of Justice Chambers at the beginning of the trial that the indictment was not well laid for capital felony on the 2nd George II was brushed aside by the Chief Justice and he was over-ruled. Nandakumar was convicted on the 16th June. On the 22nd a motion in arrest of judgment was moved that failed. Chambers is reported by Farrer to have remarked, "As to the general verdict, had his doubts; but thinks it may be good. That was he alone to pass sentence, doubts would still remain as to the indictment's (?) capital." Though the language and department of LeMaistre were certainly more violent, it was the Chief Justice who really mattered in the trial and there were reasons to think that he was prejudiced by his friendship for Hastings. Impey was impatient and he was perhaps unable to understand accounts. Mohan Prasad admitted that there were debits and credits between Nandakumar and Bolaqi Das to a great amount. The Nagri books were brought but no attempt was made to examine them.

In those days the judges at the end of the session signed the calendar which gave directions to the sheriff. I have not found the calendar of the first session of 1775 in the High Court but I have seen the calendar of the second session signed by the judges in December 1775 with a very significant entry—person confined—Ram Prasad Shaw; for what offence—forgery; sentence—Let him be detained. There is also in the records of the High Court a paper signed by the clerk of the crown which is dated 4th March, 1775 in which the judges respited the execution of Michael Tommy for the murder of Rebecca until the 27th day of October, 1776. They were not in a hurry about any other case except that of Nandakumar and in spite of the fact that one of the judges did not think that he could be accused of capital felony they would not give him leave to appeal.

Why was the Court so prejudiced against Nandakumar? He had accused the Governor-General of having taken bribes and others were following his example. The British inhabitants in Calcutta were incensed and alarmed. These practices were not held in disrepute in Bengal among Englishmen in those days. As Sir Gilbert Elliot said on the occasion of the impeachment of Impey these accusations "did violence to the notions of fidelity and principles of good faith which prevailed." The corruptions and abuses of their English masters were the means that enabled their banians and underlings to thrive. Violent animosity against Nandakumar prevailed in the whole settlement during these months, March to June, 1775. The Jurors as also some of the judges could not be expected to be very much above this prejudice of the average Englishman in Bengal against Nandakumar. Impey, Hyde and LeMaistre, as later events proved, were never conspicuous for moderation or reasonableness. Moreover, they were obsessed by an eager desire to exhibit the majesty of English law as administered by them.

Was the jewels bond forged? Bolaqi Das, according to Nandakumar, gave a conditional bond to him on August 20, 1765. In 1758 Nandakumar had given him some jewels to be sold. He should have certainly sold them by 1763 but he said that he had lost them during disturbances in Murshidabad consequent upon the defeat of Mir Qasim. As he was the banker of Mir Qasim he had to move with him from place to place and did not return to Calcutta until 1765. He was then trying to get back a sum of 2 lakhs 33 thousand rupees which the Company had taken from his Dacca office in 1763. He promised to pay the Maharaja for the lost jewels the sum of Rs. 48021 principal and a premium 4 as upon every rupee when his Dacca accounts would be cleared by the East India Company. The provision of a premium was customary in those days if there was no possibility of an early payment. This bond was witnessed by Silabat, Mahatab and Md. Kamal. Silabat died in 1767, Muhammad Kamal in 1770 and Mahtab in 1773. Bolaqi himself died in June, 1769. By the will of Bolaqi his nephews Gangavishnu and Hingulal were his executors with Padma Mohan Das in charge of his books and papers, debts and dues. There was a general power of attorney to Padma Mohan and Mohan Prasad drawn up in January, 1769 with a list of debts and accounts from his Calcutta account books. It did not specify the amount that the Company owed to him, contained an entry of Rs. 10,000 only in favour of Nandakumar and asked his attorney to pay whatever Durbar expenses might be incurred and "whatever remains after the payment of the Durbar expenses to be paid to whom it may be due."

About six months after Bolaqi's death, Gangavishnu, the surviving executor and Padma Mohan succeeded in getting from Verelst, the Governor, Company's bonds, in

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payment of the Company's debt through the good offices of the Maharaja. The widow of Bolaqi, grateful to the Maharaja for securing this payment first settled with him. The Maharaja took bonds valued at 66,320 on account of principal, premium and batta on the jewels bond, (in the statement of transactions of Bolaqi Das's estate submitted to the Mayor's Court the sum entered is 69,630. The difference in accounting was due to the different mode of calculating the exchange of Arcot and Sonnat rupees), 60.000 on account of Durbar expenses, 11,362 on account of a mortagaged house (10,000 and interest) and some other small items, making a total of 1,43,435 (tomassuk bonds). In exhibit M signed by the attorneys Mohan Prasad and Padma Mohan the bonds given are mentioned and the description given agrees with the description of bonds in the Company's accounts. Gangavishnu signed the endorsements. The Maharaja having torn the top of the jewels bond handed it over to Gangavishnu, who asked him to hand it over to Padma Mohan. The whole affair was conducted, as Beveridge points out, with the greatest openness and the executor made no complaint till 2½ years afterwards. Padma Mohan Das, who according to evidence, was best acquainted with the business of Bolaqi Das died in December, 1771. Bolaqi thus referred to Padma Mohan in his will:

> "I had made a power of attorney before this in the name of brother Padma Mohan and Mohan Prasad which I leave to the pleasure of brother Padma Mohan."

Mohan Prasad became now dominant in the affairs of the executor of Bolaqi's will. About the middle of 1772 a civil suit was instituted against Nandakumar in the Court of Cutchery for Rs. 1,29,630 (Jewels bond 69,630 and Durbar expenses 60,000). An amended bill of complaint was filed in February 1774. By that time all who had witnessed the bond were dead. Kamaluddin was never cited as a witness in the civil suit. The civil suit was referred to arbitration. It was never decided.

Evidence could not be given in the forgery case on many essential points because the transaction was stale and the witnesses were dead. There is, however, some indirect evidence which could not be produced at the trial, but which proves that the bond was genuine. The will of Bolaqi Das contains the following clear provision:

> "After the Company's money is received out of the said money 10 per cent to be paid to brother Padma Mohan . . . and *after my debts are paid off* the remainder and residue to be distributed."

It is very likely that the significant statement about debts in connection with the Company's dues refers to the jewels bond. According to Impey, Padma Mohan Das must have been privy to the fraud. But he would have in any case got 10 per cent and by committing this fraud with the risk involved, he could not have got more than 25 or 30 per cent. After satisfying other conspirators like the writer of the bond and witnesses, the Maharaja could not have got as his share of the jewels bond more than thirty-five to forty thousand rupees. In the air of impartiality Impey said only casually that there was improbability that a man of Nandaknmer's rank and tune should be guilty of so mean an offence for so a sum of money. In 1797 on the death of Nandakumar son Raja Gurudas, his nephew succeeded to a prop valued at 25 lakhs (Ghulam Sufdar *vs.* Raja Maha Sadar Dewani Adalat). Nandakumar was perhaps much more in January 1770 when according to the cutors he published the forged document. Moreo nothing could have prevented his saying that he pa lakh 43 thousand rupees as 'Durbar charges.' No b conversant with business transactions in those days believe that anything could be done without 'D charges'; Verelst and his banyan Gokul Ghosal were the men to let money go out of their hands without le their toll on it in spite of the Directors' sanction.

It was Padma Mohan's death and the death of the witnesses that emboldened Mohan Prasad to sue the civil court. Evidence was conclusive that the pa of Padma Mohan and Bolaqi Das were tampered w Among the exhibits submitted by the defence there w copy of the *Kararnama* (exhibit R) the original of wh was missing. It reads as a genuine document but it w rejected by Impey. This agreement between Bolaqi a Nandakumar was dated 20th May, 1769. It was to following effect: If the whole sum due on the Dacca count was paid principal and interest half would be gi to the Governor and Mr. Pearson and Nandakumar w get only the principal of the jewels bonds and one-fo of the interest. If only the principal was paid the G ernor and Mr. Pearson would get a lakh and the Ma raja would get only the principal of the jewels bond. view of the Governor's oath against the receiving of p sents he should be assured that the utmost secrecy w be observed. Justice T. Ameer Ali in a recent pa proves the genuineness of exhibit M. (Progs. of the In Hist. Records Com. 1943). The two together prove that conviction was a 'legal murder.'

Bolaqi's first petition for the money was submi in March, 1764, his second in August, 1765 and betw March and August he offered George Gray a present o lakh of rupees if he would get him the Company's d The jewels bond was executed about this time. G failed to secure justice to Bolaqi, who had to send attorney to move the Court of Directors. When Ve became the Governor, Bolaqi also approached Na kumar at this end. The new Governor was known to a great friend of Nandakumar. According to a letter Raja Nabakrishna dated 18th November, 1777, the Ma raja had been reinstated by Verelst as the Zamindar Pargana Badoor from which he had been dispossessed Clive. In a letter written by Bolaqi, dated 6th June, —exhibit L, Nandakumar was approached by the ha to take up his cause, "The Governor arriving as bus will be quickly done you will do it . . . you are master . . . who except yourself will do it." The Ka *nama* of 20th May and this letter of 6th June were parently related. It was pointed out by Impey that dence was not given on the loss of jewels. But rightly

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Murshidabad in 1763 was a fact. and Bolaqi as Mir Qasim's banker suffered not only at Dacca but also at a very remote place like Rangpur. In a petition of Bolaqi to the Mayor's Court he refers to his loss in 1763 in Rangpur where James Moore, an agent of Henry Vansittart, took by force from his gomasta Arcot rupees 112,874. It was very likely that the jewels deposited in 1758 were sold before the disturbance and Bolaqi Das only took advantage of the disturbance to make the bond conditional and secure Nandakumar's influential support for inducing men in power in Calcutta to listen to his complaint.

The "unfortunate victim", as Farrer, described Nandakumar in the petition for respite was justified in speaking thus to Clavering with reference to Hastings' plotting with Mohan Prasad, "A number of people saying the same thing though it may not be true, is at least believed to be true. . . . . so many people said that the kid was a dog that it was at last taken for a dog."

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ABOUT WAR POETS AND IR POETRY

By Prof. WILLIAM EDWARD HOOKENS, M.A.

Whether the war poets differ from the peace poets I am not here to discuss. All that I intend doing is to record—as best as I can—the experiences of war poets as seen through their poetry. The material that I am drawing upon is the material that two books are furnishing me with. I mean *Anthology of War Poets* edited by Julian Symons in the Pelican book and another entitled *Poets Since 1939* by Stephen Spender. For my conclusions, however, I am responsible.

We hear a good deal of war poets, war artists, and I wonder if poets and artists can be segregated into two classes as has been done. I feel revolted when people call Hardy a war poet because he is anything but a war poet. It is true that he has written a *Dynasts* but that is because it portrays the Napoleonic war and not the war that he saw with his own eyes. Imagination does make him see good in things evil and distant but at close quarters they are inclined to be foul, as Hardy found to his cost. Take any of Hardy's poems written during war and see whether he has a good word for war or the warmongers. Another man who is usually dragged in among the war poets is T. S. Eliot. It has become a custom with writers of modern poetry to drag in Eliot in season and out of it on the plea that Eliot is the man in today's poetry. That may be, but has Eliot the popularity that Tennyson had among the people? Excepting a small clique of poetasters and scholars in English none knows who Eliot is. I do not intend to be disrespectful, considering as I do the invaluable services of Eliot as critic and poet of no mean order. But Eliot is far from being a poet as I would understand the word nor can I rattle of lines from his poems as I can do of other poets, even of minor ones like Gray and Dr. Johnson, of the prosaic eighteenth century. But I will take the cue from writers who have written on war poets or war poetry and dub those as war poets who have said something on some of the various phases of war, including the *khaki* and the W.A.C.(I).

During the last war (1914-18) poets sang of war as they liked, some jovially, some dismally. All, including Gissing, thought it was the last war that was fought to end wars and predicted a happy era after the war. But human nature continued to be human nature and men fought for money and lands and for women on a greater scale than they had ever done before; and people grew hardened pessimists, looking to God—if there were one—for safety in the shape of early release from life. What the poets and artists thought and wrote can very well be imagined.

Of all literary figures the one that stands prominent is Bernard Shaw because he was the only one to keep his mouth open when everyone had shut his. And the result was that Shaw was told to keep his mouth shut and live as a free man or to talk his head off and be confined for life-long imprisonment. Shaw preferred the latter and made up for his silence in this war when he sent as many articles as he could on the meanness of the Allies and the unhappy state of Slave India. Hence when Britain was an open enemy of India's freedom the man whom India loved as her C. F. Andrews or her Annie Besant was old man Shaw. But Shaw does not write poetry and he is brought in to show the reaction of literary men during the last war, and to some extent, during this war.

In the last war the need for men was not so insistent but in this war it was a pressing one, and therefore all and sundry joined the war. They had to join it because their dear country was going to rack and ruin and they had to save it from the vandalism of the Hitlerites. And so philosophers and scientists, poets and novelists and artists went to the front to fight the enemy of the True, the Good and the Beautiful.

And what gets me thinking is that even during the war the people had the time to paint and draw and to write; and the number of painters and artists and poets during this war is legion. One has only to get collecting their materials to see what they have contributed in the shape of imaginative things. In fact, some of the finest writings and paintings and art are those of war duration; and one wonders how they could devote themselves to escapist things in a war of bombs and tear gas and secret weapons. Human nature has its cure and remedies and God's ways are too infinite for diagnosis. All that one can say is that ideals kept them alive—more so the ideals of the war art academies and museums that inspirited the people to fight with a zeal that was nothing short of

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religious. It was not uncommon during the war for people to spend fabulous amounts on art pictures. Newton's booklet *Art for Everybody* shows the tremendous amount of interest that people took in poetry and novels and art. For once, at least the war-stricken people saw in art their only succour as did Matthew Arnold and his disciple I. A. Richards.

Come to think of it, one wonders if we have any poets at all, crowded as we are with legions of non-poets. I remember reading some of the finest books on modern poetry including the handy and cheap one by C. D. Lewis, entitled *Poetry for You*, and I wonder if he was just being a salesman because the poetry of today is anything but poetry for the ordinary man. What has honestly gone wrong with the poets of today that they cannot think of the dancing daffodils or the rainbow in the sky or the singing nightingales or the soaring skylark! But let that go. And let's come to our modern poets.

Most of our modern poets are young or pretend to be young by ever talking of things that youngsters like. Judged by the photographs of American and English and Dominion poets that I have before me, I would not call the oldest of them a day over fifty years. Of course, I am not thinking of really old poets like Eliot or Lehmann or Walley or Graves or Reed, for the obvious reason that I feel that they are too old to say anything imaginatively strong or invigorating, though Eliot makes strong attempts to be virile and goes on in his "Bang, Bang, Bang" strain, while Lehmann and company, I feel, would make good editors but poor poets; and the reason is that they feel so differently about poetry from what the people are accustomed to.

As I have said, most of our poets are young and some look so terribly young that one feels that they have been dropped out of the cradle because there was no room for them. Dylan Thomas does look a baby and his face is almost babyish. I would not be surprised if one day the advertisers got him for Glaxo feeding! He looks a Milton-Shelley blend, minus the fire of one and the imaginative flight of the other. But he is modern and does have a following as strong, if not stronger than C. D. Lewis's. Cecil Lewis looks anything but an old man and the looks in his eyes (though not exactly poetic) are far from being prosaic (or materialistic); Louis Macniece looks as though he were making determined efforts to look young (if not sweet) and has not quite succeeded; Vernon Watkins is a frank young fellow and looks it with his mouth slightly open showing two big white teeth; Auden looks a real soldier with a poetic scowl as an additional accoutrement; Spender pretends to be marvellously romantic, with his hair tossed about and a smile hovering on his exciting lips. So much for the poets. Let's come to what some of the war poets say.

Thomas Hardy—"the prince of war poets"—sees the muddle that the statesmen and the politicians and the capitalistic class have created and he continues to sing because to stop singing would mean to drive him mad with the report of the guns and the roar of the cannons shattering his nerves. For days at a stretch he keeps a[illegible] thinking of the ruins of families and houses and c[illegible] and wonders whether the Last Day has come for [illegible] How could Man be so cruel, so lustful, so barbarous! [illegible] not anything stop him from this systematic evil? [illegible] No Christ but Satan—what will the world come to!

Edward Thomas sees the sun shining brightly [illegible] can no longer walk as he once did or laugh together [illegible] the girl he loved, because something more det[illegible] than disease has begun to upset him, madden him. Rum[illegible] of the war awaken untold fears and the cry of the [illegible] and the debris around remind him of Hades let loose [illegible] earth. For him there are now no moonlight walks [illegible] week-end pleasures to look forward to, but barren fields [illegible] around and fallen apples to remind him that there [illegible] war. He buoys himself up because he has to live and [illegible] to save dear English culture. He has to keep the [illegible] going!

None knows during war where men sleep or [illegible] Sympathy is dried. War makes man practical and [illegible] die. And in *Rupert Brooke*—the Philip Sydney of [illegible] last war—we see the lover-poet turn metaphysical [illegible] make a dead soldier on a foreign field a dear thing [illegible] England because there in that mound lies the elem[illegible] of the Englishman elementalised with the Universal [illegible] sciousness. War poets do turn religious under the str[illegible] of war, instead of being Johnny Keats clinging to Fa[illegible] Brawne or Byron searching happiness in other peop[illegible] wives.

W. B. Yeats—the man who showed Tagore as [illegible] Universal Poet—thinks it better to keep his mouth [illegible] because he would be saying some very unpleasant tr[illegible] —as Gandhi has been saying, and as Socrates did to [illegible] cost. But as the war has begun Yeats feels it his [illegible] to put his hand to the waggon and he does, massively. [illegible] law his country is an enemy to the belligerent nation [illegible] he must fight the enemy or what happens to his [illegible] country?

With all war poets the *inevitable* faces them and [illegible] make compromises. Life would be an utter failure if [illegible] did not make compromises. Life is too dreadful [illegible] lived—and they cling to some prop, so cling to it [illegible] they live and come out of the ordeal braver and hap[illegible] men. They wonder—as most did during this war—whe[illegible] war is a *purge* to the growing evils. Others, like F[illegible] see in war the monster of Fate let loose before [illegible] all have to succumb, and die without raising a voice [illegible] man or heaven. How can they when they see all [illegible] love and cherish crumble before their very eyes?

The *khaki* unifom, grand in its own way, has [illegible] responsibilities and the war poets have not been slow [illegible] bring this out to the best of their abilities. The co[illegible] marching with heavy ammunition boots and a heavy [illegible] on the back and a gun or two on the shoulders does [illegible] some poets vocal, at times discouragingly, at times spirit[illegible] The reflection on the long, wearisome, untimed-by-[illegible] marches are not too bright when the poet thinks of [illegible] fine, comfortable civilian job and his home, family and [illegible]

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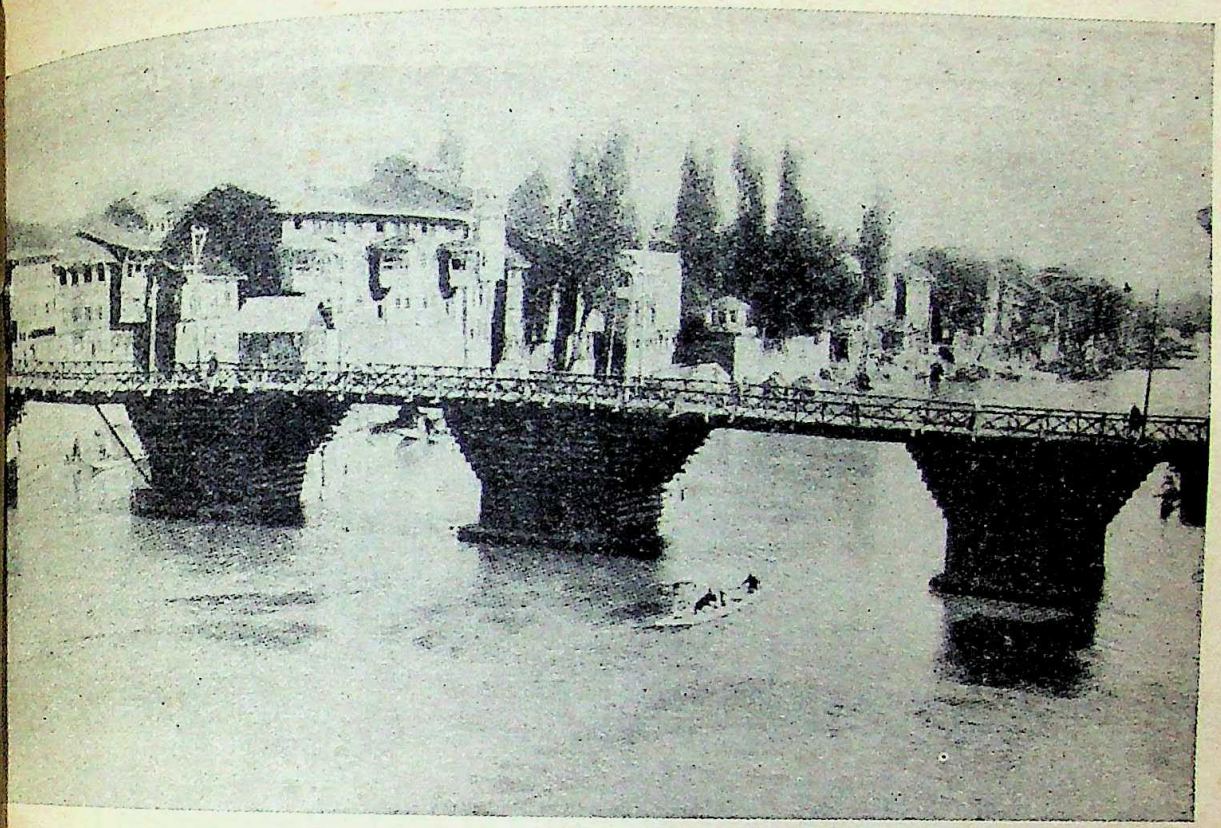
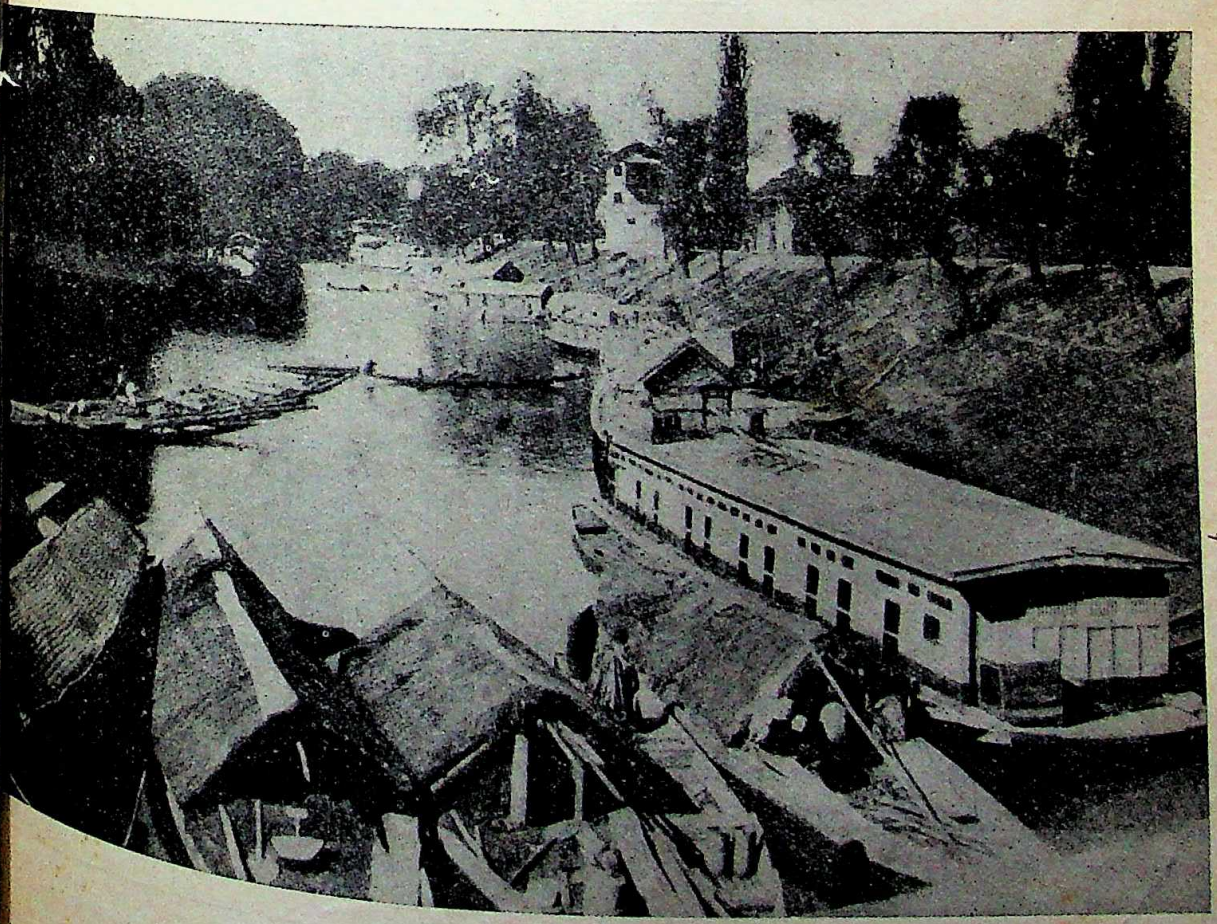


An old bridge, Srinagar



Chenar Bagh Canal, Srinagar

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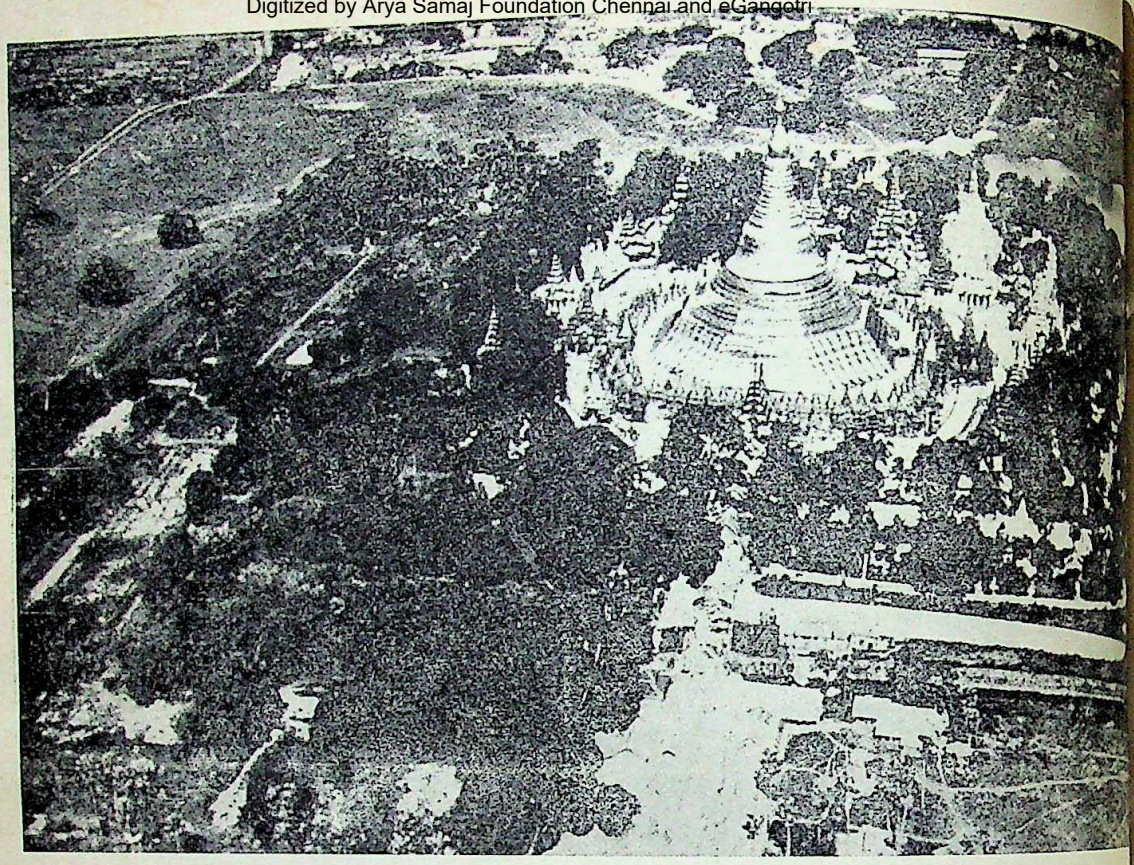
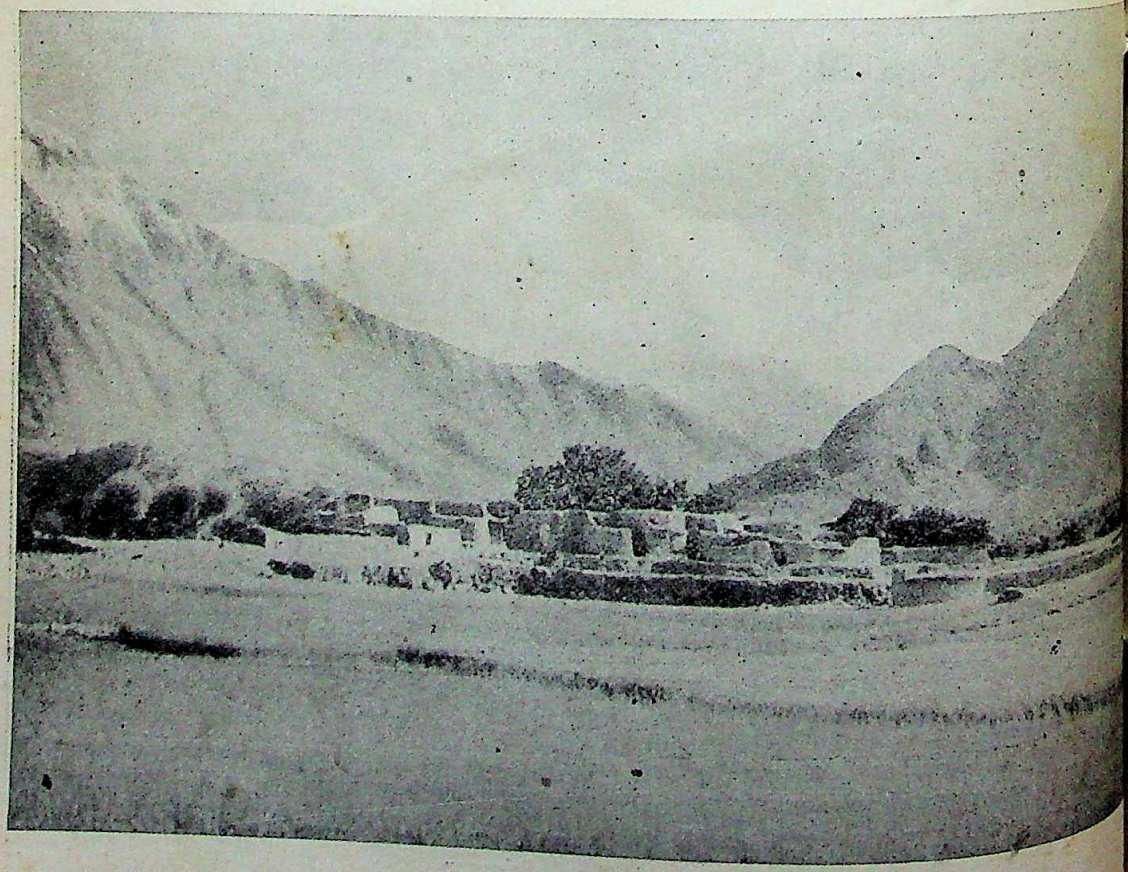


Shwedagon Pagoda, Rangoon



Peasants' huts in Hunza, Kashmir

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radio. No women for days to see and to feel courage flowing in the nerves! What must the wives be thinking of the soldiers—"having a fine time with the country lassies"! It is a grave thing this war—it irritates the nerves, and women from nowhere have to suddenly make their appearances as nurses or W.A.C(I) and comfort them. Imagine what mad men the soldiers would be if they did not have women fighting side by side with them! The soldiers have their meal and talk over old times when someone reminds them of the dead pal, and they exclaim: "Poor chap, he loved a girl and he has probably given her the baby and his photo, but he is no more to see his hearth and home": The nerves get hardened and friends kill friends in cold blood because "there's no use living in this bloody world of war".

Siefried Sassoon can speak out his mind and say: Why have the memorial tablets and Roll Call of Honour, when Man deliberately kills another for no rhyme or reason. What corruption during war—bastards for children and future citizens, women raped and homes and churches desecrated!

Wilfred Owen sees the fate of the fallen lot—left alone to rot, trampled on or thrown in dust heap without a tear or ceremony. No dead march . . . but mass burial with their clothes removed and their ammunition and honours snatched away.

H. B. Mallieu, W. H. Auden, and a host of war poets treat the subjects of war in a way. Hence it is wrong, nay criminal to call poets "war poets" because they write on war. No sane poet has ever bubbled on the good points of war. Only the so-called poets have done. And most of the poets who have written in wild frenzy over the good that comes of war are those poets who have been employed by the state to keep the morale of the people—to be the Voice of the Angels to suffering, disconsolate man. Some have fulfilled their tasks extremely well, while others have limped. Let it be said in favour of the modern poets—most of whom are anonymous and who have died in the battlefield—that they have been outspokenly frank and have brought to war-poetry not only a new technique but also a brittleness of thought and expression that is the result of deep thinking along the Eliot-O'Neill ways of despair, wastelands and mournings. But they cannot be blamed. They are children of the age—the thermometers of the times—the offspring of Interrogation and Shavian cleverness!

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TWO HINDU-MUSLIM RIOTS DURING THE LATER MUGHAL DAYS

By DEENABANDHU DAS

The view that Hindu-Muslim conflict is an innovation of British rule in India is not altogether correct. Neither is the view that before the British came India had been torn asunder by a perpetual feud between Hindus and Musalmans. The fact is that conflict or rivalry between Islam and Hinduism has been one of the many factors that have determined the course of events in the India of the past. There have been times, indeed, when Hindu-Muslim ill-feeling has been long absent from the minds of the generality of the princes and the people. At such times alliances and rivalries have arisen entirely irrespective of the religion of the parties concerned. Akbar (1556-1605) was the initiator of one of such epochs of profound religio-communal peace. Factors other than religion counted with him and determined the course of events. In 1564, the ninth year of his reign, Akbar abolished the *jizya* or poll-tax on non-Muhammadans in his Empire. He also effaced all religious distinctions in the distribution of State patronage, and so on. His two successors, Jahangir (1605-1627) and Sahajahan (1628-1658), particularly the former, continued the liberalism of their illustrious predecessor. The result was a profound religio-communal peace in the Mughal Empire till it was broken by Aurangzeb (1658-1707) who ascended the throne, through a bloody war of succession, as the representative of the fanatical Muslim section of the Empire. And he was not slow, after accession, to re-introduce the communal virus in his imperial administration. In 1679, 115 years after Akbar had abolished it, he re-introduced the *jizya*, the most potent instrument of religio-communal discrimination against the Hindus. The result was a fresh outbreak of religio-communal rivalry. A new epoch begins, in which the determining factors of the course of events are altogether different from those of the previous epoch. The two incidents of Hindu-Muslim rioting I shall cite here belong to this epoch.

The first is dated, 1713, 34 years after the re-introduction of the *jizya* and 6 years after the death of Aurangzeb. But that time the Hindu powers—Sikhs, Rajputs and Marathas—have begun to rise, and exercise a moderating influence on the imperial policy. Even during the reign of Aurangzeb some Maratha and Rajput chiefs are said to have been bold enough to prohibit *Azan* (the Muhammadan call to prayer) at the mosques, and the Muhammadan *jizya*-collectors were expelled from certain places after plucking their beards out. In 1713, Farrukhsiyyar, who had ascended the throne the same year, abolished the *jizya* for the first time since Aurangzeb's re-imposition in 1679.

This riot takes place at Ahmadabad in Gujarat some time after Subadar Daud Pani takes charge. A main reason of the outbreak of the riot, according to

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Khafi Khan's description, is the discontent in the Muslim mind about Daud Pani's partiality towards the Hindus. The general appearance of the origin, development and end of the riot is so very much like the riots of our own day. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting verbatim the description of Khafi Khan who lived at that time and was an acute and enthusiastic chronicler of Mughal history.

The First Riot, Ahmadabad, 1713

Khafi Khan's description of the incident is as follows :*

"After Daud Pani became Subadar of Ahmadabad in Gujarat, in the second year of the reign, on the night when the *holi* of the Hindus is burnt, a certain Hindu, between whose house and the house of some Musulmans there was a courtyard common to both houses, prepared to burn the *holi* in front of his house ; but the Musulmans prevented him. The Hindu went to Daud Khan, who frequently favoured the infidels, and argued that he had a right to do as he liked in his own house. After a good deal of talk and importunity, the right to burn the *holi* was allowed. Next day a Musulman, who dwelt opposite the house, desiring to give an entertainment in honour of the Prophet, brought a cow and slaughtered it there, on the ground that it was his own house. All the Hindus of the quarter assembled in a mob round the Musulmans, and the Musulmans, being unable to resist, went into their houses and hid themselves.

"The Hindus grew so bold and violent that they seized a lad of fourteen or fifteen years old, the son of a cow-butcher, and, according to the statement of one of the citizens who fell within their hands, they dragged the boy off and slaughtered him. The report and sight of this outrage drew the Musulmans together from all quarters ; the cry for a general disturbance was raised, and they were ready to do battle with the Hindus. A great concourse assembled, and among them several thousand Afghans, in the service of Daud Khan, eager to defend the honour of Islam, without caring to please their master. The Afghans of the suburbs and the inhabitants of the city assembled together in a great crowd, and went off with one accord to the house of the *Kazi*. The *Kazi* seeing the mob, hearing the disturbance, and thinking of the partiality of the Subadar, shut his door upon the people.

"Report says that upon a hint of the *Kazi* as to the conduct and partiality of Daud Khan towards the Hindus, the Musulmans set fire to the door of the *Kazi's* house, and began to burn the shops in the chauk and the houses of the Hindus. In the riot many shops were destroyed. They then went off with the intention of burning the house of Kapur Chand, a jeweller, and an active infidel, who took a leading part in this business, and was an acquaintance of Daud Khan. He got notice of their intention, and, with a number of matchlockmen whom he collected, he shut the gate of his ward of the town and showed fight. Numbers of Musulmans and Hindus were killed. The riot reached such a pitch that for three or four days all business and work in Ahmadabad was suspended. A large numb[illegible] of the leaders on both sides resolved to appeal [illegible] the Emperor. Daud Khan placed his own seal [illegible] the petition of Kapur Chand, and the *Kazi* [illegible] and other officials having certified to the violen[illegible] of the Musulmans, it was sent to Delhi. Sha[illegible] 'Abdul Aziz (and other Musulmans) went in pe[illegible] to Court."

The Second Riot, Kashmir, about 1720

The second incident, which occurred in Kash[illegible] in about 1720, is more in the nature of a regu[illegible] orthodox Muslim rebellion under a petty chief th[illegible] an ordinary street riot. 'Abdu-n Nabi Kashmiri ha[illegible] long grudge against the Hindus. He is an ortho[illegible] Muslim to the core, an extreme bigot. He wa[illegible] Hindus to remain as perfect slaves and pariahs. B[illegible] the Mughal imperial policy is otherwise. Since th[illegible] abolition of *jizya* by Farrukhsiyyar, he himself ha[illegible] again re-imposed it in 1717, but his short-lived su[illegible] cessor Rafi-uddarjat had again abolished it in 17[illegible] In September of the same year, after Muhamm[illegible] Shah had ascended the throne, he again levied *jiz*[illegible] but next year he himself abandoned it. All this show[illegible] the extreme instability of the imperial administrati[illegible] and policy at Delhi. Orthodox Muslim, unortho[illegible] Muslim and Hindu influences alternately act upon th[illegible] imperial policy and bring forth changes every now a[illegible] then. After 1719, *jizya* was never again re-introduce[illegible] This shows that orthodox Muslim hold was waning [illegible] the imperial headquarters. 'Abdu-n Nabi Kashmiri, [illegible] his extreme desperation born of frustration, comes o[illegible] openly with his gang of fanatics, overpowers the u[illegible] orthodox Muslim Deputy Subadar of Kashmir, M[illegible] Ahmad Khan, and for some time rules supreme at th[illegible] city inflicting all sorts of losses and injuries. a[illegible] indignities upon the Hindus as well as upon the u[illegible] orthodox Muslims and even killing them. The impe[illegible] re-inforcement soon arrives and brings the offenders [illegible] book, their leader being tactfully and cruelly m[illegible] dered.

Khafi Khan's description of the event runs [illegible] follows :*

"Mahbub Khan, otherwise called 'Abdu-n N[illegible] Kashmiri, had a long-standing quarrel against [illegible] Hindus in Kashmir. He had gathered round h[illegible] many restless Muhammadans, with whom he w[illegible] to the deputy of the Subadar and to the Kazi [illegible] presenting certain legal opinions, he demanded [illegible] the Hindus should be interdicted from riding [illegible] horses, from wearing coats (*jama*), from putting [illegible] turbans and armour (*chira o yarak*), from going [illegible] for excursions in the fields and gardens, and fr[illegible] bathing on certain days. Upon this matter he w[illegible] very virulent. The officials, in answer, said th[illegible] they would act upon the rules laid down by [illegible] Emperor, and by the chief lawyers, in respect of [illegible] treatment of *Zimmis* (protected unbeliev[illegible] throughout the provinces of the Empire. Mah[illegible] Khan was greatly offended, and, being supported [illegible]

* Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, as told by its own historians, (London 1867-77), Vol. 7, pp. 454-6.

* Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, as told by its own historians, (London 1867-77), pp. 492-5.

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a party of Musulmans, he annoyed and insulted Hindus wherever he met them. A Hindu could not pass through any market or street without being subjected to indignity.

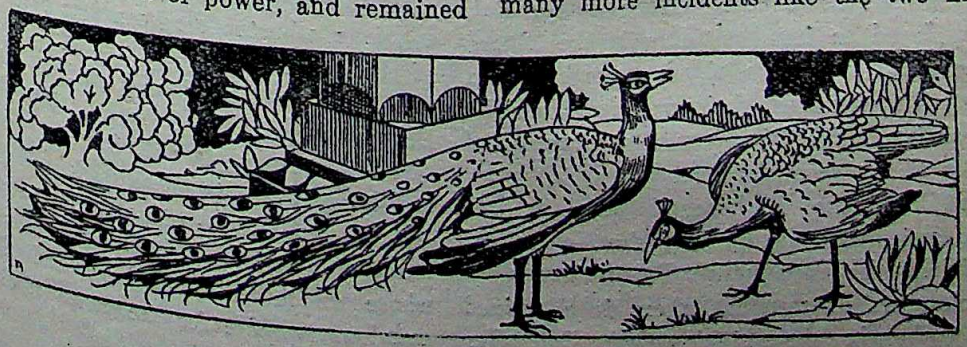
"One day Majlis Rai, a respected Hindu of Kashmir, went out with a party to ramble in the fields and gardens, and they feasted Brahmans. Mahbub Khan collected ten or twelve thousand Musulmans, came upon them unawares, and began to beat, bind and kill them. Majlis Rai escaped, fled with some others to Ahmad Khan. Mahbub Khan, with all his followers went to the house of Majlis Rai and the Hindu quarter, and began to plunder and fire the houses. The Hindus and Musulmans who interfered to prevent this were killed and wounded. After that they proceeded to the house of Mir Ahmad Khan, where they set to work beating, throwing stones and bricks, and shooting arrows and bullets. Every man they found they detained and subjected to various indignities. Some they killed, others they wounded and plundered. Mir Ahmad Khan for a day and night was unable to drive them from his house or to stop their violence, but had to employ many artifices to escape from them. Next day he got together a force, and, with Mir Shahur Khan Bakhshi and other officials, they took horse and went against Mahbub Khan. The rioters collected, as on the preceding day, and resisted Ahmad Khan. A party got in his rear and burnt the bridge over which he had crossed. They set fire to both sides of the street through which he had passed, and from in front and from the roofs and walls of the houses they discharged arrows and muskets and cast stones and bricks. Women and children flung filth, and dirt, and whatever they could lay hands on. A fierce fight continued in which . . . and several others were killed or wounded. Mir Ahmad Khan was in a great strait, for he could neither retire nor advance ; so he was obliged to ask for mercy, and escaped from his dangerous position amid volleys of gibes and insults.

"Mahbub Khan proceeded to the Hindu quarter, and burnt and gutted the houses which remained. Again he proceeded to the house of Mir Ahmad Khan, and dragged out of it with insult Majlis Rai and a number of other persons who had taken refuge there. He and his followers cut off their ears and noses, circumcised them, and in some instances cut off the organ of generation. Another day they went tumultously to the great mosque, degraded Mir Ahmad Khan from his office of deputy of the *Subadar*, and, having given the prime cause of the disturbance the title of Dindar Khan, they appointed him to act as ruler of Musulmans, and to enforce the commands of the law and the decisions of the Kazis until a new Deputy Subadar should come from the Court. For five months Mir Ahmad Khan was deprived of power, and remained in retirement. Dindar Khan acted as ruler, and, taking his seat in the mosque, discharged the government business.

"Upon intelligence of this outbreak reaching Court, Mumin Khan was sent to act as deputy of Inayatullah Khan, the Subadar. . . . At the end of Shawwal he halted three *kos* from Kashmir. Mahbub Khan was ashamed of his unrighteous deeds. So he went to Khwaja Abdullah, who was highly respected in Kashmir, and begged him to go out with a number of the principal and most respectable Muhammadans to meet the new deputy, and bring him into the city with honour. . . . Khwaja Khan Abdullah advised him in a friendly way to go to Mir Shahur Khan Bakhshi, and apologise for what had passed. If he did so, they would go out with him to meet the deputy. In accordance with his advice, Mahbub Khan went to the house of Shahur Khan, and having made a statement to him, rose to depart, alleging he had some business to attend to. The Bakshi, acting on the Khwaja's advice, had called a number of the people from the Charbeli and Kahkaran quarters of the city, and concealed them about his house. They watched for Mahbub Khan, and fell upon him unawares. First, before his eyes, they ripped up the bellies of his two young boys, who always accompanied him, and they killed him with great cruelty.

"Next day the Musulmans went to the Charbeli quarter, to exact retaliation for blood. This quarter was inhabited by *Shi'as*. There they began to beat, to bind, to kill, and to burn the houses. For two days the fight was kept up, but the assailants then prevailed. Two or three thousand people who were in that quarter, including a large number of Mughal travellers, were killed with their wives and families. Property to the value of *lacs* was plundered, and the war raged for two or three days. It is impossible to commit to writing all that I have heard about this outbreak. After this destruction, the rioters went to the houses of the Kazi and the Bakhshi. Shahur Khan concealed himself and the Kazi escaped in disguise. They pulled down the Kazi's house to the foundations, and carried the bricks of it away in their hands. Mumin Khan, after entering the city, sent Mir Ahmad Khan under one escort to Imanabad, and then had to take severe measures with the people of Kashmir."

In this second riot described above unorthodox and Shiah Musalmans have become the objects of orthodox Sunni Muslims' vandalism quite as much as Hindus. Shiah-Sunni quarrel was a much more living reality in early days than now. But, Hindu-Muslim riots among ordinary villagers and townsfolk, it appears, were much less known in those days than now. The available records of those days do not furnish us many more incidents like the two narrated above.



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CONGRESS SEVIKA DAL

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By MANI N. DESAI, B.A.

It has been a common, though sometimes mistaken belief, that women in India have always remained behind their men-folk, confined to hearth and home. The part taken by women in the struggle for freedom pertains to so recent a history that it is not necessary for me to refer to it in details here. However, I propose to deal with one aspect of women's movement, namely, the volunteer movement in this brief survey. In the last phase of freedom, Bombayites saw volunteers in their true colours. On the morning of the memorable 9th August, they bravely faced the clouds of the tear gas. Many of them fainted, but they did not retreat. Police sergeants malhandled volunteers but still they resisted till they were forcibly removed to jail. On the dawn of independence, to which theirs is not a meagre contribution, an article narrating the activities of the Seva Dal of Bombay would not be out of tune but very appropriate.

We find two qualities in human beings, one is that of leadership, and the other that of following.

Years back the Sevika Dal came into existence under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. It had behind it the indomitable spirit of Miss Sofia Somji, a girl hardly eighteen in age, daughter of a well-known Attorney. She had in her the quality of a leader from her childhood. One would be surprised to know that the Sevika Dal was started with four girls on its roll only. It was Sofia's untiring efforts and unwanting zeal that have brought it to its present pre-eminent state. Her everyday new activities have captured the minds of the public, specially of women of the Metropolis of West India.

The civil disobedience movements of the last several years have awakened the sense of duty, civic and political consciousness among men, women and children all alike in India. They have come to fully realise their duties to their nation during the transition period. A call divine came from Mahatma Gandhi that women should stand shoulder to shoulder with men in the service of their motherland. Their duties to their country are no less pious than that of men. That call inspired women to take part in the national struggle for freedom. They resolved to follow the brave warrior-women of ancient India: and in doing so hundreds of women courted imprisonment, leaving behind their small babies, husbands and needy parents. They never for a moment thought of their comforts, their happy home-life.

Of all the sisters, the G.O.C. of the Sevika Dal, Sofia Khan has played an important role in the history of freedom. She with her batches of volunteers had been many a time to jail to throw off their shoulders the yoke of British Imperialism. The following is a summary of her great work in the cause of freedom.

The Sevika Dal is the fundamental unit. It was divided into two main parts namely, (*a*) the Volunteers' Department and (*b*) the Constructive Department.

For the Volunteers' Department, there is a trained officer head who looks after the activities of the Dal. Her duties are to organise the training centres and to impart lessons in their duties and responsibilities. This department is again divided into three sections.

(1) The Sevikas of whom there are seven hundred (2) Kumarikas to-day three hundred in number and Balikas two hundred and seventy-six. This is the present strength of the Dal.

The Dal has seven branches in the city, one for each Municipal Ward under the direction of a ward officer, who in turn takes his instructions from the Volunteer department.

Sevikas from all the centres are called to the Head quarters (the Congress House) whenever there are special functions such as meetings, rallies, flag salutations and the like. Training is imparted to the volunteers in Lezim, Lazim, Free-hand drill, use of daggers, Band, etc.

It is rather difficult to imagine what hard work had to put in to raise the strength of the Dal to its present one. It was by no means an easy task but her tremendous zeal and kind nature succeeded in attracting a great number of women and girls to the Dal.

Constructive Department

The main work of this department is to carry out the constructive programme of the Congress, such as Khadi, literacy campaign, social uplift and specially the uplift of the backward classes. For these different activities, many centres have been opened by the Dal. General different batches of the Sevikas go to the quarters of the backward classes and bring to their attention the insanitary conditions of their houses and surroundings. Not only this, but if they come across the sick among them they are supposed to make arrangements to remove them to hospitals or to consult some qualified medical men to make provision for their treatment.

To remove the inferiority complex among many backward classes, they have opened a mission school at the Bombay centre. To this school are admitted children of all classes without distinction of class or creed. This is altogether a novel experiment by the Sevika Dal.

It is a matter of pride that the Sevika Dal is making progress day by day in its activities. In that way it seems to be an ideal organisation for all India.

Now as independence has been obtained by the country the foremost task before the Dal is to see that the Indian Union is developed into an ideal State. It should see that every individual in India is literate. Secondly, the idea of co-operation should be instilled into the minds of everyone, whereby they can face even the strongest blows of the social life of the country.

There is a number of varied activities of the Sevika Dal which cannot be brought into a single compass in this brief survey. It will, however, be seen that the credit and honour of this noble work goes to sister Sofia Somji —now Sofia Khan,—daughter-in-law of Dr. Khan Sahib the erstwhile Premier of the N.-W.F. Province, whose undoubted enthusiasm, indomitable will and tremendous sacrifice for the cause of the Dal it would have been what it is to-day.

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NEED FOR NURSERY SCHOOLS IN INDIA

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By Dr. M. HAFIZ SYED, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
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During the last fifty years or more education has made tremendous strides in so many ways. The number of schools, colleges and recently of universities has considerably increased, yet one often hears that there is a general lack of discipline amongst students and the effect of education in the lives of a large number of young men is not what it should be. Most of them have learnt to cram and pass their examinations somehow or other. They have had no training in self-control, self-adjustment and independence of thought. They may be treated as mere literate and not educated in the true sense of the word. If we examine the present trend of education in our country calmly and critically, we shall discover that the true cause of all our trouble is the lack of sound foundation of education in almost every province. We treat our little children lightly and indifferently, we engage no governess or mistress to look after them intelligently. We attach very little importance to their early education and formation of the right kind of habits. It is a psychological truism to say that whatever right or wrong impression is made on the mind of a child in his early age sticks to him through life. The habits of neatness, tidiness, careful handling of domestic vessels, looking after their own persons and attending to their daily duties consciously and with a sense of responsibility, are not cultivated in them.

Parents are mostly to be blamed for their negligence. They do not realize as educated persons what their duties and responsibilities are to their own little ones. They do not know how the children are to be brought up and what kind of treatment has to be meted out to them from their infancy. Even some of our mothers in our country do not know how to bring up a child or to look after its psychological needs. There are many well-to-do women who have no time, so to say, to attend to their babies who are left in the charge of ordinary and, in many cases, ignorant nurses. Thus these children imitate the habits of their governesses more than those of their parents. Now, in order to put an end to these drawbacks and defects in western countries, more especially in England, the private agencies and the Government have encouraged a new system of education called the Nursery School wherein they make provision for the proper upbringing of children from the age of two or three to five. Skilled and trained teachers are put in charge of these children who receive careful attention at the hands of their school-mistresses.

Nursery School System

In the following lines a short account of the system and working of a nursery school is given, to give the readers an idea of how a school of this new type is run in foreign countries and how we can modify or adapt them to meet our requirements in this country.

The nursery school is becoming a familiar term and the movement to establish it, is making a steady progress in various parts of England. In order to understand its significance, however, it should be remembered that it stands for something larger than itself and that is the provision of the right environment and training for the little child during the period which extends from the time when the child can walk and talk to the time when he is ready to begin school life in the ordinary sense, roughly speaking, between the age of two and that of five or six years.

During this period the child may spend all his time at home, or he may spend some of it in an institution called a Nursery School; but in either case the problem of his care, proper surroundings and training must be considered indivisible if it is to be effective. Thus nursery school education—which simply means education appropriate to a particular stage of development—may be given at home without the aid of the Nursery School; on the other hand, there are but few homes where there are little children under five, that do not need, consciously or unconsciously, the help of a nursery school. The period between babyhood and school life remained relatively unnoticed in the past. Somehow or other its critical importance for future sound development has been missed by the family, by the organisers of medical inspection, by the psychologist and by the educator.

It is true that practically all that the Nursery School has to contribute or promise today is to be found in the teachings of Froebal: but as a matter of fact the Kindergarten Movement, as years have gone on, has tended to give far more attention to the later rather than to the earlier years of the period for which it stands and the all-important happenings of the years succeeding the second birth-day, when the child emerges from babyhood, have only recently attracted the serious attention of doctors, psychologists, parents and educators to any noticeable degree. What justification is there for this new interest in this very early period of life, and what has brought about the demand for Nursery Schools as an integral part of our national system of education? The answer to the first of these questions comes from more sources than one. In the first place, the last 40 years has seen a gradual awakening of the conscience of the community with regard to the high rate of mortality of babies and young children and the large percentage of physical and mental defects in those who survive. These troubles are allowed to arise through a faulty home environment. Assuming a certain standard of favourable heredity, the laying of a sound foundation of health in any individual requires, as elementary conditions, an environment which provides plenty of activity in fresh air and sunlight, a regular simple life, proper food and sufficient sleep. But these elementary conditions have been denied to a large percentage of English children, through the evils of overcrowding, the lack of education for parenthood and the rapid increase of married women in industry.

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As soon as the medical inspection of school children established the fact that a large proportion of them started on their school careers already weakened by serious physical handicaps which were nevertheless largely preventable, it could only be a matter of time before the country resolved to tackle and overcome so great a natural weakness. It took over ten years before a Nursery School —as the one concrete method of meeting the problem—was given its place at the foundation of their national system of education and meanwhile the urgency of the question of the proper care and training of the children of pre-school age was reinforced by considerations other than those of physical health.

Nursery School Objects

Every 'nursery school' sets itself to secure certain definite objects which may be outlined as follows:

(1) To provide healthy external conditions for the children, *viz.*, light, sun-shine, space and fresh air.

(2) To organize a healthy regular life for the children as well as continuous medical supervision.

(3) To assist each child to form for himself wholesome personal habits.

(4) To give opportunity for the exercise of imagination and of development of many interests, as well as skill of various kinds.

(5) To give experience of community life on a small scale, where children of similar as well as varying ages work and play with one another day by day.

(6) To achieve a real unity the home life.

Education by experience is the only true description of Nursery School education, for formal instruction has no place in it. On the other hand, every movement of the day does or should bring education in the best sense. What books and laboratories are to the adolescent, experience is to the little child. And the Nursery School strives to give him the experience which is most worthwhile at this time of his life. As a means of giving the most helpful experience, the material environment of the children becomes a very important matter, although it must always be considered second in importance to the human environment—the other children and the grown-up helpers. Relatively to later stages of education, the material environment is more important for the child of nursery school age, because to use his senses, to explore is then very strong. The joy in doing anything and everything to the limit of his power and his skill is overmastering, and hence the richness of the opportunity offered to the child by his environment, becomes to a large extent the measure of his progress. Every part of the environment offered by a Nursery School is therefore carefully thought out, and made to correspond as closely as possible to the child's own capacities and interests. The rooms into which he is introduced attract him at once by their brightness and freshness, the colour of the pictures and the toys, the daintiness of all that is placed in the rooms for use. He does not find in the Nursery School unwieldy furniture, too big and heavy for him to move. On the contrary, there are fascinating little chairs of just the right size for himself, there are light tables which even the little child can move, there are coloured cups with saucers and plates on the well within his reach. The cupboards are on the and their doors and their handles are easily Inside, the toys are set out side by side so that the easily seen and obtained . There is free access garden where besides usual green things are steps ladders or slides inviting experiment. All these are the charactertistics of the nursery school play rooms gardens, but the cloak rooms are no less fitted up on the same principle namely, that of a needs. The peg provided for the children's clothes within the reach of each child, even though he may be two years old and his washing flannel, his tooth brush mug and his towel are placed similarly in his own labelled with some sign he can understand—such picture of a dog or a rabbit. The washing basin low and often provided with small jugs which can carry full of water. Very important also is the ly fitted laboratory suitable for a child's independent The purpose of these detailed arrangements is clear is to provide a material environment which the child can explore and learn to master for himself, giving him a means of learning the use of things skill in handling them. The daily needs and interests the little child offer abundant motive power to make of such an environment to the utmost, eagerly and co ly, and thus a whole system of desirable habits is and a way of life full of fruitful possibilities ad Some of the results most frequently noticed are a wo ful early growth of self-reliance and surprising de ment of skill and general intelligence in little who form the Nursery School. The year between second and third birthday is perhaps the most striking in this respect. It is during this year that initiative most fitting, the way of life most readily assimilated habits most rapidly formed.

Every nursery school worker can record striking dence of the influence of the nursery school life intelligence of the two years old child. For example little boy very near his second birthday split some on the floor, while sitting at a table with other during dinner. No one noticed this but himself observer some distance away. After contemplating split milk for a moment or two a broad smile over his face. He got up from his chair, staggered steadily out of the room, found his way into the seized a mop with a long handle, carried it with able difficulty back across the playroom, mopped the split milk, carried the mop back into the while returning to his own place at the table, sat and continued his dinner. This little event, by no unusual in type, serves to show us how a carefully environment, the use of which is within the small comprehension and physical power, together with a routine of living and freedom to get independent serves to develop memory and judgment, skill hand, self-reliance, and even the sense of what

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proper behaviour in a community. Such development is often impossible at home, partly because the home environment is planned for grown-up people, partly because children so young are not easily given the chance to act independently but are supposed to need personal services at almost every moment.

An essential feature of the proper environment of the nursery school is the garden, for this is the period of childhood when nature makes most vivid impressions on the mind and feelings; it is the life of plants and animals that attracts the deepest concentration of a little child, and he is busy incessantly with active observation of whatever he can find living and growing about him. No nature lessons are needed but contact with nature is imperative and opportunity for it must be made.

Life Within a Nursery School

Let us now consider further the life within a Nursery School. Nursery School workers and helpers are distinguished by their special love of little children; their knowledge of the laws of health and their study of the best educational influence for early childhood. Accordingly, we find in good Nursery Schools an atmosphere of freedom and responsive happiness, completely lacking in formality, a wholesome daily routine, and a recognition that though there are no 'lessons' all that happens is educational both in intention and practice. Before the morning prayer and hymn, the children take part in arranging flowers, polishing handles, feeding pets, and all general preparations necessary in the beginning of the morning. This gives opportunity to encourage the shy backward child to forget himself in active work, and give out-let to the bursting energy of the opposite type. Every one can find something to do that needs doing, and the right kind of stimulus to the use of language is given. The order of the nursery school should be as natural and unforced as possible; not stereotyped but varied. At the same time the right balance between activity and repose should be preserved.

However varied may be the way that the time in each morning is spent, the dinner hour and the sleeping hour are kept with unfailing regularity. Generally at a quarter before noon, the children put their toys away and get ready for dinner. Some help to lay the tables with cloths or mats, spoons and forks, not forgetting to set a vase of flowers on each table. Every child washes his hands before taking food. When all is ready, grace is sung; and the children sit round the tables in all eagerness to begin. Certain children are allowed to carry round the plates of steaming food, some even serve from the dish. The very joy with which a healthy child takes his food serves to quicken his response to all the social training which orderly and courteous procedure involves. Many onlookers marvel to see that the very youngest children subordinate their appetites and readily acquire necessary skill with spoon and fork in response to the demands of social behaviour. There is ample evidence that even children so young appreciate not only the good dinner but the way in which it is conducted in a Nursery School.

The success of nursery school dinner is no slight test of a nursery school teacher's skill, good judgment and happy influence from an educational point of view, she finds it a highly valuable opportunity to be most carefully used. The hour of sleep which follows dinner and free play is an essential feature of a wholesome daily routine for children under six years of age. The incessant activities of the senses, the perpetual bodily movement of a healthy child carry with them the need for a period of complete rest in the middle of the day. Light stretcher beds each with its blankets and small pillows when desired are put up every day in the open air, or in a dark room and the habit of regular sleep carefully fostered. It lies with the teacher to suggest by her manner and action quiet and repose at the time.

The period of the afternoon is usually filled with games or singing or constructive occupations for the older children before the time comes for a cup of milk and the run for home.

Such are some of the characteristics of the daily life in a nursery school in all essentials so like a good home, and yet offering certain conditions helpful to the best kind of development often impossible even in a good home.

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A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE CALCUTTA RENT ORDINANCE, 1946

(Bengal Ordinance No. V of 1946)

By AMARENDRA NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A., M.L.

The Calcutta Rent Ordinance, 1946, is the successor of the Calcutta House Rent Control Order, 1943. The Calcutta House Rent Control Order was an instance of executive act pure and simple and the procedure laid down in the order was therefore an executive procedure as distinguished from judicial procedure. The Controller and the Appellate authorities appointed under the order acted therefore not as court but as executive officers. But the Calcutta Rent Ordinance which succeeded the Calcutta House Rent Control Order is not an executive act pure and simple. The preamble shews that the ordinance was promulgated by the Governor as the Bengal Legislature was not in session and so it is the forerunner of a full-fledged Rent Act which is so needed now in Calcutta.

Purpose of the Ordinance

The preamble shews that the purpose of the ordinance is to make special provision for the control of rents in Calcutta in the public interest. There has been a continuous influx of people in this great city since the beginning of the second World War with the result that the city was over-populated. Now that the major portion

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of East Bengal has been a part of the Pakistan State, many people of East Bengal have been migrating to West Bengal as a result of which Calcutta has to make shelter for many more people. The problem of over-population therefore in Calcutta exists and it is apprehended that it will exist for some time more to come. So, a rent act will be necessary for this city which has the prospect of becoming one of the greatest and best cities of the world. The purpose of the Ordinance is therefore mainly to control rents in Calcutta. It is to be seen, how far this Ordinance has been successful in controlling rents. Needless to say that there are two parties or two classes of people interested in this matter—the Landlord and the Tenant. The interests of both the classes must be protected if the Ordinance is to be a successful one. The division of the people must not be confused with the division of people into capitalists and the labourers for landlords are not always capitalists as are sometimes wrongly thought of. All landlords are not capitalists although some of them are so. A person having no other income besides the rent of his house cannot be classed as a capitalist. The control of rent has, therefore, nothing to do with the relation of the capitalists with the labourers. If one dispassionately reviews the problem of the rent control from this angle of vision then one can realise that the interest of the landlord is as much important as the interest of the tenant. Unfortunately, however, a vague and misty idea of socialism is in the air and everybody is breathing that air with the result that in every talk of ours we speak of socialism and communism without knowing the real significance of these two terms. This is not an article on socialism and so I am not going to dilate upon the above subject. What I drive at is that rent control problem has nothing to do with socialism or with the strained relation of the capitalists with the labourers. It is purely a social necessity at the present moment because the demand of house is more than the supply for reasons I have already stated. When demand exceeds supply, the persons who supply get the upper hand and greed being a human instinct, goads them to get more profit from the supply. The purpose of the Rent Control Ordinance is to put an effective check upon this greed so that landlords may not make an undue gain over the tenants. At the same time, it must be seen that tenants may not unnecessarily harass the landlords under the cloak of this Ordinance. The Ordinance, therefore, if it is to be a perfect law, must look after the interest of the landlord and the tenant and therein lies the test of perfection of this law. If that aim is achieved it may be said that it has followed the utilitarian theory of Bentham and has done the greatest good of the greatest number.

Looking at the Calcutta Rent Ordinance, 1946 as it is and being in close touch with the working of this Ordinance for a short period, I can unhesitatingly assert that the Ordinance has not fulfilled the needs of tenants nor has it been able to safeguard the interest of the landlords with the result that both parties have been clamouring against this piece of legislation. In fact this Ordinance has not stood the test of utilitarian theory. I shall [illegible] marily discuss the defects of this Ordinance and [illegible] to show how it can be improved upon, for my cri[illegible] is not a destructive one but for a better construction of [illegible] law.

The most glaring defect of this Ordinance that [illegible] large before one is the frivolous deposit that is daily [illegible] by the tenants in the Rent Control Office, Reserve [illegible] of India, the Collectorate and by Money Order. U[illegible] the law (Sec. 16 of the Ordinance) deposit of rent by [illegible] tenant is to be made on refusal of the landlord to a[illegible] the rent. At present, I find that anybody and every[illegible] comes and without the permission of the Rent Con[illegible] deposits the rent. The result is the huge accumulati[illegible] money of the landlords who are now eager to get [illegible] dues. I had talk with many landlords of Calcutta, a[illegible] whom are ready to get their rent if legally tendered [illegible] the tenants do not care to tender so. Sec. 16 of [illegible] Ordinance laid down that the tenants shall be entitle[illegible] deposit the rent only when the landlord refuses to a[illegible] the rent tendered to him and shall go on depositing u[illegible] the landlord signifies by notice in writing his willing[illegible] to accept any subsequent rent. In my opinion even [illegible] is redundant. If the tenants tender legal and fixed r[illegible] to the landlord by money order in time and if the l[illegible] lord refuses to accept the sum, the latter is not en[illegible] to get the rent unless and until he signifies by notic[illegible] writing his willingness to accept the rent and as soo[illegible] he signifies his willingness the tenant shall be liable [illegible] pay the amount of rent in monthly instalments to be f[illegible] by Court. If this is done the tenant should not be tre[illegible] as a defaulter and he should not be ejected. At pre[illegible] the deposit is made so that the tenant may not be lo[illegible] upon as a defaulter. But if the tenant can prove to [illegible] satisfaction of the Rent Controller that he tendered [illegible] legal and fixed rent to the landlord, then there would [illegible] no necessity of any deposit. This would save both [illegible] landlord and tenant from unnecessary harassment. [illegible] purpose of the Ordinance is to control rent and [illegible] disburse rent. But unfortunately one of the main fun[illegible] or rather the main function of the Ordinance at pre[illegible] has been to disburse rent to respective landlords, ca[illegible] innumerable troubles to the landlords and the te[illegible] The lessee owes it to the lessor that the former would [illegible] rent to the lessor or his agent at proper time and [illegible] This is one of the salutary provisions of the Transfe[illegible] Property Act (Sec. 108, Cl. 1). The proper plac[illegible] payment of rent is the residence or the collection [illegible] of the lessor and the proper time is the stipulated tim[illegible] if the time is not stipulated it will be determined a[illegible] to the local usage. So the onus lies heavily upo[illegible] lessee to prove that he tendered the legal fixed rent [illegible] landlord in proper place and time. If he can disch[illegible] the onus, the tenants must not be regarded as a defa[illegible] and he has no ability to deposit the rent in the Rent [illegible] troller's office or in any other office to be fixed by [illegible] Rent Controller. The business of the Rent Contro[illegible] to fix the rent and the standard rent of houses in the [illegible]

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But at present this office has been an instrument of harassment in the hands of some tenants who are allowed to deposit rent freely in this office without rhyme or reason. At present a check has been put upon the tenants and they are not allowed to deposit rent without previously showing that the landlords refused to accept the rent from the tenants.

Secondly, it appears that although *selami* has been forbidden in law, the landlords have been publicly accepting huge amount of *selami* without the least hesitation. However stringent the law may be, acceptance of *selami* cannot be stopped unless the Government undertakes itself the responsibility of letting the house at Calcutta through some honest officer. If the lease takes place under the direct supervision of the Government then and then only *selami* can be stopped.

Thirdly, it is incomprehensible why under the Ordinance the permission of the Rent Controller should at first be obtained for ejectment in certain cases and then a separate ejectment suit should be filed in a court for ejecting the tenant. If the Rent Ordinance or the Rent Act, which is expected to be put in the Statute Book, apply to all cases of ejectment, a court of justice can well consider the *pros* and *cons* and pass ejectment order without the previous permission of the Rent Controller. This double procedure delay the matter and causes unnecessary expense and harassment to the public. The Rent Controller may be employed for controlling rent and doing all other functions but there is practically no use in vesting him with the power for granting permission, for any court of justice may be safely entrusted with this function. The permission of the executive was necessary in times of war for various reasons. But now that the war has ended there is no such necesssity.

Fourthly, there are sub-tenants whose condition has not been considered in this Ordinance. The deplorable condition of these sub-tenants should be carefully considered and relief should be given to them in the succeeding law.

Fifthly, it may be said that the definition of "standard rent" in the Ordinance has not been very satisfactory. The definition is not only vague but the addition of 10 per cent only is not very just. Considering the inflation on all sides it would not be very unfair if an addition of 20 per cent is allowed in cases of rent up to Rs. 200 and 15 per cent in other cases.

Thus there are various aspects in this Ordinance which should be critically examined before the new law is placed on the Statute Book.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE FRAGRANCE OF INDIA : *By Louis Revel. Translated from the original French by Doris Potter. Kitabistan, Allahabad. 1946. Pp. 238. Price Rs. 7-8.*

The book was written during 1938-39, but its publication deferred till 1946. Its subsidiary title "Landmarks for the World of Tomorrow," shows that the writer has a robust faith in the mission of India for the regeneration of mankind. The "eternal and unerring path to real happiness" will then lie through the temples and sanctuaries of South India, the Indian crowds threading their way through India's great routes, and the celebrated temples which will lift the soul of future humanity to the hills where only the secret of life is to be had.

The trip from Genoa to Bombay is described in the form of diary jottings. Then follows an account of the author's reactions to the temples he has visited, and it is registered with feeling and taste. Chidambaram, Gomateswar, Somanathapura, are names to conjure with. They bring to the mind a train of romantic associations. Hindu philosophy and ritual have also no doubt made a profound impression on the writer, whose mind is evidently turned to things spiritual. It is a grateful record of India's contribution to the spiritual content of the world, envisaged through her temples, tradition and the people who inhabit this country. The book will be liked by its readers.

P. R. Sen

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES IN MODERN INDIAN EDUCATION : *By H. V. Hampton, M.A., Formerly Member of the Indian Educational Service and Principal and Professor of Education, Secondary Training College, Bombay. Oxford University Press. Pp. viii + 256. Price Rs. 6.*

The beginnings of English Education were fraught with immense possibilities for India. The results of the contact of the East with the science, arts and culture of the West have been varied and far-reaching. In short, the regeneration of modern India owes a great deal to the inflow of Western ideas through the channels of English education. The credit for the foundation of such education does not go wholly to the Government then shaping the destinies of the people but to enterprising individuals—Britishers and Indians—of far-sight and integrity.

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The present volume deals with the educational activities of eight pioneers of modern education in our country —Duff and Hare, Elphinstone and Munro, Grant and Thomason, Ram Mohun Roy and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan— and throws a flood of light on the problems then facing them and their endeavours to attain their obejctives. The aim of the learned author is 'to focus attention on certain outstanding men who devoted much thought to the educational problems of their day . . . and have left a lasting impression on the educational system of the country.' The author's aim has been eminently successful so much so that the reader visualizes those torch-bearers of education—who were also heavily engaged in other public duties—burning with a zeal for the spread of education and solicitude for the welfare of the countrymen. The treatment of the lives is fairly exhaustive as well as refreshing. The most notable feature of the book, unlike any other on the subject, is that the author has brought in human factor in the story of educational progress: he has enlivened the narrative with touches of human interest as a result of which we come to know of the achievements of the educationists and administrators as also get pen-pictures of the makers of these achievements in lively and vivid colour. In the book man, the maker of history, has not been allowed to be buried beneath his deeds; he is seen actively busy with ideas, ideals, difficulties and achievements. It is an ode, so to say, to educationists and will be an asset to every student of the History of English Education in India.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

KASHMIR, PAST AND PRESENT: (in two parts, Part I. 9-92, Part II. 1-78)): *By Gwasha Lal, B.A. Published by The Chronicle Publishing House, Kashmir, 1946. Price Rs. 10.*

Mr. Gwasha Lal's handy book in two parts does not deserve much comment. It is a noteworthy attempt at reconstructing local history. Kashmir is the home of Kalhana, the author of *Raj Tarangini*, the earliest historical treatise written in India. Yet Kashmir has no connected history of its own. The book under review attempts to fill a great need, but it presents the barest skeleton of Kashmirian political history.

N. B. ROY

A SECULAR STATE FOR INDIA: *By Dr. Lanka Sundaram. Rajkamal Publications, Delhi. Pages 114. Price Rs. 3.*

While India is going to have complete independence by the middle of the present year a book of this nature is of special help to the makers of future constitution of the country. Religion should be a personal matter with the citizen and the State should have nothing to do with it. Turkey under Kemal Ataturk showed the way to what extent an oriental country can be modernised and the other Islamic countries of the Near East are following the example. It was unfortunate that King Amanullah failed in Afghanistan.

Of all the countries India requires a secular State for the simple reason that it is a country where different religions are ever in conflict hampering the progress of the country. It must be regretted that when the welfare of the country necessitates establishment of a secular State in India, the Muslim League wanted Pakistan, *i.e.*, an Islamic theocratic State for a part of the country and this demand was conceded to avoid bloodshed and chaos. The present volume will be an interesting study for the students of current Indian politics.

A. B. DUTTA

RELIGION AND MODERN DOUBTS: *Swami Nirvedananda. Published by Model Publ... House, 2A, Shamacharan De Street, Calcutta. C... bound. Pp. 102. Price Rs. 3.*

The author, who is a learned monk of the R... krishna Mission, is already known for his th... provoking writings on religion. His books on Hi... and Education have been well received by the re... public. The book, under review, is a collection of s... excellent articles on Religion published throug... *Prabuddha Bharata* and other periodicals on di... occasions. The book is named after the main a... in which a unique assessment of religion is made... the light of modern thought.

The author carefully scrutinises the doubts ... assail the modern mind about religion, and ex... their hollowness and narrowness. He brings home ... vincingly to the moderners the indispensability of ... gion in the life of the individual and society ... peace and perfection and observes that it contri... substantially towards the establishment of amity ... harmony in social relations. While pointing out ... deeper meanings of religion and their bearings on ... individual and collective life the author shows ... that religion is neither unscientific, nor illogical ... pernicious in its effect, unless one makes the mi... of judging it by the results of its perversion. He m... bold to say that civilisation degenerates into sava... if it is not firmly founded on religion. The book ... with an inspiring and original poem on the visio... life from the religious point of view. A perusa... this book is sure to remove the doubts that prej... the modern minds against religion.

BHIKKU BRAHMARGH...

SRI RAMA: *By M. R. Sampatkumaran M.A. ... lished by G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. Pp. 82. P... Re. 1.*

The talented author's life of Sri Krishna was ... received by the press. This book, written in the s... way, gives a succinct but masterly study of Sri Rama ... the Ramayana. The life, divinity, character and teach... of Rama are studied in brief in separate chapters ... learned author observes comparatively in the preface ... Sri Rama taught more through example, Sri Krishna ... through precept. We are afraid such a comparison ... uncalled-for and uncharitable. He, however, draws ... lessons which the sublime life of the Divine Hero of ... great epic has for us all and shows that Sri Rama ... is a perfect illustration of a righteous life. Ideal... Rama's character is depicted at length in a vari... aspects with such vividness and impressiveness th... inspires the reader immediately.

In the Chapter on the composition of the Ram... the author discusses the views of Weber, Makhanla... Pargiter, Romesh Chandra Dutt and puts the d... the Ramayana in the 21st Century B.C. at the beg... of Indian History. Indian tradition too supports the ... While tracing the early origin of the worship of ... the author points out how the Buddhists and the ... have their own version of Rama. Jainism has ... a definite place to Rama among their sixty-three ... purushas or makers of history. The earliest ver... the Ramayana is found in the *Padma Purana* of ... enacharya. Ashwa Ghosh's *Buddha Charit* contai... mistakable traces of of the influence of the Rama...

The Chapter on Sri Rama in Indian Literature ... how the great epic, called by the poet as the Ra... Ganga issuing from the mountain of Valmiki and ... into the Ocean of Sri Rama. is without doubt the ... single influence in the whole range of literature in ... krit and other Indian languages. Dr. Kieth has ...

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remarked that as the men of letters of India drew deeply upon it so they found in it the models for ornaments of their style. In the Mahabharata, the Puranas, works of Bhasa, Kalidas, and Bhavabhuti, as well as Rajasekhara, Ramabhadra, Venkatanath and other later writers the story of Rama is told in various days. In this connection mention also should be made of the popular versions of the epic in Bengali, Kanarese, Hindi, Assamese, Guzarati and other modern Indian languages.

Every chapter of this little book reveals the author's profound knowledge of the Ramayana literature. Such learned and readable study of the Ramayana is indeed rare and should be perused by all students of Indian literature foreign or of this country.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE ASTROLOGICAL SELF-INSTRUCTOR: *By Prof. B. Suryanarain Rao (Tenth Edition). The Astrological Office. P. O. Basavangudi. (S. India). Price Rs. 4.*

Prof. Suryanarain Rao, the doyen of Indian astrologers, needs no introduction to those educated persons who are interested in the Science of Astrology. This top-ranking astrologer and savant is no more to day, but his valuable services to the cause of Astrology will never be forgotten by his countrymen. He was the first in India to present in the English language a comprehensive exposition of Hindu Astrology, nay, his untiring efforts are mainly responsible for the revival of Hindu Astrology in the modern age. He is the author of a good many astrological works amongst which the *Astrological Self-Instructor* has won immense popularity. It was first published in 1892. Though more than half a century has elapsed since its publication, its popularity is on the increase day by day and it is still rapidly passing through editions. The tenth edition *i.e.*, the edition under review, was published in 1945 after the death of the author. Mr. B. V. Raman, author's grandson and the reputed editor of the *Astrological Magazine* has made some improvement in the present edition by recasting some chapters and adding new materials, thereby enhancing the value of the book and making it indispensable for the students of Astrology. Mr. Suryanarain had great command over both English and Sanskrit languages and it is doubtful whether any other Astrologer in our country has been able to surpass him in the exposition of Astrological intricacies. The name of the present work indicates that it is intended mainly for the beginners. The book is written in such a simple style that anybody with some knowledge of the English language and a bit of common sense will, within a very short period of time, be able to learn the main principles of an intricate and difficult subject like Astrology, without the help of instructors.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

COMPLETE INCOME TAX READY RECKONER, 1947 (7th Edn.): *By R. C. Doodhmal, "Empire Terrace", Lamington Road, Bombay 7. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a very useful publication for those who have to pay income-tax. The calculations are correct; and the printing and get-up are nice.

J. M. DATTA

BENGALI

GEETA-BODH: *By Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Translated by Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh and Sri Kumar Chandra Jana. Orient Book Co., 9 Shamacharan De Street, Calcutta. 1947. Pp. xi+110. Price Re. 1 or As. 12.*

During his incarceration in 1930, Gandhiji wrote a simple commentary on the Geeta in Gujarati. This was translated by the authors into Bengali. The language is simple, plain and preserves the spirit and intention of the original.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HINDI

KAUTILYA ARTHASHASTRA: *By Pandit Devadatta Shastri "Virakta". Janani Karyalaya, Allahabad. Pp. 252. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a Hindi translation of only a part of the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya,—that classic in Statecraft. Its publication has been well timed, indeed, for to-day when once again, we are free to run the State in accordance with our own ideals, people need to be educated in the science and art of administration, even though Kautilya's objective would seem to have been efficiency rather than integrity of Government. The intelligent reader, however, will be able to sift what is conscientious and chaste from what is merely Machiavellian, that is, cunning and clever. The translator, it is hoped, will soon complete his Hindi rendering of the original. There is neither a proper Table of Contents nor an exhaustive Index, which are serious handicaps in the path of the student, desirous of pigeon-holing his knowledge of Kautilya's point-of-view in various matters.

G. M.

KUBJA SUNDARI: *By C. Rajagopalachari. Translated by Sm. Shanti Bhatnagar. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 197. Price Rs. 2.*

Few perhaps know that the veteran politician 'C. R.' has endeared himself as a progressive short-story writer to the Tamilians. The book under review is a collection of the Hindi-renderings of some of his short stories written originally in Tamil. The general dominating note in these stories is the portrayal of the unfortunate victims of untouchability and exposure of false social values. *Kubja Sundari*, which provides the title of the collection, is a story with a very subtle and homely humour, which takes the form of an agreeable noble comedy. We highly commend these stories to the readers.

M. S. SENGAR

MARATHI

ANKASHASTRA: *By Professor Mahadeva Ganesha Date. Available from the author at 90 Rambagh, Indore. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 5.*

The author is a well-known astropalmist, who has now for years carried on researches in the romance of Numbers, as these are involved in the constitution of things, in "coincidences" of events and achievements and in the impact of planetary influences and associations. The present publication is an intriguing study, in which skeleton and stiff figures are clothed with magic and meaning.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) HINDI SARKARNI SHIKSHAN YOJNA: *By V. M. Kothari. Paper cover. Pp. 46. Price As. 6.*

(2) RASHTRIYA MAHASABHA ANE VIDYARTHI-PRAVRATTI: *By M. P. Desai. Paper cover. Pp. 54. Price As. 6.*

(3) HINDUSTANI BAL KAHANIYAN: *By Maganbhai Desai. Paper cover. Pp. 38. Price As. 6.*

Published by the Navjivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1945.

Sargent's Scheme of Education is explained and commented upon in No. 1. Book No. 2 is intended as a guide to students in connection with Congress activities based on Gandhiji's suggestions and limitations laid down by him. No. 3 consists of several tales meant for juveniles, in the Hindi language, printed both in Balbodha and Urdu script. It is a step forward in Gandhiji's plan for a national language.

K. M. J.

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COTTON-SPINNING IN AFRICA

In Africa, "the takli" is used widely today to spin cotton. The Africans learned this method of spinning, many centuries ago, from the Arabs who had learned it from India.

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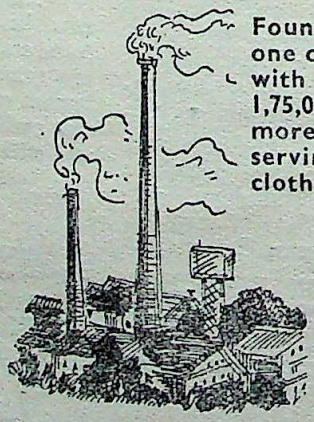

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Civil Liberties

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, draws a very hopeful prospect for the noble cause of liberty for the individual and the State :

Almost anybody anywhere in the world would agree to the principles we call 'civil liberties' once they were clearly explained. They represent such common desires that they meet almost instant acceptance. The right to speak one's mind freely, to associate with others in any enterprise, to read, write and publish on public questions, to listen to any radio propramme, to see any motion picture, to travel without restriction and to be protected from arbitrary interference with what one desires to do without violating the rights of others,—all these are such universal desires of all men and women that they hardly need justification.

Civil liberties as governmental guarantees of these desires are among the most highly controvesial issues in the world.

Hardly any government exists, even the most democratic, which does not curb these riphts in some way. Censorship of printed matter, radio and movies to protect public "morals" or to control "subversive political activities" marks every country in the world in some degree.

The right of association is limited by bans on "Fascist" organizations or on Communists or by restraints on trade unions. Travel is regulated by passports and visas, often arbitrarily denied because of political views.

If all this is true of democratic countries, it is of course perfectly obvious in dictatorships. No civil liberties can exist in a single-party State where the right of political opposition is denied. The Communist contention that Russia presents a superior form of democracy to the Western world is honest enough in regarding as democratic the complete State control of the economy for the welfare of the people. Economic liberty, which Communist States claim to have achieved, is impossible without political liberty, for the right to change the governing class is denied.

We may therefore consider civil liberties as part of the organization of democracy, and the essential part.

For, without freedom of speech, press and organization, no democracy exists. Other rights are important but secondary to the power of the sovereign people to change their governments. Freedom from racial and religious discrimination, equality of the sexes before the law, access to public education for all—these and other liberties, essential as they are, follow the primary right of the people to control their government.

We live in an era when democracy is struggling to expand.

It is the form of actual government in only a minority of the seventy-five nations of the world. The rest are dictatorships, colonial countries under alien rule, militarily occupied countries or democracies only in name.

The era of Western imperialism is going forever, and with it the most brutal and sweeping denials of civil liberties in history.

No record, not even that of the existing Communist dictatorships, equals the suppression which accompanied for several centuries the rule of the European nations over Asiatic and African subject peoples. And that suppression was dictated, paradoxically, chiefly by nations which professed democracy and practised it, but only at home—England, France, Belgium and Holland.

Even the United States, not to any such extent a colonial power, has been guilty of the same hypocrisy in governing some of its island possessions in the Pacific and the Caribbean. The dual standard arises from the concept of white men's superiority, based on the power of exploitation. What is good for white people, that concept holds, cannot be applied to inferior darker races, especially when profits are assured by holding them down.

These and other impulses to an expanding democracy find voice in the principles laid down in the United Charter. It is far in advance of any international declarations ever made in its recognition of the principles of civil liberty as applied to racial equality, minority rights, equality of the sexes and human freedoms generally. But when it comes to applying these principles vast obstacles arise. The first and most difficult is that the United Nations cannot interfere in the domestic affairs of member States—though, it is encouraging to note, that limitation appears to have been breached in the case of India's successful complaint against South Africa's violation of treaty rights in its treament of the Indian minority.

What cannot be done by intervention in the internal affairs of States may be accomplished by conventions between them.

The Commission on Human Rights, tackling the immense problems of international freedom of communication by press, radio and motion-pictures, is proposing an international agreement which those nations will sign who wish to adopt the recommended practices. Thus a beginning can be made toward overcoming censorships, restrictive taxation, bans on radio reception and bars to the free travel of journalists and newsreel men. An international conference to consider these and other aspects of freedom of communicaiton is now set for Geneva in March of 1948.

Any agreements reached for international freedom are bound to have internal effects in all signatory countries. It would be impossible, for example, for the United States to adhere to such a convention and to continue our present restrictions on the importation of motion-pictures and our censorship of foreign literature. Abolition of international censorships would necessarily result in abolishing domestic censorships.

But demands for even larger international recognition of human rights than communications have pushed the Human Rights Commission to the formulation of an all-inclusive international Bill of Rights, which is still in the

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early stages of discussion. The preliminary drafts cover all conceivable rights: those of speech, press and association, equality of the sexes and of races and religions before the law, guarantees of fair trials, freedom from arbitrary power, and the social and economic rights of work, social insurance, leisure and education. The International Labour Office over the years has succeeded, without compulsions of any sort, in winning recogitnion of fair labour standards, despite the failure of many countries to adopt these in law.

What I have said of the major projects of the United Nations for civil liberties also applies to the work of the Commissions on the Status of Women, to the Trusteeship Council and to UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization).

It is evident, of course, that the road to any such goal is blocked at present by the sharply differing ideas of freedom entertained by the so-called Western nations and those led by the Soviet Union. Since the Soviet Union and its satellites, as well as the Communists throughout the world, do not recognize civil liberties except as weapons of propaganda for their side, reconciliation with the democratic world upon this issue would appear to be highly improbable.

Without Russia and its friends, the democratic world can go ahead with setting its own house in order. We are far from practising what we profess.

This is manifestly a large order. It requires not only the abandonment of the dangerous tendencies of democratic countries to support the economic privileges of the propertied classes and to thwart the rise of labour to power but also popular forces committed to socialism or at least to a programme of nationalization and a managed economy.

There is some evidence that, however painful the process, the democracies are learning that capitalism and democracy are not synonymous. They have learned that imperialism and democracy cannot be reconciled. They have learned that democracy demands that women shall have full equality before the law. They have conceded political and economic power to the trade unions.

The democracies may yet be detached from their historic bondage to the propertied classes, not by grace of principle but by the force of popular pressures.

Civil liberties as the means for effecting change by democratic means have a primary claim on the concept of creating a united world. It cannot be united by dictatorship. We confront either war between the two worlds now facing each other or the ultimate triumph of the democratic world. We will not fail if the popular forces, now building greater power in most of the democracies, succeed in overcoming the resistance of the guardians of property and privilege. The basic struggle today for civil liberty is not therefore between the democracies and Communism but within the democracies themselves, between reaction and popular power.

In India, as in the United States and elsewhere, the issue is the same. It differs only in the degree of strength of the forces on the two sides.

—

Kashmir and UNO

The *New Democrat* (edited by K. Munshi) observes :

Some of the worst fears entertained by critics of reference of Kashmir to UNO seem to have been con by the latest developments at Lake Success. U. N. curity Council has ordered the setting up of a th nation mediation commission.

The Commission has been described as "the step towards a permanent settlement of the differe between the feuding dominions."

The Commission, it is stated, primarily meant to vestigate the Jammu and Kashmir question raised by P But other questions which Pakistan has raised th Mr. Zafrulla Khan may be referred to it, if necessary the Security Council. Mr. Zafrulla Khan's strateg detailing India's "crimes" against Pakistan as the b ground of Kashmir has thus to some extent succeed

The Indian delegate's efforts to keep the issue of gression clear from the ex-Federal Judge's irrelevan have failed, too. For clause (D) of the Security Co cil resolution reads: "The Commission shall perform f tions (investigatory and mediatory) in regard to the c situation set out in a letter from the Minister of Fo Affairs of Pakistan addressed to the Secretary-Gen dated Jan. 12, 1948 when the Security Council so direc

The Pakistan Foreign Minister's letter is a cata of allegations against the Indian Union ranging from g cide to cash balances which are as removed from issue in question as Cape Comorin is from the Kash valley.

Not that India has anything to hide. In all her d ings with Pakistan, India has been scrupulously fai the extent of meriting the charge of undue genero Her settlement of the financial questions at issue w Pakistan drew tributes from the London *Times* which no friend of Congress. Her determination to safegu the lives, honour and property of Muslims remaining India has caused heartburning among the victims of t co-religionists in Pakistan and almost cost the life of Father of the Nation who is the strongest advocate such a policy.

India will only be glad to have her record scruti by any impartial tribunal. The world will know at t then the proportion of truth in Mr. Zafrulla Khan's

But apart from the difficulty of getting such an partial tribunal and the difficulties that would con such a Commission, these issues once raised are bo to blur the immediate issue of aggression in Kashm

Any mediatory influence which the Commissio authorised to exert can plainly be only between raiders and India, until and unless Pakistan ack ledges its share of guilt. Till it so acknowle mediation is meaningless. Surely the Security Co cannot expect India to halt her action against the ra who have aggressed on Indian soil.

India has gone the farthest possible limit in implem ing her resolve of friendliness towards Pakistan. It would be gross injustice to make her concede more mediation when the other party in the dispute does even acknowledge the concessions.

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There is reason to think that Pakistan's action in Kashmir has been prompted by an anxiety to placate the tribesmen at somebody else's cost. If even such action has failed to appease the tribesmen, as Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's visit to the frontier would indicate, it is Pakistan's duty to accept India's help in keeping them off. If for that purpose she would have the duty shelved to an outside authority, India must welcome the opportunity.

So too on the other issues. Now that they have been brought into the picture and bilateral negotiations having failed, India must willingly offer the disputes to U. N. mediation. Prime Minister Nehru has all along expressed our anxiety to have the disputes with our neighbour placed before a tribunal.

First things first, however. Kashmir is the first problem that must be solved. If the U. N. Commission succeeds in solving it, it will have not only justified India's action in referring the issue to it but also helped towards Indo-Pakistan cordiality.

Asoka Wheel : What Does It Symbolise ?

Prof. A. S. Wadia writes in *The Hindusthan Review* :

Sometime ago, at Lahore, Mr. Gandhi said : "If the flag of Indian Union does not contain the emblem of *Charkha*, I will refuse to salute that flag." And Pandit Nehru, presenting the National Flag in the Constituent Assembly, remarked : "We were, of course, convinced that the great symbol of the wheel (of the *Charkha*) should be on the flag—*not* the rest of the *Charkha*. The essential part of the *Charkha* is the wheel. So we thought that the *Charkha* emblem be the particular wheel of Asoka, instead of just any wheel."

Unfortunately for Pandit Nehru, more so for Mr. Gandhi, the wheel carved on the capital of Asoka's Lion Pillar at Sarnath is neither a *Charkha* nor Buddha's famous *Chakra* or 'wheel of life' of twelve spokes symbolising his twelve *Nidanas* nor for that matter any wheel at all but the age-old mystic circular emblem of the Blue Lotus (nymphaea caerulea) commonly known as *neel kamal*. A glance at any photograph giving side-view of the so-called Wheel of Asoka at Sarnath with its solid egg-cup shaped base will convince the reader—more so if he is a botanist—that it is no utilitarian wheel but cross-section of the characteristic egg-cup shaped seed-vessel of the lotus which so distinguishes the lotus seed-pod from all others. What appears to be the rim of 'the wheel' is in fact the solid rim of the seed-pod which again is such a distinguishing feature of the lotus seed-vessel. What will further convince the reader of 'the wheel' being really a lotus seed-pod are the bead-like lotus-seeds running all round the inside of the rim in between the so-called 'spokes' which are themselves a whorl of twenty-four conventionalised, elongated, pointed petals of the lotus seen all over India in Buddhist caves in varying conventionalised forms. What looks like the protruding hub of the wheel is really the typical navel-shaped head of the thalamus or flower-stalk which according to Hindu mythology represents the navel of Narayana, the Eternal Spirit, upon which Brahma, the Creator, sits enthroned for ever contemplating. In the *Tantra Tattva* we find supreme wisdom (*Prajnaparamita*) compared to a lotus-flower. The rich symbolism of the lotus-flower in that sacred scripture is worth reproducing here. "In the root she is all-Brahman; in stem she is all-maya (illusion); in the flower she is all-world ; and in the fruit all-liberation." Applying this to the pillars carved by the early Buddhist builders, who were carrying on the Indo-Aryan traditions from Vedic times, we can understand the ideas they were intended to convey. The vase forming the base of the pillar stood for the cosmic waters, 'the all-Brahman'; the shaft was the stalk of the mystic flower—the unreality upon which the world-life was supported ; the bell-shaped capital was the world itself enfolded by the symbolical petals of the sky ; the fruit (represented by 'Asoka's' wheel') was *moksha*, liberation, or *Nirvana*, which was the goal of existence.

This mysterious symbolism of the lotus is so typical of the mystic East and is so widely diffused throughout the length and breadth of India that its adoption as the central emblem of the National flag of India was no happy hit or lucky coincidence but a veritable flash of genius.

There is a strange power in the words of great leaders of men which make their words truer and of far more value than they themselves consciously know. So are the eloquent words of Pandit Nehru which he uttered in the Constituent Assembly relative to the deep significance of 'Asoka's Wheel' which as an emblem of the mystic lotus of the East is a worthy symbol not only of India's *moksha* —or liberation but also of India's ancient culture and hoary traditions.

It is evident, therefore, that whatever the central emblem of the National Flag depicts, it does not depict the pet *Charkha* of the Mahatma : nevertheless, let us hope Mr. Gandhi will salute the Flag if for no other reason than that of its being the beautiful radiant emblem of the mystic Blue Lotus, which has for ages past enshrined old histories and ageless culture of the land of his birth and glory—the immortal *Aryavarta*.

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The Big Noises

The New Review observes :

They met in London, their conference was nothing but a sounding-board for their dissensions and their speeches recalled the fiery harangues of Homeric warriors before battle. They argued, pleaded, and threatened, jabbered and palavered, ranted and descanted, thumped and stumped, roared, bellowed and thundered, and when they felt exhausted in mind and throat, they broke off and rushed back to their camps to prepare for war. Not for red war but for black war. Mankind who still red under the nails with dried blood is now out for a grimy fight with dollars and roubles, wheat and meat, oil and machinery. The Marshall Plan against the Stalin Plan.

The Marshall Plan has been discussed thread-bare and well-publicized since democracies condemn themselves to public discussions. The Stalin Plan benefits by totalitarian secrecy and will unfold but gradually. Stalinist strategy dictates two manoeuvres. The first is to stabilize communist economy in the countries under Soviet influence, (financial reforms, industrial development, multilateral trade, bluff and threats). The recent revaluation of Soviet currency will reinforce the international position of the rouble and make it the normal unit of count in the Red bloc. The disenchantment caused by this reform, which can be called deflation, capital levy or confiscation according to individual temperament, was cleverly countered with the popular euphoria following the suppression rationing. With the financial reforms, the way is open to a clearing system which will put the rouble on the same footing as the dollar and to a close organisation of multilateral trade within the Red bloc.

The Soviet policy can be expected to follow the pattern which in pre-war years gave Nazidom the control of Central and South-east Europe. But the dimensions of the pattern will be on a large scale. Nazidom with its racial bloc of eighty-five million people and its strict discipline was best placed to build up Nazi hegemony and achieve European unity. The U.S.S.R. has a parallel advantage but on the Eurasian scale. With a rigid economy covering immense and much richer tracts going from the Oder to the Bering Straits, and from the Artic Ocean to the Adriatic, the Caspian and Lake Baikal, and with the central position of its economic fortress along the Urals the Soviet bloc dreams of commanding the life and unity of Eurasia. A southwards expansion down to the Arabian sea would give it an unassailable position; though this expansion is not actually within the limits of Russian possibilities, the Soviet enjoys a unique advantage in Eurasian geopolitics. The second and simultaneous manoeuvre of the Stalin plan will be to increase the confusion in western Europe through the subservient action of communist parties. Everything will be done by the Reds to thwart, and wreck the successive stages of the Marshall plan, discourage American aid and turn back the minds of all towards the wonders of the Soviet dreamland.

Both economic blocs are being built up, both their Big Patrons are rivalling in speed and efficiency; Russia has the advantage of short land-communications, America leads in economic potential and efficiency. The results in the coming months will decide whether in case of hostilities, the American front will be along the Pyrenees or along the Elb.

Vision of War

The same *Review* observes :

Red war may indeed come out of the black war, and American strategists are calculating chances on both sides and foretelling Soviet military plans. One leading conclusion of their enquiries is that the industrial power consequent war-potential of the U.S.S.R. has been exggerated by official Soviet propaganda. A study ted by the League of Nations and based on Russian estiatmed that the Russian industrial output in 1936 not reach one-half of the American production, likely not much above one-third. It is agreed hands that during 1938-40 the Russians were housed and clothed than at any other time. Yet not until the second year of the second Five-year (1934) that Russia's national income had returned 1913 level. By 1939 it stood at fifty per cent more 1913, whilst America's income had doubled during same period. In 1940 the Soviet flow of goods was in value to three-and-a-half billion U.S.A. dollars the American flow was one hundred billion dollars. current Five-year plan formulated in 1946 aims at higher than the 1940 level. Hence the U.S.S.R. is strong industrially as her propagandists and would scare the world into believing. But it will not the democracies to be scared into greater efficiency.

Russia's Strategic Plan

Military data complete the picture and illu Russia's probable strategy. This January, 1948 Russ 120 divisions in arms plus 30 special (double-sized sions in occupied countries. Hence her peace-arm to 1,800,000 men. The 120 divisions are grouped armies disposed and commanded as follows: n army based on Leningrad (Voroshilov), western arm Minsk (Rokossosky), southern army on Odessa (Zh Caucasian army on Tiflis (Bagramian), Turkestan arm Tashkent and Frunze (Timoshenko), Far-eastern on Chita and Vladivostock (Malinovski). Of the p army 800,000 men are mobile troops and can be rep 1,000,000 are professionals.

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The leading strategic idea is unified warfare (*i.e.* even in the rear) in three dimensions. What of the equipment? Artillery is well developed, transport is lagging behind as is a tradition with Russia. From all reliable reports, the Russians have no atomic bomb; they have the knowledge necessary but their industrial power cannot produce it before another twelve or eighteen months. Yet Russians are not disheartened with the fear of the A-bomb since their industries are well scattered over their immense hinterland. What apparently they are more afraid of is a possible shortage of oil; bombs can denaturalise gasoline and so jeopardise the production of oil-fields situated close to the frontiers. Hence, as is creditably reported, the gigantic Faraday cages whose metal screens would check radioactive effects on oil. If the Russians have no atomic bomb, they are well ahead with the production of V-bombs. They concentrated on long-range attack with self-propelled pilotless aerial weapons; they can shoot over distances of 900 to 1,300 miles and aim with an accuracy of 3 to 6 miles. The development of other and deadlier weapons is not reported. The old race for armaments is on but the vocal feature of the London Conference would tend to show that neither of the blocs is ready for red war. When either will judge or fancy it enjoys military superiority, war will be an immediate possibility.

The Russian plan of military operations is easily surmized. It would proceed in three stages. The first would be the rapid occupation of western Europe. Considering the forces available at present, the manoeuvre could be over in three weeks. The second phase would be a rush through Spain into North-Africa and a simultaneous push through Persia, Iraq, and Syria to the Suez Canal; this phase could not be over in less than three months. The strategic position thus pained could only be menaced by a flank attack from Britain, but a maximum of one hundred divisions (taken mostly from satellite countries) could give adequate protection. The third phase would be the final battle and would unfold in China. By that time Russia would have some 300 divisions to throw into the battle and would receive the help of Chinese Communists. Russian experts estimate that this last stage would take two years. Soviet hegemony in Eurasia would then become a fact.

Relief and Rehabilitation of Refugees

Purushottam Thakar writes in *The Social Service Quarterly*:

The transfer of population which could have been accepted peacefully, was forced on the country at a time when she was least prepared for it. Therefore, this forced transfer of population, brought with it the terrible refugee problem. The unfortunate refugees, wherever they go, they weaken the Government, they make the atmosphere vicious and tense; they upset the economy, the social habits, and social life. This material is so explosive, that you cannot neglect it; all attention is to be directed to it, or else it may blow off the whole social, economic and political structure; a drain on the country's economy is so great that it is bled white, with the result that the Government is unable to take any major nation-building activity and all progress is stopped.

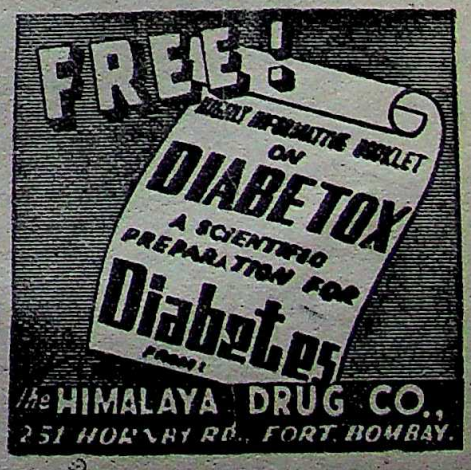
The Indian Union has suffered permanent loss, because of this forced transfer of population. The non-Muslim population of Western Pakistan, not only controlled the economy of the country, but also made up the bulk of its intelligentsia. That population is wiped out, or uprooted permanently. Pakistan, no doubt, has suffered as a result of this, because, suddenly a gap is created in her economic life, which would take time to fill in. Again, those who have migrated to Pakistan, are not the intelligentsia, but the unruly masses, who would make administration of the country difficult for the time being.

In order to minimise the evil effect of mass migration from one province to another, the Central Government should ask experts to study the situation, and accordingly regulate distribution of population to different provinces, in a way that would least disturb the normal life of any Province, and at the same time, prove useful in developing its agriculture, natural resources, and industries. This is the supreme task before the country; on its right solution will depend, our future prosperity.

No sooner was it known that the partition of the country was agreed upon by the Congress and the League, the non-Muslim population in the Muslim majority areas, steadily started moving in the Congress Provinces. The well-to-do class, transferred its bank-balance from Pakistan, and waited in readiness to quit, if necessary. The process of voluntary transfer grew rapidly, as news poured in from the Punjab. A stage was reached, when it was found by local workers here, that it was no longer possible for individuals to cope with the situation, and the necessity for an organised effort to look after these people, was clearly seen. Accordingly, the Frontier Punjab Relief Committee was formed, and our first Refugee Camp was opened in Koliwada in Bombay, in the premises taken from the Bombay Municipality. A few Sindhis, who came, were all very well-to-do, and no one even knew that the Sindhis, were coming into Bombay. But, very soon we found, steamer after steamer bringing evacuees from Sind, and, before we could grasp the significance, and realise the magnitude of our task, we found our arrangements cracking, and the City being flooded with evacuees from Sind. It was then, on the 14th of September, that the Government of Bombay stepped in.

The people and the Government of Bombay were faced, with the staggering task of receiving, sheltering and feeding a million souls, who were waiting to cross over the borders of Pakistan.

Bombay's lot was anything but enviable. Ours is a city which suffers from a very acute shortage of housing. More than 200,000 citizens have no place to stay; they sleep in passages, in corridors, in the open, on pavements.



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From 15th of September, we have already received 51,000 refugees by steamers. Out of these 15,000 are accommodated in Government Camps ; 10,000 have gone away to their respective villages in different parts of the country, 6,000 by railway and 4,000 by coastal lines. The Government pay for the Railway charges, and the Scindia Steam Navigation Company gives free steamer passage. Many more are absorbed by their relatives and friends in the City, while a few well-to-do have gone to Poona, Deolali, Bangalore and other places. Every fortnight, 10 steamers arrive bringing about 14,000 passengers and by railways, daily about 100 passengers pour in the City, In all more than 250,000 have left Sind.

The Government have Refugee Camps in Chembur, Pavai, Mulund, Virar, Visapur and Koliwada. These were all military camps, taken over by the Provincial Government to house the citizens, and thus ease the housing shortage at least to some extent. At present, all our city camps are overcrowded. Chembur has 7,000 (but 2,000 more have smuggled in, whom we are gradually removing from there); Pavai, where the accommodation is tented, has 2,500 ; Mulund 1,700 ; Koliwada 2,200 ; Virar 150 ; and a few hundreds are in Wadis and transit camps.

To a student of Sociology, and to those who are engaged in the selfless work of social service, a visit to the dock or any camp would be very interesting and instructive. Here, you will observe, how people behave under new and difficult conditions. When the first steamers arrived, you could read fear, confusion, despair and distress on the faces of the evacuees ; but also the feeling, that they were at last out of danger. They did not mind hardships, their patience was great, and they did what they were told. Here you saw no false modesty. Young or old, man or woman, forgetting age, sex, or position, roamed about searching for his baggage and dragged it when he found one, not waiting for a coolie. He did not mind waiting for hours, and undergoing all hardships, to get his baggage. He would not move, until he got it, even if it meant losing his meal ; because what he had brought, was all that now belonged to him, and he was, therefore, not prepared to lose anything out of it. In those days all articles were heaped up in thousands without names. Still, there were no thefts, and complaints were surprisingly few. This would not happen ordinarily, when hundreds of passengers come with tens of thousands of articles.

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What we primarily are doing at present, provide food and shelter to the refugees. What is important is to create conditions, which would their healthy absorption possible, so that they be one of us and a fusion of cultures results.

Still more important, is the problem of habilitation and resettlement.

This last mentioned problem, is only a part of general problem of unemployment and poverty, as such, both these problems should be tackled so that they do not conflict with one another, ultimately form part of the general scheme of war reconstruction to do away with poverty and employment, which the Central Government is ning to put through. The Provincial Governments also plans of their own, which aim generally at in ing production, expanding public services and re ing the distribution of wealth. Moreover, our re sibility to protect our country from foreign aggr has also increased. Not only shall we need large sea and air forces, but we shall have to develop industries, to maintain and sustain our m machine. It should not, therefore, be difficult Governments, when they start on this progra progressively to absorb the unemployed and p work for all, for years to come. To accomplish the Government may have to revise their schem view of the changed conditions, and also find it ne sary, to make provision for refugees, in Provi Budgets.

To push through all these plans, the Govern will need man-power, an army of experts, techn and skilled labour.

Rehabilitation is a slow process, because complicated and many-sided. It is easier to labour than merchants. Sindhis are mostly merc Fortunately, they are evacuees who have brought them all that they could salvage. Till now, s has depended upon doing Banking, export and business, or dealing in Silks and Curios. He change his attitude, and apply his talent in pro real wealth. He will then add to the prosperity society.

The problem of the refugees from the Pun not so difficult, because most of them are dea and majority of them were employees and cultiv unlike the Sindhis, who have been employers.

There is a section of unfortunate non-M which is working in some services in Pakistan. people are not allowed to leave Sind, because services are found essential by the Pakistan G ment. Some of them cannot leave Sind, because won't get passages ; others will lose their jobs, an that pensions, provident funds, etc., if they left s These poor employees are mostly Maharash original citizens and subjects of Bombay Govern and as such, they have a claim over us. I hope thing will be done to bring them safe here, a safeguard their interests.

Since ages, India is known for her hospitali also for her willingness to share others' sorrows our own brethren stand in need of these, as th in distress ; let us not fail them.

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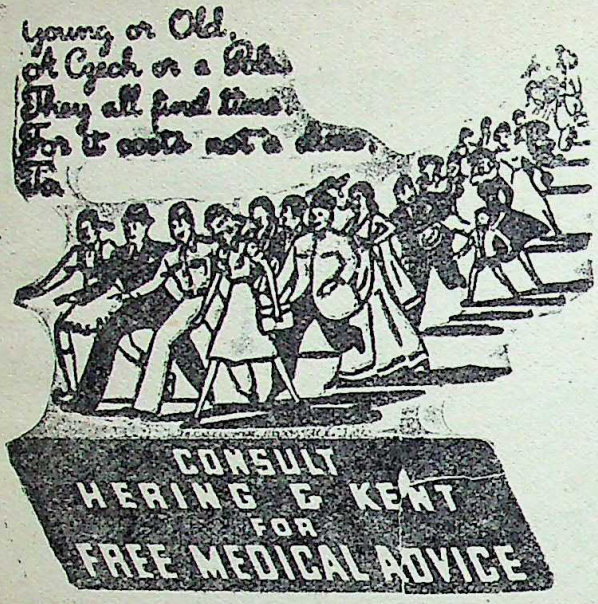

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Story of Glass

In the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, June, 1947, J. H. Partridge writes the story of glass as follows :

In the reign of Gulkishar, the first king of the Dynasty of the Sea-Land, an Assyrian chemist recorded on clay tablets a recipe for making glass. This king reigned nearly 3,600 years ago, so that glass is one of the oldest of manufactured materials, for specimens nearly 6,000 years old have been found in Egypt. Specimens made 3,000 years ago are fairly common and are coloured and quite different in appearance from glass as commonly known to-day. Hundreds of years were to pass before the secret of making colourless glass was discovered—colourless. glass is that most commonly seen to-day and it is used for windows, bottles, tumblers and many other articles you see every day.

Now why was the making of glass practised before that of the common metals of today?

In order to answer this question, we must try to imagine the conditions under which people lived in those far aff days. The first drinking vessels were made of the skins or of the horns of animals—indeed, skins of animals are still used even to-day by the more primitive people. It is not possible to boil water and so have a hot drink or to cook food in a skin however, and at a later period we find crude pottery being used. Pottery is moulded from clay just as plasticine is shaped— indeed, plasticine is a mixture of clay and vaseline—and the vessel is dried and fired to high temperature. In olden days a wooden fire was built with the clay article in the middle. The fire was lit and kept burning for some hours. When it had gone out and the ashes were cold, the vessel was found to be quite hard and ready for use. The vessels exhibited were made from clay dug out of the ground at Wembley. All pebbles and small stones were washed from the clay, which was then moulded to shape. When dry, the vessels were heated slowly to a good red heat. They do not look very elegant, but they would have been very useful had you been living some 4,000 years ago. The only metals which could have been used instead of this pottery, were gold and silver, because they are found in the earth as metals, they are easily melted over an ordinary fire and they are malleable, *i.e.*, they can be hammered into a useful shape such as a drinking vessel. However, such vessels of gold, silver or even bronze took longer and were more difficult to make than those made of pottery in the manner just described.

Now glass can be made by heating a mixture of sand, soda and lime, all easily obtainable materials, in a fireclay crucible to a fairly moderate heat and it can then be moulded to shape rather like clay or plasticine, except that it has to be moulded while it is still red hot. The moulded vessel is cooled slowly, and is then ready for use. Glass thus possesses advantages over the metals, such as gold and silver, because it can be made fairly easily; further it can be moulded quickly and easily to the shape of a cup or of a jug.

It is this property of being moulded so readily to the finished shape which makes glass such a valuable material, and no other material behaves like it.

For example, if one end of a rod of metal is heated it suddenly melts and falls to the floor. But if a rod of glass is heated is slowly bends and flows rather like thick treacle. It is while in this plastic state, or viscous state as it is called, that glass may be moulded very much like clay or plasticine.

Glass in this plastic state may be rolled into a sheet just as mother rolls pastry. The molten glass is contained in a large fireclay crucible, which is lifted out of the furnace, poured on to an iron table and rolled into a sheet with a large iron rolling pin. The sheet of glass so obtained, is slowly cooled and then cut into smaller sheets which are used for the roofs of large buildings, such as railway stations; or the sheets may have their surfaces ground and polished for use in shop windows. When it is in the plastic state, glass may be drawn into very fine threads —finer than the hair on your head—and these threads of glass are woven into glass cloth which can be used for many purposes—for example, fire-resisting curtains, insulation for electric cables and for steam pipes, and these threads have even been made into a glass dress. Two rods of glass may be melted in a flame and welded together, a process which is not so easy in the case of metal. Glass thus behaves quite differently from metal. Molten metal is a very fluid or thin liquid; it is nearly as mobile as water. When cooled it changes suddenly to a solid because the atoms can move easily and quickly and so arrange themselves into a pattern. In contrast, molten glass is a very viscous or thick liquid; it is so viscous that the atoms cannot move quickly and arrange themselves into a regular pattern. On cooling, glass does not therefore set suddenly into a solid but it gradually becomes thicker and thicker or more and more viscous, until it gradually becomes solid. On heating glass becomes more and more fluid; on cooling it gradually sets to a solid.

Because of its viscous nature it is possible to pick up or "gather" a quantity of molten glass on an iron rod, in very much the same way as treacle is wrapped round a spoon, and then let it fall into an iron mould. An iron plunger then descends and forces the molten glass to fill the space between the plunger and mould. The iron cools the surface of the glass, which then becomes "solid" or at any rate sufficiently rigid for the glass to be taken out of the mould in the form of a finished article, such as a glass dish. This process is known as pressing because the molten glass is pressed into its final shape by the downward movement of the plunger.

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Historical Survey

Now the processes which have been demonstrated, namely, that of pouring a large quantity of molten glass on to an iron table and rolling it into a sheet, or of pressing glass articles, are fairly modern and are in use to-day. Such methods were not used by the ancients, because they were not able to melt glass in such large quantities. The earliest vessels were made by covering a sand core bit by bit with viscous glass just as one might cover an article with plasticine or perhaps sealing wax. This was a slow and laborious process. A better and more rapid method of working glass was invented in Roman times between the years 50 and 20 B.C.—say 2,000 years ago—which was responsible for a rapid growth of the industry, because it enabled better articles to be made more quickly, and so at lower cost. This was the process of glass blowing. Glass is a viscous liquid and so it can be gathered on the end of a hollow iron tube or blowpipe. This mass of hot glass may then be blown into a hollow ball by blowing down the blowpipe. A tubular shape is obtained by swinging the blowpipe, thus causing the ball to elongate. Other shapes such as tumblers, electric lamp bulbs, and so on, are obtained by putting the hot tubular piece of glass in a mould and blowing down the iron until the hot glass is blown to the shape of the mould.

The Romans became quite skilled glass-makers, but we know little of what happened after the fall of the Roman Empire until Venice became famous for making glass about the beginning of the twelfth century. Little glass was made in this country until the Middle Ages, when small quantities were made in Surrey and Sussex. Places near London were chosen partly because the glass could be sold easily in London; but more important, sand and lime were available and the country was well wooded. Wood was needed to heat the furnaces in those days, for coal was not available. Further, the ashes of burnt wood and of ferns were used to provide the alkali for glass making —in this case a crude form of potash instead of soda. These places in Surrey and Sussex made window glass in 1352 for Stephen's Westminster.

Owing to religious persecution in Europe, foreigners came to England to start making glass here, and they taught Englishmen how to do it. There must have been many glass works in this country by the year 1565, because a map of the country showing their sites was painted in that year and is now in a museum in Florence.

Wooden mouth-pieces to the irons, to economise in the use of iron, were used by them. The furnaces were heated by wood. These glassmakers were gradually burning all the wood and so destroying the forests. The precedure was to build a small furnace in the middle of a wood and to cut down the trees for fuel. When all the trees for a few miles around had been used, it was e to move to a new site and build another furnace transport wood, because the roads were so bad. In manner by the beginning of the seventeenth century glassmakers had spread from Surrey and Sussex as west as Bristol, and as far north as the Midlands, the wood from the forests and leaving their old and piles of rubbish behind them. There were many plaints in Parliament, and in 1615 the use of wood fuel was forbidden, because a patent had been grant 1611 for burning coal in glass melting furnaces. The crucibles used in the Middle Ages were small, in fa much bigger than an ordinary household pail. Cru and furnaces became larger and of course, the use of instead of wood enabled the furnace-men to make the naces hotter. The use of hotter furnaces and of chemicals which became available with the growth of knowledge of chemistry at the end of the eighteenth tury resulted in an improvement in the quality of the much of which was fashioned by being blown.

All hollow vessels such as bottles and tumblers mouth blown until the beginning of the present cen Even window glass was made in this manner. The blower blew a large globe of glass. While it was still a second workman stuck his blowing iron by mean molten glass on the bulbous end of the globe, which then severed from the first iron. The second workmen had what appeared to be a large glass bowl on the end of iron. He re-heated this in the furnace until the was very soft, and spun the iron rather like wringing mop, thus causing the bowl to open out into flat sheet disc. This was then cut into small squares or rectang shaped panes for windows, as marked by the dotted The centre piece was spoilt by the blob of glass by it was attached to the iron, and so was sold at a price and was to be found in the houses of the people. More recently such pieces of glass have made specially, and at a higher price than ordinary dow glass, for the windows of imitation Tudor houses.

The cutting of window panes from a circular sheet glass was very wasteful and a different method was e known as the split cylinder method, in which the blower blew a large cylinder of glass. The ends were off to give a tube which was then slit with a diam cutter into halves. These semi-cylinders were placed a block of plaster of paris and heated in a furnace the glass became so soft that it could be flattened a sheet using a block of wood as the ironing tool. man starts with a short cylinder of glass, but by re ing, blowing and swinging he finally produces a cylinder about 2 ft. in diameter and between 5 and in depth.

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Apart from improvements resulting from hotter furnaces, and the use of larger crucibles and purer chemicals, there was little change in the process of glass making until the introduction of machinery in quite recent times. This called for glass in much larger quantities than can be melted in fireclay crucibles. Glass to be worked by men rather than machines and also special glass is still melted in crucibles but for machines glass is melted in tank furnaces. These are built with large fireclay blocks. Such a furnace might be compared with a swimming bath. The molten glass takes the place of the water while the space between the surface of the molten glass and the roof of the furnace is filled with flame to keep the furnace hot and the glass molten. The pool of molten glass in these furnaces may be as much as 60 ft. or more in length, up to 25 ft. in width and between 3 to 4 ft. in length.

The making of window glass was described to illustrate the viscous nature of glass. It must not be thought that window glass is made by these processes to-day, although the split cylinder process was in us until a few years ago. Window glass is now made by a continuous process in which a wide sheet of glass is drawn vertically upwards by many pairs of rollers from a large pool of molten glass contained in a tank furnace such as was described. But even this apparently simple process, and indeed, all processes used for shaping molten glass, make use of its peculiar viscous and plastic properties which I have tried to describe.

Composition

There are many kinds of glass, but most of it is made from a mixture of sand, soda and lime. Glass for bottles, windows, food containers, electric lamp and valve bulbs is made from a mixture containing about

70 parts of sand,
25 parts of sodium carbonate, and
15 parts of calcium carbonate or lime,

although some of the lime is sometimes replaced by magnesia owing to the use of dolomitic limestone, that is, limestone containing magnesium carbonate. A mixture of sand and soda will make a glass, but it is soluble in water, and as such is known as water glass. Lime is added to make the glass durable. These raw materials are mixed together and shovelled into big crucibles made of fireclay contained in a furnace, or into the tank furnaces just described. The crucibles vary in size, but the largest hold nearly two tons of molten glass and are about 5 ft. in diameter and 30 inches in depth. Tank furnaces may hold any quality between a few and 1,000 tons of molten glass. I want you to note that the materials themselves are not melted. Chemical reactions take place between the sand, soda and lime and glass is formed as a result. Carbon dioxide from the decomposition of the soda and the lime, and also the air entrapped between the grains of the raw materials, form tiny bubbles in the viscous glass and it may take between 8 and 30 hours for the reactions to be completed and for the gas bubbles to rise to the surface so as to leave clear glass free from bubbles and other unsightly blemish. The bubbles rise slowly to the surface because molten glass is so viscous. Under favourable conditions, glass made from the mixture of sand, soda and lime I have just indicated, will be colourless, provided that white sand containing lass than 0.05 per cent. of iron oxide is used. Glass made from sand containing more than this very small proportion of iron oxide is coloured green. Thus, the addition of a very small amount of iron oxide produces a green colour, and this is one of the principal methods of producing coloured glass. Thus, the addition of

Iron oxide		Green glass
Copper oxide or Chromium oxide	} produces	
Cobalt oxide ..	..	Blue glass
Manganese dioxide	..	Purple glass
Uranium oxide ..	..	Yellow glass

Another method of colouring glass is to have very many tiny particles of material scattered through it. Thus tiny particles of colourless material may result in a white or opal glass, tiny particles of gold or of copper produce a red glass, cadmium sulphide a yellow glass, while particles of cadmium selenide and cadmium sulphide produce colours ranging from orange to dark red, depending on the proportions of the two constituents. These glasses are nearly

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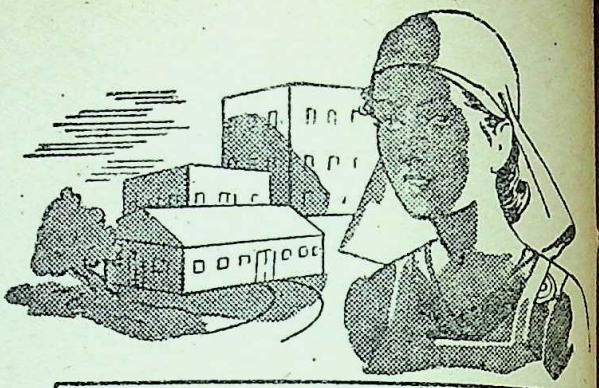

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colourless and have to be heated to allow the particles to be precipitated.

Physical Properties

The most characteristic feature of glass is that it breaks easily. If glass is dropped, it breaks and we say that it is brittle—now what do we mean by being brittle? We have seen that glass can be deformed quite readily when it is very hot but once it is cold it cannot be deformed. If a glass rod is bent it suddenly breaks and we say that glass is brittle. Some metals on the contrary can be deformed quite readily—for example, the rods of iron, copper, lead and tin are bent easily, and we say that these metals are ductile. Now if a rod of glass or of metal is bent slightly and then released, it springs back to its original position, *i.e.*, it has not been bent permanently. But if they are bent further the metals bend and remain bent, whereas glass breaks. Metal is ductile and glass is brittle.

There is another important difference between glass and metal. A very much larger weight must be hung on a rod of metal in order to break it than upon a rod of glass of the same size. Very approximately a weight of 6 tons would be needed to break a rod of glass 1 in. in diameter whereas about 20 tons would be needed to break a similar rod of steel (depending on the kind of steel, of course), and so we say that metal is stronger than glass. This is only true however when the materials are being stretched. We find that glass is quite strong when it is being compressed—thus, an inch cube of glass would need a load of about 60 tons to cause it to break when it is being compressed, so that glass is very much stronger when it is being compressed than when it is being stretched.

This special kind of glass is known as "toughened glass", and it is tough in the sense that it is stronger than ordinary glass. It is used for motor-car screens, first, because it is much stronger than ordinary glass, a[illegible] secondly, because it breaks into tiny fragments which [illegible] comparatively harmless, instead of large pieces w[illegible] might cut people very seriously. The toughening of [illegible] is carried out by heating it to a high temperature [illegible] then cooling it rapidly. This results in a compressing [illegible] being present in the surface layers which makes the [illegible] stronger, as we have already seen. You may have [illegible] that from certain positions a motor-car screen appears [illegible] be covered with circular patches. These correspon[illegible] the air jets used for this cooling. When you see this, [illegible] know at once that the glass has been toughened. [illegible] process of toughening is not new. Pieces of glass mad[illegible] allowing molten glass to fall as droplets into water [illegible] known as "Rupert's Drops" because they were introd[illegible] into England by Prince Rupert of Bavaria, grandso[illegible] James I of England, about the middle of the seventee[illegible] century. He showed them to the King and Pepys [illegible] them, for he recorded in his diary on the 13th Jan[illegible] 1662, "Mr. Peter did show us the experiment of the [illegible] call glasses which break all to dust by breaking [illegible] little small end; which is a great mystery to me." W[illegible] we have seen that it is no longer a mystery because [illegible] surface layers of these Rupert's drops are under s[illegible] compressing forces. They can be hammered heavil[illegible] the head and so they are exceptionally strong when [illegible] in this manner. Breaking off the tail upsets the int[illegible] stresses within the glass and the sudden release of e[illegible] shatters the glass drop. The similarity between the Rup[illegible] drop and the sheet of toughened glass is evident, but [illegible] than two hundred years were to pass before this prin[illegible] of the Rupert's drop was applied to make glass stron[illegible] first in the toughening of gauge glasses for boilers, [illegible] to sheet glass for motor-car screens, and now experim[illegible] are being made to toughen glass for cooking-vessels.

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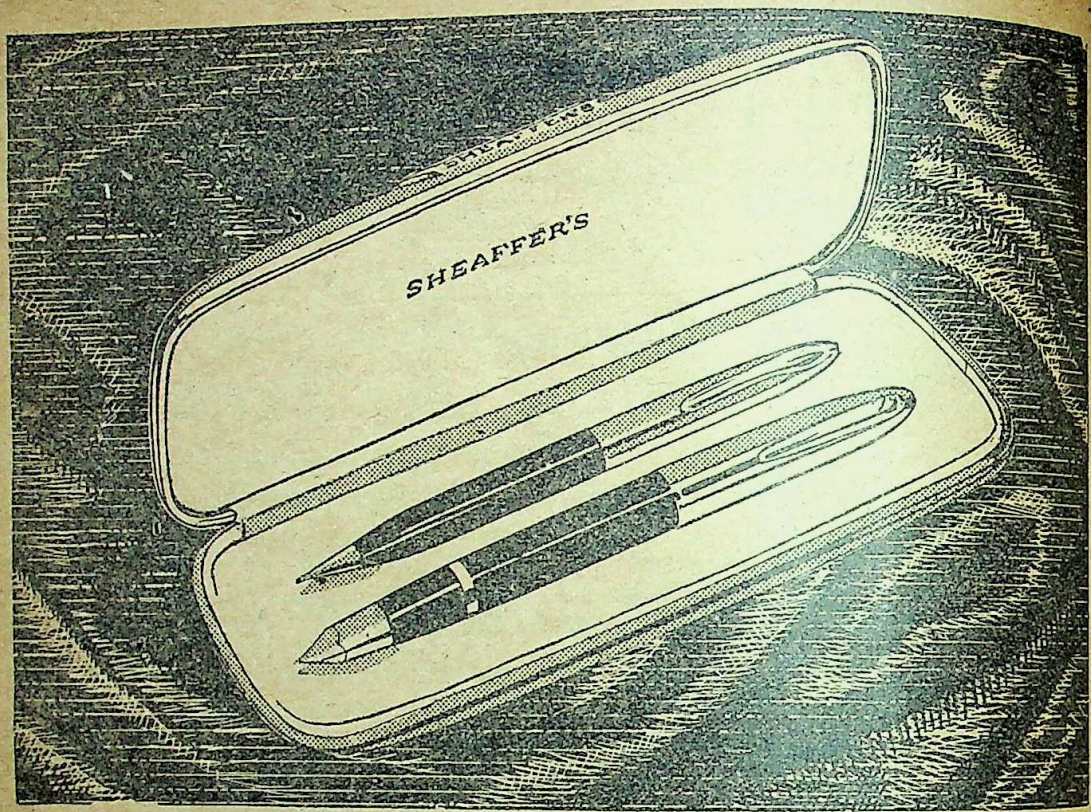

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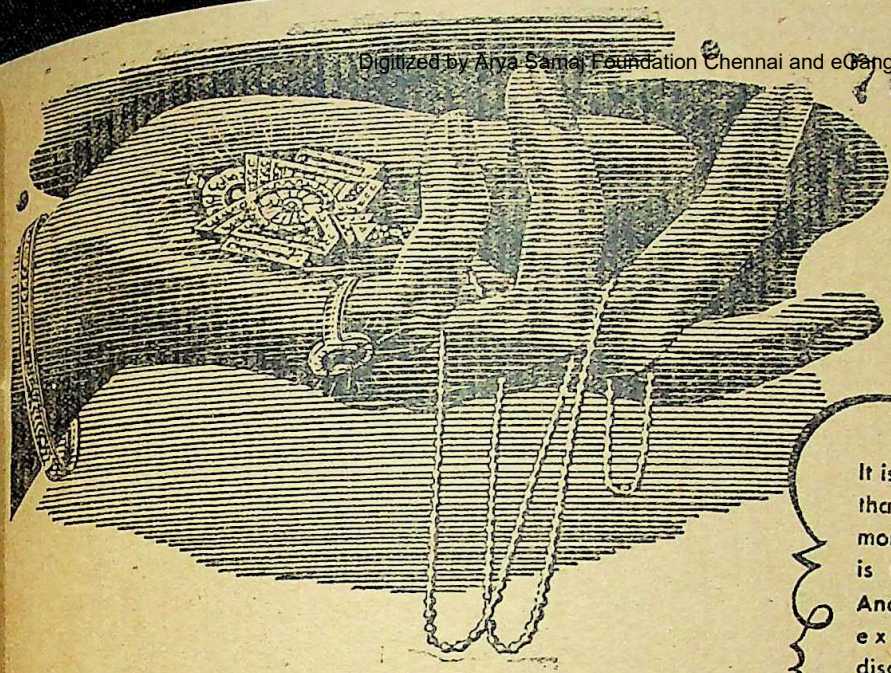

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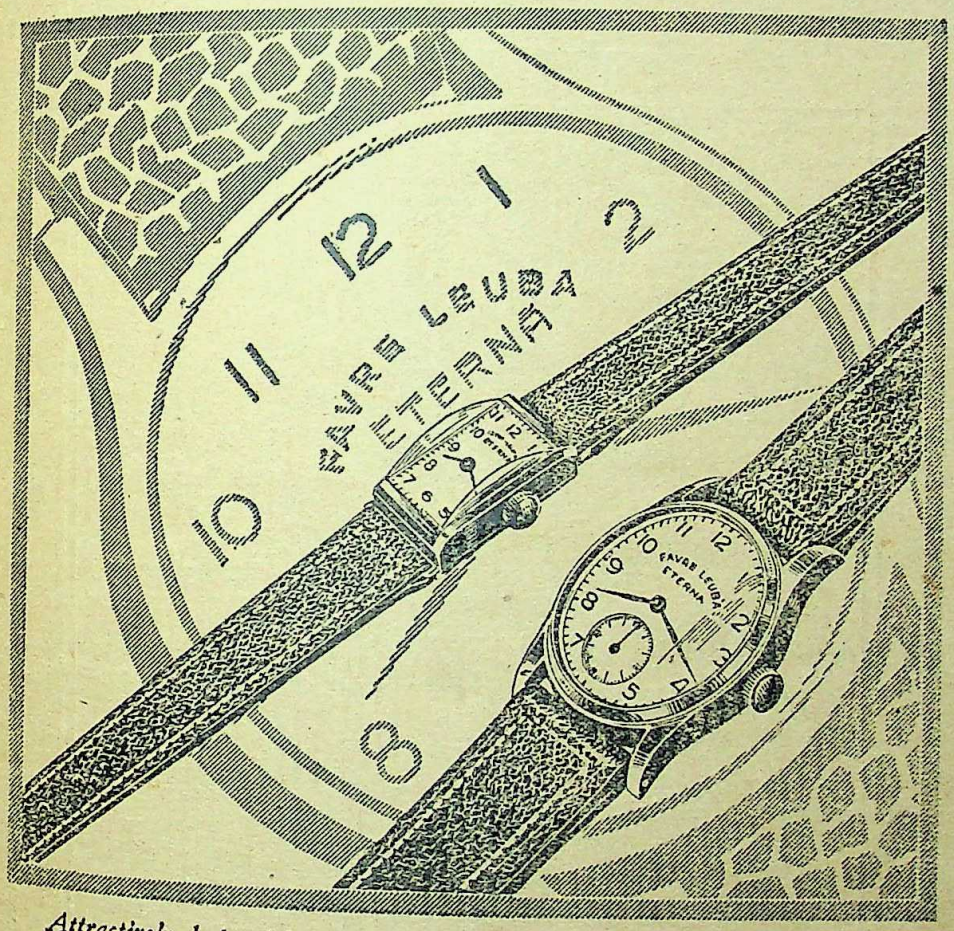

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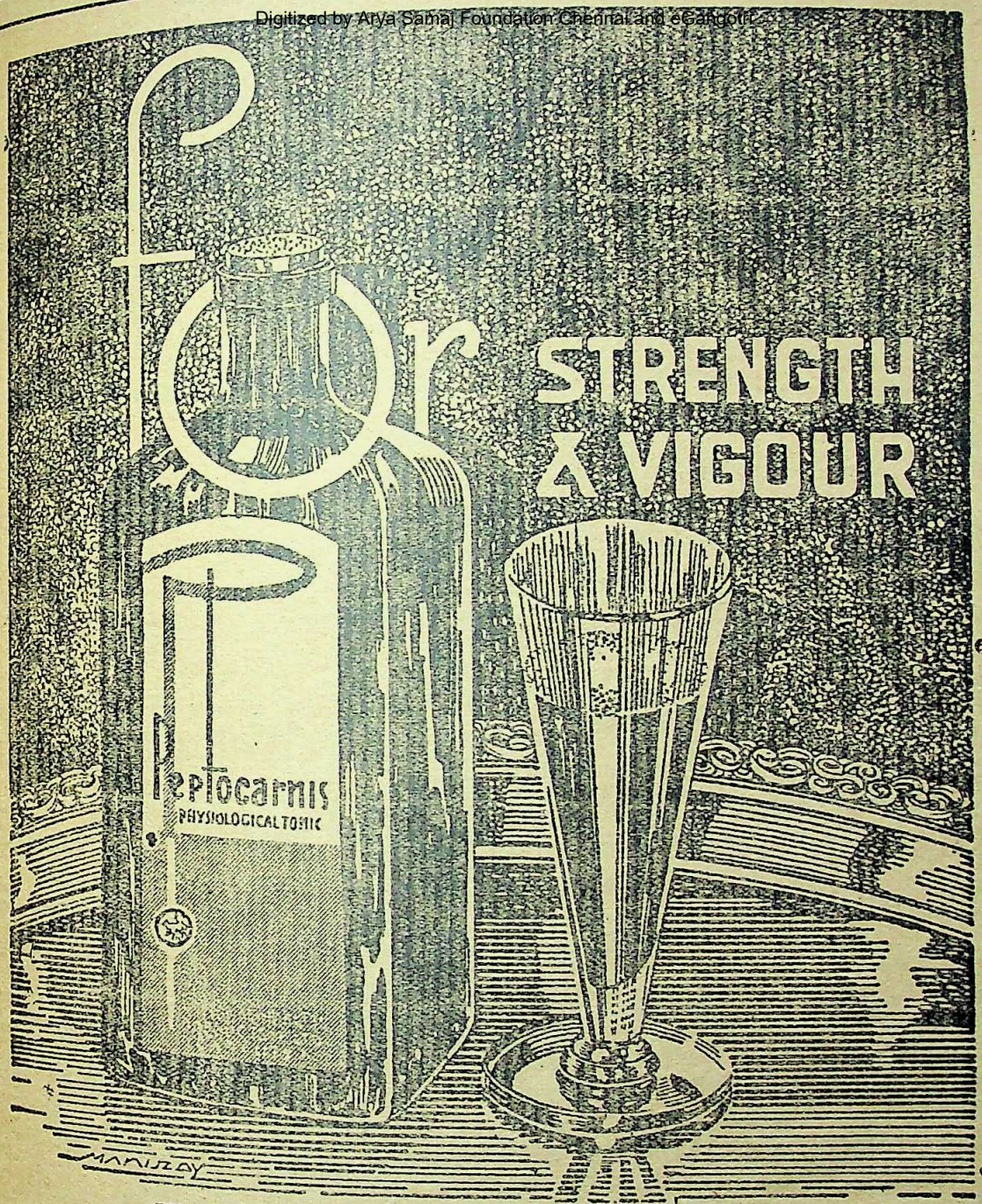

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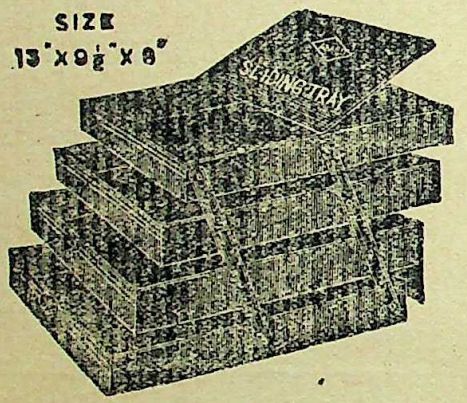

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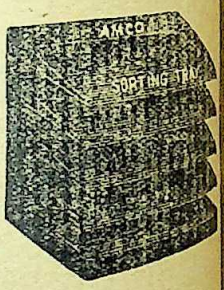

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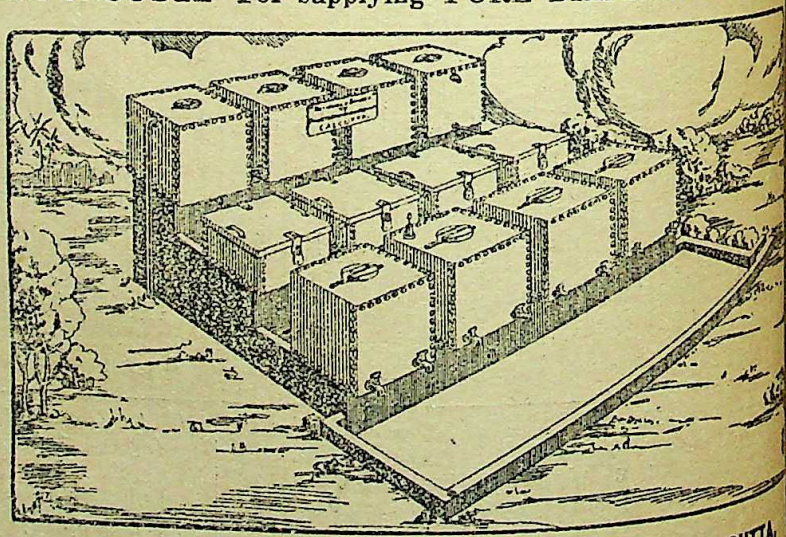

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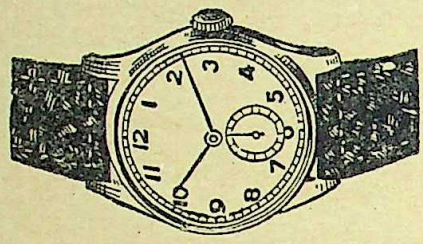

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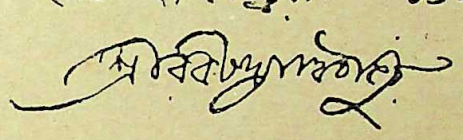

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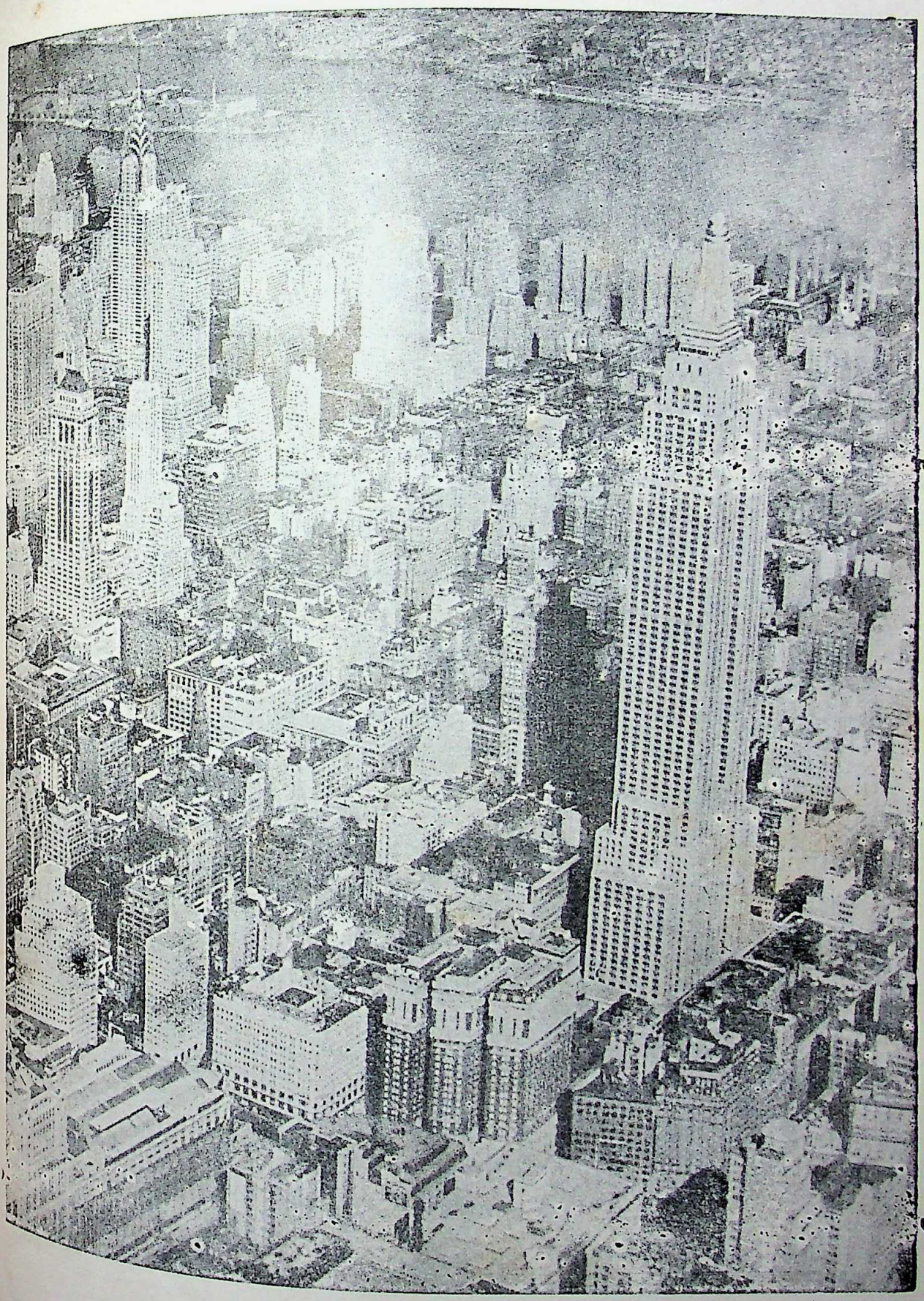

An aerial view of New York

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HIMALAYAN LANDSCAPE
By Nicholas Roerich

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

At the Cross-roads

India is at the cross-roads. Internally there are the inter-provincial and intra-provincial stresses, accentuated by the power-drunkenness of some of the provincial leaders and ministers ; further there are the problems arising out of the continuous influx of hordes of refugees, and last of all there is the question of party-alignments, inside and outside the Congress, which have grown sharper and more pronounced after the passing of the Mahatma.

There is a tendency at the Centre, and even more so in the A.-I. C. C., to adopt an ostrich-like policy with regard to all vexatious problems, internal or external. Postponement of consideration of the problems seems to be the order of the day. It seems we have yet to learn the grim lesson in history that was given only a short decade back by Neville Chamberlain, with his motto of "Peace in our time, O Lord !" We are only too prone to forget that the day of reckoning becomes more terrible with each postponement and the only way for attaining peace lies through strife and struggle and through relentless and active opposition to the forces of evil.

The most serious aspect of the present-day situation is the fact that the nation's appointed leaders seem to have forgotten that they have attained their eminent positions only through the sanction of the people. It is folly to imagine that there are some super-natural or Divine rights—like that of mediaeval kings—behind Congress pro-consulships and that tales of past sacrifices, real or fictitious, would enable them to keep the reins of the State in their hands for eternity. Today at the Centre of the Indian Union, our executive are grievously out of contact with the mass-mind. The assassination of the Mahatma showed up that fact with the blinding clarity of a flash of lightning.

There are some tremendous stresses and strains, due to acts of injustice and wrongs inflicted on the suffering people of some provinces by British despotism. Now that that curse has been removed, those wrongs must be righted and equity must be restored with even-handed justice. If any leader stands in the way, either through evil intent or through blind arrogance, he must be removed. There is no other way to eliminate these fissiparous tendencies. The alternative to that is disaster, and we must not forget that Nemesis cannot be stalled off by mere clap-trap and catch-phrases. Power-madness of some of our big party-politicians must be condemned in unequivocal terms, as it is causing irreparable damage in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. Bihar, today, stands as an outstanding example of all that is reprehensible in the spheres of inter-provincial and intra-provincial politics, thanks to the blind faith of Babu Rajendra Prasad in his disciples.

The Socialist Party stands at the parting of the ways at the time of writing. The Congress High Command has only to thank itself for this lamentable occurrence. Youth and action cannot be denied its rights in perpetuity by age and intolerance. The inevitable is taking place as the natural consequence, and with the separation of the Left from the main body politic, the Congress stands more than a chance of becoming in reality what the Communists and the League have falsely accused it to be in the past, unless the A.-I. C. C. comes to its senses in time. The Socialist Party was the most powerful weapon in the hands of the Congress, against the Communist campaign for the disruption of the State, through rabid disaffection and complete demoralization of Labour. Tomorrow there will be mere empty resounding howls for the increase of production, to amuse the industrial competitors of India, unless the saner elements of the I.N.T.U.C.

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can come to terms and join forces with the Socialist Party.

We are beginning to hear the British coined phrase "Produce or Perish" in India now. But what a difference there is now between Britain and India. There they are fully awake to the hard, stark realities of the day, and in consequence labour, capitalist and management, have all come to terms, there being sacrifices all around, and production-boosting is well on the way despite terrific handicaps in the shape of procurement of raw-materials, lack of finance, shortage of food and essential commodities. The strain is appalling, but there is no sign of a crack anywhere. On the other hand, assurance is coming back to the British that "Britain can take it." The Communist with his insidious plans for the furtherance of Russian Imperialism—for it is imperialism, sure as fate, despite the change of label and alteration of the strategy—stands fully exposed today in Britain, and popular aversion has proved a far stronger weapon against it than the Law.

Here we have disruption, dislocation and bottlenecks all the way which the centre is merely trying to cover up under a screen of misty nebulous talk occasionally illuminated by bright dreamy visions of a glorious future. The Communist Party, with its satellite groups of unscrupulous A.-I. T. U. C. Labour-Leaders, is sowing broadcast the seeds of disruption amongst the uneducated masses of industrial and agricultural labour, lowering efficiency, increasing absenteeism and actively advocating sabotage. The Communist programme is that of the disruption of the State, the object being the induction of Russian extra-territorial influence in the ensuing chaos. And therefore there is no limit to the incitement, no consideration as to the economic possibility of the demands. For once the disruption is complete, they hope to seize power with the active aid of Russia. And then they, that is the approved ones, can deal with the disaffected and deluded labourer and labour-leader by "liquidation," with armoured cars and machine guns.

Turning to dislocation, there is that glaring business of controls and de-control. Controls, as brought in by the British Indian Government, dislocated the entire normal channel of trade, putting enormous sums of money in the hands of the favoured few, spreading bribery and corruption as a plague all over the markets and completely demoralising the administration. War-production, A.R.P. and the ancillary growths attendant on war, totally engulfed industry, throwing it completely out-of-gear with normal consumer demand. War-orders and war-organisations have gone, and controls are being fast removed, leaving in the train vast masses of disaffected and surplus labour and endless hindrances in the way of harnessing industry to peacetime production. Surplus labour can only be absorbed if production goes up, but the tools of the Communists are actively hampering production, the black-marketeer reaping rich harvests in the resulting shortages on the markets. Indeed the Communist and the A.-I. T. U. C. are the best friends of the black-marketeers and foreign exploiters in this respect. Further India today, is in want of machine-tools, mechanical equipment and of prime movers. Trade and Commerce are therefore looking more and more towards importing foreign manufacture for supplying the consumer-goods markets.

The Railways constitute the biggest bottleneck with shortages of rolling stock, aggravated by sabotage and the rampant corruption amongst the staff and officials. Priorities are being utilized to bring in a rich harvest of illicit money all over the place. A rigorous anti-corruption drive, with a few exemplary punishments for some, is strongly called for if production and supply are at all to be accelerated.

Lastly, we come to the problem of the refugees which constitute the biggest headache to the rudely disturbed Lotus-eaters of Delhi, caught without a plan. The problem is being tackled only now with some definite schemes in the West. But in the East, the problem is acute, thanks to the senseless propaganda in the daily press and the apologetic jeremiads of the so-called leaders of East Bengal, who are trying to cover up the heinousness of their desertion of the helpless minorities in that area by issuing statements which unfortunately are based on a modicum of truth. The Centre has promised Five crores of rupees to the West Bengal Government as aid. We have no hesitation in declaring that most of this sum may yet be misappropriated by groups of those unscrupulous deserters—who ruined the cause of the Congress in East Bengal and are now trying to entrench themselves in West Bengal—and used for the furthering of their nefarious projects in party-politics, unless the Centre exercises the strictest control on it and keeps Dr. B. C. Roy on the alert.

Turning to external affairs, the Kashmir imbroglio dragging on its painful course, the one bright spot being the gallant and heroic action of the soldiers of the Indian Union. In the international sphere unless sober, alert men of proved integrity are some diplomats at key-points, India will soon be in a cleft-stick despite all pious hopes of Pandit Nehru while all the nations of the world are lining up on either side for the coming conflict.

The prospect is gloomy enough in all conscience, the more so as those we have placed in power, are groping in the stygian darkness, each clutching his particular Box-o'-Dreams, packed with visions of ephemeral Glory, others of Temporal Power, or of more sordid, though more tangible rewards.

When are our leaders going to realize that they are not omniscient, and that there is need for a Board of trust at the Centre? And when are they going to realize the need for a few efficient and selfless men in place of the mass of axe-grinding Congress men who are crowding out the Union Parliament?

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Linguistic Provinces

The agitation against the partition of Bengal demonstrated the strength of sentiment that is woven round the language that one learns on his mother's lap. Since then people speaking distinct languages in India have been striving to carve out separate provinces on the principle of linguistic kinship. Orissa under the leadership of the late Madhusudan Das was, we think, the pioneer in this line. Telugu-speaking people, Tamilians, Kanarese and Malayalam speaking people, all joined together under the Madras Presidency, have been agitating to set up separate households of their own. The Congress anticipated this development in 1920 when it reconstituted provinces under its own constitution based on linguistic differences, cutting across administrative arrangements. The Government under British control recognized this principle in the case of Orissa and Sind, while it left unsolved the problem of the Telugus, the Tamils, the Malayalis, the Kannadigas (Kanarese-speaking people), the Maharashtrians, the Gujaratis, the Hindi-speaking people and Bengalis dispersed under different administrative provinces. Why they did not tackle this problem while doing it in the case of Orissa and Sind, we cannot say. Whatever be the fact, all these different linguistic groups have been waiting for the Nehru Government to satisfy their long-cherished ambitions. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been questioned in the Central Legislature to define the Government's attitude in this matter.

As a leader of the Congress Panditjee was all for linguistic provinces. But he found certain difficulties in the way and has been counselling patience. But hopes deferred maketh the heart sick, and we would not be far wrong if we say that the patience of the people is being stretched to the breaking point. For instance, we can refer to the problem of the Karnatak Province which has been waiting solution since the beginning of this century, coincident with the Bengalee movement for the defence of their unity and integrity. Members representing the Kannadigas in the Constituent Assembly have been threatening non-co-operation with the Nehru Government if their desire for a separate province, separate from Madras and Bombay, be postponed any longer. They had Gandhiji's blessings. So had the Andhras. And they have been straining at the leash in exasperation—a fact the Nehru Government should not ignore any longer. We do not understand the reasons for the delay counselled on the aggrieved people. The Nehru Government has found time to iron out difficulties created by certain States. A Shaurastra State has been formed, plans for a Matsya State in certain areas of northern India have been brought to success. Malwa and Vindya States are said to be in the offing.

Then why should the difficulties in the way of linguistic provinces be made so much of? Are the people concerned more cantankerous than those in Cutch and Kathiawar? The princes, their conceits and ambitions, have had to yield to the demands of the new situation precipitated by the withdrawal of British paramountcy. Will the Andhras, the Tamilians, the Kannadigas, the Maharashtrians, the Bengalis, the Hindi-speaking people be less accommodating to the same situation? The Central Government are shying at these difficulties because they are afraid that the narrowness of vision that has been responsible for the abominations started by the Muslim League from which we have not escaped as yet may break out to poison human relations in India. There is enough reason to support this feeling of anxiety when we find a leader of eminence as Babu Rajendra Prasad indulging in arrant chauvinism in support of Bihar's determination to retain the non-Hindi-speaking areas of the province.

The *Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta in its issue of December 23, 1947, quoted from a speech of his words that constitute incitement of the narrowest of linguistic ambitions. He is reported to have blamed at a meeting of the Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammelan the protagonists of Hindi in his province for their failure to propagate their language. The reported quotation stood thus:

> It is because of the negligence and inability of the Bihar Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan that Singhbhum and Dhalbhum are being claimed by West Bengal for being non-Hindi-speaking areas. He stressed the need of propagating Hindi in Singhbhum and Dhalbhum and such other areas in order to claim that these tracts are absolutely Hindi-speaking areas.

An analysis of the words exposes a state of mind that is the seed-plot of all aggression in their various disguises. These cover campaigns for cultural aggression in the name of which we have seen two world wars devastating wide areas in three continents. It may be that the Nehru Government is conscious of the dangerous possibilities of such linguistic claims entertained by Congress leaders even; and they are, therefore, pleading for patience, for the proper atmosphere to develop in the country, for time for us to get over the spiritual and material devastation of the last twelve months and more. They know that in the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis many claims will be made that will be found hard to reconcile. Babu Rajendra Prasad's reported speech indicated one of these. They do not want to impose solutions that will leave rankling feelings behind. It was, therefore, that Gandhiji had thrown out a suggestion in the *Harijan* of November 30, 1947, that the provinces concerned should go to the Central Government of the Indian Union with agreed solutions regarding boundaries. The Congress High Command appears to have realized the wisdom of this suggestion by Gandhiji. A deputation on behalf of the Karnataka Unification Movement waited on the Congress Working Committee on January 24 last. In his reply to the Deputation's Memorandum, the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, advised as follows:

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. . . As you are aware, settlement of boundary disputes is a complicated matter, and may arouse feelings at a time when we need the utmost cohesion in the country. It would, therefore, make the task of the Government and the Constituent Assembly easy if the people concerned came to Government with an agreed solution regarding their boundaries, . . .

This direction of the Congress President appears to suggest that the device of Boundary Commissions is no longer thought to be a fit instrument for the purpose of enquiry into and discussion over boundary lines. The Provincial Governments or better still the leaders of the provinces concerned are expected to iron out their claims and counter-claims, and present agreed decisions of their own on all matters of dispute. It is this spirit of accommodation that Gandhiji wanted to develop in us, to influence our conduct when he advised Shri T. Prakasam, the Andhra leader, not to depend on Governmental Commissions but to hummer out a solution of the Andhra-Tamilian controversies over the boundaries of the Andhra and Tamil provinces yet to be born. This advice holds good in the case of all the linguistic differences that threaten the cohesion of the Indian Union. Gandhiji's advice and its acceptance by the Congress has thrown a special responsibility on the Congress High Command to take the initiative in this matter. We should like to have an all-India drive to solve this question. Leaders of public opinion in the different provinces should be moving in the matter. Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa can immediately start negotiations. Orissa, Andhra, Tamil Nad, Karnataka, Kerala or "Penmalayam" can do the same, so should Bombay, Karnataka, Guzarat, Central Provinces and Berar. The Congress should take the lead and prod the Provincial Congress Committees to move. The Constituent Assembly should be presented with agreed solutions which it will register as the people's will on the solution of this ticklish matter round which have been built up many a hope of self-fulfilment on the part of millions of men and women. The Congress High Command should see that there is no delay. Unsatisfied desires can be used as explosives.

And last of all Congress Presidents, like Babu Rajendra Prasad, should practise, and not merely preach, *ahimsa*.

Boundary between Bengal and Bihar

The Bengal-Bihar boundary controversy has now reached a very delicate stage. The Bengali-speaking areas, which now form part of the province of Bihar, were transferred to it after the annulment of the Bengal Partition. On the Congress having given a solemn assurance that these areas would be returned to Bengal in due course, no further agitation on this count was launched. Since then, the Congress stands committed to the policy of redrawing the map of India on the basis of linguistic provinces. The Congress constitution itself has been modelled on that principle. Departures from this long-standing policy, however, have become only too glaring when the demand for return of the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar to their rightful place has gained momentum. Bihar has resisted this legitimate demand, even to the point of violence, with the full support of her leader Dr. Rajendra Prasad. But the way in which attempts have been made in the draft constitution to sabotage Bengal's claim has, to say the least, exceeded the bounds of constitutional propriety. Section 3 of the draft Constitution provides that the boundary of any state can be altered only when a representation in that behalf has been made to the President by a majority of the representatives of the territory in the Legislature of the State *from which the territory is to be separated* or excluded; or a resolution in that behalf has been passed by the Legislature of any State *whose boundaries or name will be affected* by the proposal to be contained in the Bill. One wonders whether Bihar or Assam will ever pass a resolution to the effect of ceding its territories to their rightful owners, namely Bengal, specially when one takes into account the tendency to thrive at her expense. It is really regrettable that the Congress has violated its own principles in order to satisfy the narrow and sectarian interests of some of her top-leaders, including the present President. The commitments of the Congress in this respect have been summarised in a memorandum prepared by the New Bengal Association and submitted to the high authorities of the Congress and the Central Government. They are given below which will speak for themselves. Meanwhile, we urge that this question ought to be raised in the coming April session of the A.-I. C. C. and persuade that august body to direct its President to take immediate steps to honour Congress pledges.

Dr. S. K. Ganguly, President of the New Bengal Association, has issued the following statement:

> We beg to invite the serious attention of all political leaders and of the nationalist Press to the extreme urgency of a satisfactory solution of the readjustment of boundaries between Bengal and Bihar. Though the principle of redistribution on a linguistic basis has been accepted, the delay in the practical application of the principle and the plea of the inopportuneness of the present moment is certain to create greater complications and make solution harder than ever. The delay is being utilised by the Bihar Government to whittling down the claims of Bengal to the Bengali-speaking area. Government machinery is already in full swing for manipulating official records and manufacturing land laws to the detriment of the claims of Bengal.
>
> A new census taken in these circumstances will be an apt instrument in the hands of the Bihar authorities to buttress and fortify their own claims. Intimidation, cajolery, distribution of favours and patronage are being employed of the purpose to undermine the morale of the Bengalis even in Manbhum and to make them recant their determination to join Bengal. Educational institutions are being forced to arrange for the compulsory teaching of Hindi even to Bengali

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students and their claims to higher recognition are being decided solely on the basis of their readiness to comply with this unreasonable demand.

Every month that is allowed to slip away before deciding this momentous question will be an additional nail driven into the coffin of the legitimate aspirations of the Bengali-majority areas. The Centre looks on unruffled and waits for the inevitable results of all these tactics to make themselves felt. The Bengal leaders and the B. P. C. C. are yet pursuing their behind-the-curtain policy and are afraid of coming out into the open with a bold declaration of their rights.

In support of Dr. Ganguly's statement we give the following extract from the memorandum circulated by the New Bengal Association :

(Copy of a letter from D. I. G., S. R. Ranchi, to S. P. Dhanbad, a facsimile of which was published in the press on 29th January, 1948)

CONFIDENTIAL.— Office of the D. I. G.,
S. P., Ranchi.
The 23rd October, 1947.
Memo. No. A/XXV-i-47.

To

The S. P., Dhanbad.

Ref.—Your Memo. No. 1342 Con. dated 13-9-47.

Sub.—Names of important workers and sympathisers, who are agitating or trying to work up agitation, for inclusion of borders of Bihar in West Bengal.

You should obtain reports on the activities of the individuals mentioned in the Memo. under reference and if they are found agitating or actively supporting the agitation, a full report should be sent immediately.

It is necessary to keep running record of each individual for suitable action in future, if necessary.

Sd. R. R. PRASAD,
D.I.G., S.R.

New Bengal Association's Memorandum

New Bengal Association has circulated the following memorandum :

Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in 1905 against the wishes of the people. It was followed by countrywide agitation of unprecedented intensity for about seven years. In order to prevent further deterioration of the situation, the Government of India made up its mind in 1911 to get the partition annulled.

Accordingly, the Government of India sent a Despatch on the 15th August, 1911, to the Secretary of State recommending annulment of Curzon's partition and the formation of three new provinces—(1) Bihar and Orissa, (2) Bengal, and (3) Assam, with their boundaries as they existed till the Radcliffe Award (August 1947). As the Despatch was prepared in secrecy, the Government of India added that "after the Delhi Durbar of 1911 they would discuss in detail with Bengal and other authorities the best method of carrying out a modification of the Partition of Bengal on such broad and comprehensive lines as to form a settlement which shall be final and satisfactory to all."

The King-Emperor in the course of his Durbar Speech on the 12th December, 1911, also gave a solemn assurance of readjustment of boundaries.

Immediately after the announcement of this intention of readjustment of boundaries, the following resolution was passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session in December, 1911, urging the Government to transfer the areas of Bihar, where the people spoke Bengali, to Bengal.

Copy of a resolution moved in the Indian National Congress Session, 1911, by Dr. (Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru, seconded by Mr. Parmeswar Lal and passed unanimously :

> "That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound gratitude to His Majesty the King Emperor for the creation of a separate province of Bihar and Orissa under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council and prays that, in readjusting the provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

In January, 1912, several Bihari leaders accepting the soundness of the principle embodied in the Congress resolution, reiterated, as follows, that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts be placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar.

Copy of statement published in January, 1912, by a number of prominent leaders of Bihar :

> "In accordance with the resolution of the last Congress, the sound principle would be that enunciated therein, that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar. According to this arrangement, the portions of Purnea and Maldah to the east of the river Mahananda, which is the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Bengal and Bihar, should go to Bengal and the western portions of these two districts come to Bihar. Similarly, such tracts in the Santhal Parganas where the prevailing language is Bengali should go to Bengal, and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the districts remain in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur the whole district of Manbhum and Pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum District are Bengali-speaking and they should go to Bengal, the rest of the Division which is Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar."

Sj. Surendranath Banerjea, the great leader of India and Bengal, on the 23rd January, 1912, as Secretary of the Indian Association, made a representation to the Government pointing out that in the Despatch of the Government of India, dated the 25th August, 1911, the principle had been laid down that Bengali-speaking areas should form one province and the Hindi-speaking areas another separate province, and pressed for redistribution of Provinces on linguistic basis.

In reply to this representation, the Government of Bengal observed that the readjustment of boundaries consequent on the modification of the partition of Bengal was under consideration.

On the 7th April, 1912, the Bengal Provincial Con-

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ference passed a resolution demanding amalgamation of the entire Bengali-speaking population under one administration in view of the declared policy of the Government of India as expressed in their Despatch of 25th August, 1911.

This demand was repeated year after year by the Bengal Provincial Conference.

All classes of people of Manbhum and Dhalbhum submitted their representations before Lord Hardinge, the then Governor-General of India, protesting against the separation of their lands from Bengal. Further in 1912, similar representations were sent from various villages with the same object. Subsequently Manbhum District Association was formed which carried on the agitation with the utmost vigour.

In 1917, in the Memorandum that was submitted by the Indian Association relating to future administration of India to Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford, after specifying the definite promise given by the Government, it was stated that for the purpose of introducing responsible government, it would be an advantage to have to deal with homogeneous provinces. It was pointed out that Bengal was such a province but there were fringe areas in Bihar, Orissa and Assam, the population of which were Bengalees in language, race and tradition. So it was urged that by territorial redistribution such areas should be included in Bengal.

In 1928, the All-Parties Committee in their Report, known as the Nehru Report, recommended formation of provinces on linguistic basis. The Bengal Provincial Conference of that year reiterated the demand for reunion of the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar with Bengal on the basis of this recommendation.

The Report of the Simon Commission expressed the view that "the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality" and recommended as a "matter of urgent importance that the Government of India should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman which would investigate the main cases in which provincial adjustment seems called for." (Pages 25, 26 of Vol. II of the Report).

Redrawing of provincial boundaries on linguistic and cultural basis has all along been favoured by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He repeatedly expressed this view in his speeches and writings.

The election manifesto of the Congress, dated the 11th December, 1945, formulated the view in the following precise words: "The Congress has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius, it has stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework and it has stated that, for this purpose, such territorial area or provinces should be constituted as far as possible on a linguistic and cultural basis." This great manifesto is the direct corollary of the fundamental principle of self-determination.

On the 8th December, 1946, a Convention of members of the Constituent Assembly was held New Delhi at which a Resolution was adopted reiterating the principle of creation of new provinces and distribution of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis.

But of late there has been bitter attacks by some newspapers of Bihar against the reasonable demand made by the Bengalees of Dhalbhum and Manbhum.

It is not the heated controversy in newspapers or vituperations from platforms or mob violence that should decide the issue. It is the fundamental principle of self-determination that must decide it. If the people of a particular district or subdivision want to be within a particular province, there should not be any interference from outside. The procedure is as simple as possible. If the majority of the people in the region speak the Rarhi Bengali language of contiguous West Bengal districts, it must be included in West Bengal. If, on the other hand, the majority of the people in the region speak Hindi, it cannot be included in West Bengal. It must be decided in a "civilised way," Pandit Nehru says.

Before the Radcliffe Award the Hindu and other non-Muslim population in undivided Bengal was 2,73,01,091. By Partition their number has been 1,58,93,573 and the area has been reduced from [illegible] sq. miles to 28,033 sq. miles. It is needless to say that West Bengal has been disastrously crippled by the Award, and it will not be possible for it to recover from the shock unless it gets back the Bengali-speaking tracts from Bihar. Hence it becomes imperative that these tracts must be reunited with West Bengal. The necessity for such redistribution has acquired a special urgency in view of the migration on a large scale of Hindus of Eastern Pakistan that has been going on ever since the publication of the Radcliffe Award.

Nearly a crore and a quarter of Hindus have been locked up in Pakistan; and several lakhs of them have already come over to West Bengal and many others are coming. It is but a niggardly bit of the original Bengal Province that has fallen to the share of West Bengal. The necessity of scope for expansion is therefore very considerable; and the area sought to be brought over from Bihar, about 8,000 square miles and with a comparatively sparse population (only about 450 to the square mile) would be a most suitable addition.

The entire land now covered by district Manbhum had been all along part of Bengal from ancient times and was never part of Bihar except from 1912 when the Britishers arbitrarily made it so for reasons best known to them.

Ain-i-Akbari records that Mandaran Sarkar (or Mandaran) appertained to Sube Bangla and Panchkote, the most important and largest Raj in Manbhum was a mahal of Mandaran Sarkar. Khan had divided Sube Bangla in several chaklas consequence of which Burdwan Chakla was [illegible]

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containing Mandaran Sarkar and three other Sarkars. In Firminger's edition of Fifth Report of Mr. Grant, Second Part, page 189, it is stated that "rich Zamindaries of Burdwan Raj, one-third of Bishnupore and Panchkote appertained to this chakla." In the Report as page 198 it is stated that Western Boundary of Panchkote was Chutianagpur and Ramgarh. Further in the Fifth Report, Part II, pages 248, 259 and 398, it is mentioned that Panchkote was for all time within Bengal, in Mandaran Sarkar of Burdwan Chakla. Rennell's map No. IX appended herewith conclusively proves that Panchkote was in Bengal and was not a part of Chutianagpur or of Ramgarh. Rennell's maps Nos. IX, VII, III and II, of which more will be said later, conclusively show that the whole of Manbhum district including Pachete, Juriagarh and Dhanbad areas and Dhalbhum were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur and Ramgarh.

The administration of Panchkote towards the end of the 18th century was carried on first from Midnapore and subsequently from Birbhum. By Regulation 28 of 1805, the Jungle tracts of Bankura and Burdwan were formed into one Jungle Mahal Zilla under a separate Magistrate. Bankura was its head quarter. By the Regulation 13 of 1833, the Jungle Mahal Zilla was divided, and a new district was formed called Manbhum with its head quarters at Manbazar. This included not only the present Manbhum district and several estates of Bankura but Dhalbhum as well. Its area was 7,896 sq. miles which was too large for one district. So in 1845, Dhalbhum was separated from Manbhum Zilla and included in Singbhum Zilla for the convenience of Magisterial administration.

According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, Mandaran Sarkar was the westernmost border territory of Sube Bengal. It further shows that Mandaran Sarkar consisted of several mahals out of which Dhalbhum was one. At first Raja Jagannath Dhal, Chief of Dhalbhum, refused to accept the suzerainty of the British, but subsequently his successor in 1777 agreed to pay fixed revenue of Rs. 4,267 on permanent settlement basis, and Dhalbhum Pargana remained part of Midnapore district till 1833. Rennell's map No. VII, dated 14.10.1779, shows Dhalbhum extending on both sides of the Subarnarekha as part of Midnapore. In 1833, the new district of Manbhum was formed out of the Jungle Mahal Zilla and Dhalbhum was made part of it. In 1845 for convenience of magisterial administration Dhalbhum Pargana was made part of Singhbhum, as stated above; but in revenue matters its administration continued to be linked up with that of Manbhum. It is well known that the people of Dhalbhum till today refuse to identify themselves with those of Singhbhum.

So in 1912 when Curzon's partition was annulled, Dhalbhum by a double process, first as part of Singhbhum and then of Chotanagpur, was made part of Bihar. This is how Dhalbhum was cut away from Bengal and grafted on Bihar.

According to Trevelyan's Hindu Law, Dayabhaga is the prevailing law in Manbhum. The prevailing law in Bihar is the Mitakshara. Panchkote Raj family is governed by Dayabhaga School of Hindu law.

In Dhalbhum and Manbhum, Durga and Kali Pujas are universally performed. Besides these Pujas, Manasa Puja, Jitasasti and Pous Parban are performed just in the way they are done in the neighbouring districts of Midnapore and Bankura. In the months of Baisakh and Jaistha, Harinam Sankirtan is sung in all villages as in Bengal villages. The Chhat and Fagua festivals are confined among the few Biharis in the towns. The Bengalee trait runs through the entire body of Hindus, Musalmans, Brahmins, Christians, Bhumijes, Kurmis, Santals, Bauris, in diet, dress, language, words, ornaments, conception of purity and impurity. The crowd in the market or gathering of men on any occasion will also strike as a Bengali assemblage.

A look at the map will convince any one that Dhalbhum is and should be part of Midnapore district or Manbhum district as it was in past times. It is the foundation and growth of the industrial town of Jamshedpur that have made the pargana a covetable object to Bihar. Without the industrial town there would have been no attraction for Bihar to claim this pargana inhabited by people speaking Bengali, Oriya, Santali, Ho, etc., and separated by a distance of 200 miles from Patna across the vast territory of mountainous and jungly Chutia Nagpur. Dhalbhum, Jamshedpur and Seraikella are on the Railway main line from Calcutta to Bombay and can be reached within six hours from Calcutta, but a railway journey from any place in Bihar proper to the above-mentioned places will take not less than 18 hours.

The levels of lands of the whole of Manbhum and Dhalbhum are the most important geographical features for ascertaining whether they should remain with Bihar or be made over to Bengal. Their levels are almost the same as those of Bankura and Midnapore. The level of lands intervening between them and Bihar proper ranges between 1,640 to 3,281 feet above sea level. (*See* Oxford map).

From the geographical position and physical feature of Dhalbhum as also of Manbhum it is crystal clear that they are not parts of Chutia Nagpur. Under no circumstances these far-flung tracts should be made part of Bihar ignoring the fact that they had been all along parts of Midnapore and Birbhum. The levels of the country are the same and they are inhabited by the same class of people with the same dialect and traditions.

[It is a common error to take Chutia Nagpur as identical with Chhoto Nagpur. Chhoto Nagpur (the Division) was created for the first time in 1854, and includes Chutia Nagpur which meant only the Ranchi Maharaja's Zemindari, and also Singhbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Palamau.]

J. Rennell's maps prepared in 1779 not only conclusively point out that the whole of Manbhum district and Dhalbhum subdivision were part of Bengal but

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were never in Chutianagpur, not to mention Bihar. Map No. VII shows that Dolboom, Burraboom, Manboom, Patcoom, Pachete, Jauldoe, Juriagur and Niagur were within Bengal. Map No. IX draws the boundary between Bihar and Bengal. It shows that Dhalbhum, whole of Manbhum with Jhariagarh, Jamtara, Rajmahal were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur, Ramgarh or Bahar. Map No. II shows Juriagarh, Doomka and Jamtara within Birbhoom. Map No. III which is of South Bahar completely excludes Dhanbad area, Jhariagarh, etc., showing Goomah and Doomchans beyond the boundary line. Present Dhanbad is over 50 miles south-east of Goomah and Domchanch. Map No. VII further shows Dolboom as part of Midnapur; and the initial B of Birbhoom in the fork between Barakar and Damodar rivers leaves no room for doubt that Birbhum jurisdiction included the whole of present day Dhanbad subdivision, right up to Niagarh, Ramcurrah and the Jamunia stream. Present day maps show Ramkunda, Nowagarh, also Topchanchi close to mile 188 on the Grand Trunk Road, and Madhuban and Pareshnath Hill near mile 195 on the same road.

Census Figures

	Area in sq. miles	Total population	Bengalees	Santals (all speak Bengalee as subsidiary language)	People speaking Hindi
Census 1941	4,147	20,32,146	13,57,284 67·3%	2,67,619 13%	3,57,075 17·5%
Census 1931	4,147	18,10,890	12,22,689 67·5%	2,42,991 13·4%	3,21,690 17·8%

The figures show that in the whole district the Bengalees were about 5 times as many as Hindi-speakers in the times of Census for 1941 and 1931. This fact alone is sufficient for decision that the district should no longer be retained in Bihar but must be restored to Bengal as it was before 1912. Furthermore as almost all the Santals in the district speak Bengali, the percentage of Bengali-speaking population is 80 per cent of the total population. So any attempt to retain the district or any part of it in Bihar will be a contravention of the principle of self-determination.

The case of Dhanbad subdivision must be dealt with separately anticipating possible objection. 1931 Census figures for Sadar and Dhanbad subdivisions are as follows :

	Total population	Bengalees	Santals	Hindusthani
Sadar Subdivision	12,89,798	10,46,653	1,68,714	62,269
Dhanbad Subdivision	5,21,092	1,76,036	73,377	2,59,421
	18,10,890	12,22,689	2,42,091	3,21,690

Figures most emphatically disclose that retention of Sadar subdivision of Purulia in Bihar is an outrage on the principle of self-determination. Here 10 lakhs of Bengalees want to live under West Bengal Government against 62 thousand of Hindi-speaking people who claim to remain under Bihar Government.

The case of Dhanbad stands on a different footing. The percentage of Bengalees, Santals and Hindi speakers are 34, 14 and 50 respectively. Of the entire Hindusthani population in Dhanbad subdivision, by far the majority are confined in the mining area of Jharia and Dhanbad as labourers and as such they form what is called the floating population. They cannot be regarded as inhabitants of the soil, and their number should not be allowed to modify the decision about the redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis. Otherwise in future there will not be any permanency in the boundaries of the province. On similar consideration the labour population in the tea gardens of Sylhet, being a floating population, was not allowed to vote in the referendum taken to decide whether Sylhet should be a part of Pakistan. The Hindi-speaking labourers in mines should similarly be excluded. Even without excluding this floating population, Bengalees and Bengali-speaking Santals together outnumber the Hindi-speaking population of Dhanbad subdivision. So there is no reason why the whole of the district including Dhanbad subdivision should not be transferred to Bengal.

Campaign against Bengali

It is regrettable that from 1912 when Bihar was separated from Bengal persistent attempts were made to make the Sub-division of Dhanbad a predominantly Hindi-speaking area. In 1914, after an unsuccessful attempt led by Mr. Luby, the Additional Deputy Commissioner, to oust Bengali altogether from the Courts in Dhanbad, Hindi was prescribed as an alternative court language.

A notification was issued from Education Department to the effect that, for the time being, only Mathematics, History, Geography, etc., might be taught through the medium of Bengali but as soon as the students would acquire sufficient knowledge of Hindi the medium of teaching of all subjects should be Hindi. It was notified that from 1916 all subjects should be taught in Hindi.

Orders were issued in Government letter No. 5[illegible] R.S., dated 7.8.1918 directing that the Records of Rights in the Settlement proceedings about to commence would be written in Hindi exclusively, and not in Bengalee. This was followed at once by memorials of protests from persons holding permanent interest in the land, both landlords and tenants who had all their documents in Bengali and were all practically ignorant of Hindi. In view of this Mr. Hoernle, the Additional Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad, was of the view that the Record of Rights in the whole of the subdivision ought to be in Bengali. So the Government had to reconsider the matter. After

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long delay, revised orders were grudgingly passed in Government letter No. 309 J.T.C., 9, dated 8.6.1921 that, for the eastern thanas Nirsha and Tundi, the records were to be prepared in Bengali, but that the order of 1918 relating to record and petitions in Hindi must hold good for Block E, consisting of thanas Gobindapur, Jharia and Topchanchi. But practically all documents and papers produced by landlords and tenants even for Block E were found to be in Bengali, and the Settlement Officer Mr. Gokhale, I.C.S., had to observe in his final Report that "there was much difficulty in the landlords and raiyats to understand the Hindi record," and that parties, who were prevented from presenting before the Settlement staff petitions in Bengali, started writing petitions in English but not in Hindi. Mr. Gokhale had nothing better to suggest for meeting this anomalous situation than that "every effort should be made to popularise the study of Hindi in all the vernacular schools in the area, so that in a short time there will be at least one man in each village who can read the record and thus enable the villagers to take advantage of it." After a lapse of over 20 years since then, it is now possible to get in most villages in the 3 western thanas "at least one man" who can read and explain the record ; but even today the great majority of petitions filed in Courts and of documents presented for registration in the Registration offices continue to be written in Bengali and not in Hindi.

In Dhalbhum, Hindi was prescribed in 1934 as alternative Court language and Hindi primary schools were opened. Similar action was taken in the Bengalee-speaking tracts of the Santal Parganas, and the first effect was a heavy drop in the number of students in primary schools. The following observation in this connection by Mr. Hoernle, Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas in 1930 (who had been Mr. Luby's successor as Additional Deputy Commissioner, Dhanbad in 1921), is of interest : "The policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to have been based on Dhanbad where Mr. Luby who was Subdivisional Officer in 1914 instituted a vigorous campaign against Bengalees."

In 1921, Mr. Hoernle, Additional Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas, had observed : *"In 1914, Mr. Luby, S.D.O. of Dhanbad, had started there a strong campaign against the Bengali language.* The local language of Dhanbad was Khotta Bangala which is a mixture with Hindi. In the West and North the influence of Hindi is greater whereas in the East and North-East and South-East influence of Bengali is greater. Everywhere the influence of Bengali language is felt more than any other. In 1921, at the time of Census I could not secure non-Bengalee enumerators. In my opinion the campaign against Bengali language in Dhanbad was ill-conceived."

In 1937, a planned attempt to replace Bengali by Hindi was renewed. But in spite of repeated efforts against it the influence of the Bengali language is to be found everywhere. Primary teaching has to be carried on through the medium of Bengali.

Mr. Rajendra Prasad in his recent address before the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan expressed his annoyance to the Sammelan for "not propagating Hindi in Singbhum and Dhalbhum area which has resulted in West Bengal's claiming those areas." So it is an admission that attempt to change language of the Bengali-speaking area in Bihar failed.

Population of Dhalbhum on linguistic basis according to Census of 1931 :

Dhalbhum Subdivision including Jamshedpur City
(Total population 3,94,595)

Mother Tongue—

Bengali, 1,41,105 ; Hindi, 49,624 ; Oriya, 44,640 ; Santali, 97,119 ; Bhumij, 22,828 ; and Ho, 9,467.

Jamshedpur City only (total population 83,738)

Mother Tongue—

Bengali, 17,768 ; Hindi, 36,782 ; Oriya, 8,791 ; Santali, 564 ; Bhumij, 307 ; and Ho, 2,616.

The figures show that the entire population of the Subdivision is 3,94,595. Out of it the Bengalees are 1,41,105. They far exceed Hindi speakers (49,624). Then again, of the Santals and Bhumijes, over 57,000 speak Bengali as a subsidiary language, less than 7000 speak Oriya and not even 100 of them speak Hindi. So Santals and Bhumijes have proceeded a long way with the Bengalees to imbibe their way of speech and living.

In Jamshedpur town out of the total population of 83,738 (Census 1931) Bengalees number 17,768 ; Oriyas, 8,791 and Hindi-speakers 36,782. The above excess of numbers of Hindi-speakers over Bengalees should not be the deciding factor to retain Dhalbhum or any part of it in Bihar. Jamshedpur is only an isolated town in which the Hindi-speakers number more than the Bengalees but do not outnumber the Bengalees, Oriyas and tribals put together. The town is surrounded on all sides by Bengali majority lands. On the east is Midnapore. On the north are districts of Midnapore and Manbhum. On the West is Saraikela where Bengali-speakers predominate as will be evident from the figures given below. On the south is Mayurbhanj State where there is no Hindi-speaking people. Dhalbhum is not touched on any side by Hindi area.

Another factor should not be lost sight of. In Jamshedpur, the great majority, not only of Hindi-speakers but of Bengali-speakers and Oriya-speakers as well, are immigrants. Among the very small percentage of those that are building houses and settling down, the Bengalees predominate. Further, the labour population concentrated in the town of Jamshedpur is what is called floating population and should not be considered for determination of the point, as has been already discussed in connection with the Dhanbad colliery area.

So under no circumstances can any part of Dhalbhum be retained in Bihar. The entire sub-division must be transferred to Bengal.

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Saraikela is bounded on its entire North by lands of Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum which extends further towards the west to cover a portion of northern boundary of State of Kharsawan also. On its west are the State of Kharsawan and district Singhbhum. On its southern boundary, Mayurbhanj State touches it for a short distance and on the rest of the southern boundary and on the eastern boundary is the sub-division of Dhalbhum. So from its geographical position it should be made part of Dhalbhum and consequently it should go to Bengal.

The population of Saraikela consists of Bengalees 43,117 (30 per cent), Oriyas 36,363 (25 per cent), Hindustanis 4,911 (3 per cent), Tribals 58,734 (41 per cent). Of the tribals, the great majority use Bengali as their subsidiary language, and a small number use Oriya.

The observation of Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India is relevant in this connection (more exhaustive extract quoted later on). "Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking District, and the same language is spoken in that part of Singhbhum known as Dhalbhum, which is south of Manbhum. The State of Saraikela consists of two portions an Eastern and a Western. In the Eastern, both Bengali and Oriya are spoken by different nationalities. In the rest of Singhbhum, in the State of Kharsawan and in the Western portion of the State of Saraikela the main language is Oriya."

From the above there cannot be any other conclusion but that Eastern Saraikela must be included in West Bengal along with Dhalbhum and not with Orissa, must less with Bihar which has absolutely no claim.

Further, the extract "Bengali is the language of that portion of the Santal Parganas which adjoins Hazaribagh" . . . is important. In the portion of the Santal Parganas which touches Hazaribagh lie Mihijam, Jamtara, Madhupur and Deoghar. It is common knowledge that the inhabitants of these places speak Bengali and not Hindi. So these areas of the Santal Parganas, although they are situated on the western fringe of the district, should also be amalgamated with Bengal along with the contiguous eastern areas.

Santal Parganas is contiguous to the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Murshidabad and Maldah of West Bengal. The level of the lands of the above subdivisions is almost the same as that of the contiguous districts of West Bengal. In the beginning of British rule a part of Santal Parganas was within Bhagalpur and the remainder in Birbhum. By Act 7 of 1856 the district was formed with lands taken out of Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts. Rajmahal area was within Suba Bangla for four centuries and Rajmahal was its capital. The western natural boundary of West Bengal is evidently the Rajmahal hills and the ranges extending southward. From the list of Zemindaris it can be seen that from the time of Murshid Kuli Khan up to the time of Permanent Settlement the subdivisions of Rajmahal, Pakur, Jamtara and considerable portions of Dumka were within Bengal.

In 1912, the district was included in the separate Province of Bihar. In the Census Report of 1931, Mr. Lacey wrote that Bengali language had got a set-back in Santal Parganas, Singhbhum and States. He further remarked that "although there was keen competition between Hindi and Bengali languages in Santal Parganas and although the Hindi-speaking population is four times as many as Bengali-speaking people, still Bengali is the current language among the aborigines of the district."

In the two subdivisions of Pakur and Jamtara, the Records-of-Rights were prepared in Bengali. All the documents in these two subdivisions are written in Bengali. If the children, who speak in Bengali in their houses, be taught in schools in Hindi, the result will only be the disadvantage of an artificial imposition.

The Census Commissioner's observation that in Santal Parganas the number of Hindi-speakers is four times that of Bengali-speakers, requires a brief comment. This proportion is applicable with respect to the district as a whole including Godda and Deoghar subdivisions and western portions of Rajmahal and Dumka ; but it is not correct for the Bengali-speaking tracts which consist of the eastern side of sub-divisions Dumka and Rajmahal and entire Jamtara and Pakur and for which the approximate figures may be stated as : Bengalees 217,000, Hindi-speakers 136,000. Apart from these figures the most important fact remains that the majority of the tribal population of the district spoke and still speak Bengali as a subsidiary language and not Hindi. Thus Bengali is the common language not only in Jamtara and Pakur subdivisions but also in Rajmahal and Dumka which is borne out by the following figures. Rajmahal : Bengalees 42,[illegible] plus Santals, 130,644, against Hindi-speakers 1,22,[illegible]. Dumka : Bengalees, 46,077 plus Santals, 2,26,[illegible] against Hindi-speakers 1,97,434. So the claim for transfer of only the eastern portions of Dumka and Rajmahal along with the whole of Jamtara and Pakur would be found to be irresistible.

The old judicial documents relating to Deoghar show that they used to be written in pure Bengali with Bengali year and month specified. Such documents used to be filed in the court of the Judge at Birbhum. One such is to be found in the *Prachin Bangala Patra Sankalan*, edited by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, head of the Imperial Records Department, New Delhi.

The spoken language in the eastern portion of Purnea District is called Kishengunjia or Sripuria dialect. According to Sir George Grierson this dialect is allied and similar to the spoken language of North Bengal districts of Malda and Dinajpur. According to his estimate the number of Sripuria-speakers was more than six lakhs in his time He observed that this dialect was prevalent in the whole of Kishengunge subdivision as well as in the eastern part of Sadar subdivision.

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three succeeding censuses record the following figures with respect to the whole district of Purnea :

	1911	1921	1931
Hindi	12,02,568	18,74,971	19,80,123
Bengali	7,49,018	1,02,005	1,47,299

It is remarkable that in the first census after the creation of Bihar and Orissa as a separate province the number of Bengali-speakers decreased by six lakhs and that of Hindi-speakers swelled by that number in Purnea District. In the Census of 1911 the number of people with Bengali as mother tongue was 97 per cent of the total population in Kissengunge Subdivision.

In the Kishengunge subdivision, castes such as Saigope, Kaibarta, Koch, Rajbanshi, Namasudra, Bauri and Harhi exist, just as in the villages of Bengal and unlike Bihar.

So the claim to have the Bengali-speaking tracts of the eastern portion of Purnea district included in West Bengal is by no means artificial.

It is urged that in view of the self-evident and irrefutable claim of Bengal over the areas specfied in the memorandum, the authorities should immediately investigate the whole question and order their transfer to Bengal, on the basis of the facts and figures supplied herein. The enquiry should not be a protracted process, as the figures supplied can be easily verified. Delay in a satisfactory settlement would only embitter feelings and add to the already existing tension. It will further postpone the beginning of constructive work and ameliorative projects which are absolutely necessary if the newly created provinces are to attain economic stability and cultural progress.

Appendix II

Part 1.

Figures from the 1931 Census Tables showing Languages spoken in different Sub-divisions of Districts on the eastern fringe of Bihar Province.

Name of Subdivision or other area.	Area in sq. miles.	Total population.	Number of persons with mother tongue						
			Bengali	Hindi	Oriya	Santhali	Bhumij	Ho	Oraon and Malto
Dhalbhum Sub-division including Jamshedpur	1,160	3,94,595	1,41,105	49,624	44,640	97,119	22,828	9,467	
Jamshedpur City		83,738	17,768	36,722	8,791	564	307	2,616	
Sadar Sub-division of Manbhum	3,308	12,89,798	10,46,653	62,269		1,68,714	2,907		
Dhanbad Sub-division of Manbhum	787	5,21,092	1,76,036	2,59,421		73,377			
Jamtara Sub-division of Santal Parganas	693	2,43,858	73,091	70,362		99,117			
Dumka Subdivision of Santal Parganas	1,463	4,66,157	46,077	1,79,434		2,26,268			7,012
Pakur Sub-division of Santal Parganas	700	2,75,574	68792	44,455		1,45,626			14,260
Rajmahal Sub-division of Santal Parganas	801	3,31,136	42,937	1,22,601		1,30,644			27,871
Sadar Sub-division of Purnea	2,575	11,11,799	86,691	9,74,379		34,904			12,671
Kissengunge Sub-division of Purnea	1,346	5,60,577	59,398	4,94,120		4,683			1,334

Part 2.

Approximate figures for such portions only of the Sub-divisions of S. Parganas and of Purnea as are claimed for inclusion in Bengal.

Name of Subdivision or other area.	Area in sq. miles.	Total population.	Number of persons with mother tongue						
			Bengali	Hindi	Oriya	Santhali	Bhumij	Ho	Oraon and others
Whole of Jamtara Sub-division-	693	2,43,858	73,091	70,362		99,117			1,288
Half of Dumka Sub-division	730	2,33,000	42,000	28,000		1,60,000			3,000
Whole of Pakur	700	2,75,574	68,792	44,455		1,45,626			16,701
Portion of Rajmahal	370	1,66,000	34,000	22,000		1,00,000			10,000
In Purnea District portion east of Mahananda-Kalindri	800	3,54,000	1,35,000	1,74,000*		33,000			12,000
River and east of Manihari-Katihar road.									

* Most of these speak in the Siripuria *boli* which Dr. Grierson classes as a dialect of Bengali.

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The Problem of the Sikhs

The Pakistanis have not learnt anything from that part of the Indian people's history dealing with the fall of the Mogul power in the Punjab and the rise of the Sikh power in its place. Today by ousting the Sikhs from the West Punjab amid scenes of murder, pillage and outrage on women's honour, they have made the Khalsa determined and implacable enemies of Muslims and everything associated with them. This is a tragedy, a decline in human morality, the consequences of which will dog the footsteps of many generations. No ruler of men in the area which was known as India till August 14, 1948, can ignore its lessons except at peril to the abiding interests of millions of men, women and children. Sardar Ajit Singh, ex-minister in the N.-W. Frontier Province, writing to the "Guru Gobind Singh" number of the *Liberator*, organ of the Khalsa published from New Delhi, made this phase of the problem clear when he said : "Pakistan has solved one of the problems of the Sikhs. By ousting *en masse*, it has given them the much-needed solidarity in the East Punjab." Another writer in the same issue of this weekly said : "These Sikh States are to serve as the arsenal of Sikh political power, and the meeting ground of Sikh culture which is imperilled . . ." These two statements indicate the lines on which the leadership of the Khalsa shall be tempted to move the community during the crisis years lying just ahead of us. The Sikhs have many a score to settle with the Pakistanis, one of these is the loss of the smiling lands their labour had transformed from the aridity of the Punjab, the "canal colonies" that have been a standing compliment to their love of God's earthly gift. Another score is constituted by the Nanakana Sahib, the birth-place of Guru Nanak, the Kartarpur Sahib and other historic *Gurudwaras* situated in the West Punjab. A Sikh jurist has suggested that these *Gurudwaras* should be given an interntaional status on the analogy of Rome, the Eternal City of Catholic Christians. In the present atmosphere, it may appear premature to bring about such a wise act of healing of wounds. A spirit of give and take will be required. The Dargah Sahib of Ajmer will also deserve such a dispensation.

Leaving for the present the Sikh-Pakistan relations, those who are charged with moulding the destiny of the Indian Union would require the highest order of sympathetic and imaginative statesmanship to tackle rightly the problem of a people who have demonstrated their capacity in the arts of war and peace in the wide spaces of the world. Their sacrifices and sufferings in the cause of India's unity and integrity may appear to have gone in vain. But their proud record in this behalf will be a memory to be cherished by all, and as well also by them if they are to contribute their share to the building up of the new order in India. In the East Punjab they have all the elements of a great opportunity to revive their "canal colonies". They can make a success of it if they can integrate all their hopes and aspirations with those that move other sections of the community in general. If we understand their view they appear to be insisting that the Punjabee dialect in the *Gurumukhi* script should be the language of the State in the East Punjab. This demand belongs to the battle of languages and scripts that threaten coherent action both in India and in Pakistan. Apart from this, we cannot conceive of any problem that specially Sikh. The uprooting of populations in the West Punjab has caused suffering and loss to others also. And their relief and recompense cannot be compartmentalized into Hindu and Sikh, into Jat and Rajput, into urban and rural.

The problems raised by this violent exchange of population would require comprehensive treatment. This does not mean that individuals and groups will be lumped together into a single scheme under a cast iron uniformity. But it does mean that the reconstructive programmes should avoid the emphasis on separatism that has been the bane of India's social polity. The Punjab disaster has affected many millions lives ; their re-building is a great opportunity for the evolution of a new social order in which the crudities of the past, the credal and caste differences that have poisoned human relations in India, should not have any toleration. Our recent sufferings have not paid any respect to distinctions of status. All, rich and poor, men and women, have been victims of a common disaster, of a disruption of traditions. This should teach us the wisdom of making a common approach to the solution of a common problem. In this view of the matter, we do not feel at all happy with the statements of Master Tara Singh, framed in words that are reminiscent of those uttered by Pakistanis.

In his most recent statement he went all out against the Nehru Government as "a party which wants to keep all other elements in India's national life out of power." The charge is so palpably absurd that Masterji under cross-examination will fail to explain in the presence of Sardar Baldev Singh, of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji, of Shri Sanmukham Chetty, of Dr. Ambedkar, of Dr. John Mathai, and of Mr. Cooverji Bhaba in the Nehru Cabinet ; none of them belongs to the Congress organization. He appears to be sure that the Sikhs are not being given a place, "prior to any others," in the administration of the East Punjab Province ; he is sore with the joint electorate devised of Parliamentary rule ; he demanded "50 per cent representation" in the East Punjab. These are familiar words in our ears, made familiar by Muslim League disruptionists. It is not by making exclusive demands like these that Masterji will be able to help strengthen "the resisting power of our country." He wants an effective share of power" in East Punjab. We do not know who stands in the way. The vigour and vitality that Sikhs represent can win through any obstacle that may appear. The glass-house security that Masterji hankers after is the way of decadence. And we have

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doubt that the Sikhs will realize it soon that he has been giving a wrong lead to the Panth.

Bengal's Share of Income-Tax

Under the terms of the Niemeyer Award, which was in force till the transfer of power, the provincial pool of income-tax receipts, amounting in recent years to about Rs. 30 crores, used to be divided among provinces in a fixed ratio, which for Bengal, was 20 per cent. Before partition, Bengal's share used to be about Rs. 6 crores. But strangely enough Bengal's share after partition has been reduced to 12 per cent only. After partition, only about a sum of Rs. 38 lakhs, which used to be collected in the territories now in East Bengal, has been lost. This loss represents roughly about one-eightieth of Bengal's total collection. This may be understood when it is remembered that the largest collection of income-tax is made in the trade and industrial centres of the province which comprise mainly Calcutta and some parts of West Bengal.

After partition, the Niemeyer ratios have been revised and the West Bengal has been the only sufferer in this revision. The ratios are shown below :

Province	Percentage of the provincial pool under Niemeyer Award	Percentage now proposed
Madras	15	18
Bombay	20	21
Bengal	20	12 (West Bengal)
U. P.	15	19
Punjab	8	5 (East Punjab)
Bihar	10	13
C. P. & Berar	5	6
Assam	2	3
N.-W. F. P.	1	—
Orissa	2	3
Sind	2	—
	100	100

It is therefore clear that every province is going to benefit at the expense of Bengal just as had been the case at the time of the much hated Meston Award. It seems the British policy of victimisation of Bengal is going to be kept up. The following table will illustrate the monstrosity of the iniquitous award that has been made in the case of West Bengal :

Province	Percentage of collection in 1935-36	Percentage of collection in 1944-45
Madras	11·67	10·5
Bombay	31·23 (including Sind)	36·8
Bengal	33·07	33·1
U. P.	9·52	7·2
Punjab	6·49	4·5
Bihar	4·29 (including Orissa)	2·5
C. P. & Berar	1·89	2·2
Assam	1·06	·6
N.-W. F. P.	·78	·8
Orissa	..	·3
Sind	..	1·5
	100	100

So, while West Bengal's collections have gone down barely by 1 per cent, her share has been reduced by 8 per cent and while the collections in Madras, U.P., Bihar and Assam have considerably fallen off, they have come in for larger shares of the tax at the expense of Bengal. On these facts the conclusion is irresistible that West Bengal's share must not be anything less than what is given to Bombay. The present award is pernicious and unjust in the extreme.

Hyderabad

As things are at present, the Nizam's State seems determined to give itself no rest, and to keep the Dominion of India always on the watch. The basic facts of the situation in this State in the Deccan are: (1) the ruling house was founded by a traitor governor of the Moghul Empire; (ii) this house has been regarded by the Muslims of India as, after the decline of the Courts at Delhi and Lucknow, the upholder of Islamic traditions; (iii) these traditions are not shared by the vast majority of the State's people; (iv) this has given rise to an unspoken conflict between the State authorities and more than 85 per cent of the people; (v) faced by such a situation the State authorities have had to fall back on the support of Muslims native to the soil as also those imported from upper India and Hardamut of Arabia which had provided an Arab nobility since the foundation of the State. The alien nature of the State is demonstrated by the way in which Urdu has been imposed as a State language, as the language of culture, much against the traditions and inclinations of the majority population. The basic facts indicated above explain the etiology of the unrest that has been shaking the roots of the State. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Minister in charge of States Affairs, has been trying to conquer these intractable factors by stooping to the Nizam's sentiments and prepossessions. The Stand-still Agreement between the Indian Union and the Nizam's State has been an attempt in this line of Statecraft. It has not succeeded, as the statement on behalf of the States Ministry made on the 15th instant in the Central Legislature went to show. In the absence of Sardar Patel, Minister of Works Gadgil deputized for him. The following extracts from his studiously courteous statement high-light the tense situation in the State: :

> " . . . the position in Hyderabad was complicated by factors of which the Government of India could not but take cognisance. His Exalted Highness the Nizam had his internal difficulties with which we thought that lapse of time might enable him to deal satisfactorily . . . .
>
> " . . . Breaches of the Agreement have undoubtedly occurred . . . . These breaches have enhanced distrust and suspicion which the internal situation in the State has undoubtedly engendered not only in the neighbouring Provinces but all over India. . . .
>
> "First, there is the question of the border incidents. This is a most important issue because not only the peace and tranquillity of the whole

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of the southern, central and Western India hang on it, but also because these are symptomatic of the poisoned atmosphere that prevails, and an evidence of the extent to which subversive activities inside the State are going on without apparently any check from the forces of law and order. . .

"We are sorely disappointed, therefore, to find that not only border incidents have not been stopped, but they have continued to occur with even greater frequency and have lately assumed more formidable proportions . . .

". . . We feel that it is time that the Hyderabad Government turned its attention very seriously to the internal ills which are not only undermining clandestinely as well as openly the established authority but is also spreading terror and fear in the local population. I refer, in particular, to the activities of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimin (Union of Muslims organization) and its volunteer organization known as the *Razzakars*. . . . The resultant oppression of the poor and defenceless Hindu population in the State is threatening the peace and tranquillity of the whole of the South.

" . . . the permanent remedy for causes of friction is the attainment of responsible government by the people of Hyderabad, and the determination of the relationship between the Hyderabad State and the Indian Dominion in accordance with popular wishes."

These extracts expose the seeds of conflict that threatens, in the language of this statement, the peace of the country as a whole. For, let there be no doubt that Kasim Razvi, leader of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimin, is a blood brother of the Quaid-e-Azam of the All-India Muslim League, and he would spare no effort to poison relations in the Deccan in his gambler's throw to establish "Pakistan"—"Osmanistan"—in the heart of the Peninsula. The States Ministry's policy of softness will simply encourage Kasim Razvi and his bravoes.

Military Training for Students

The announcement made on the 13th instant by the Defence Minister, Sardar Baldev Singh, in the Legislature of the Indian Union that the Nehru Government had decided to give effect to the recommendations of the National Cadet Corps Committee does not go a very great way in fulfilling expectations of a marked change after the removal of British strangle-hold from over the life of the country. The Cadet Corps Committee's recommendations, so far as we, lay men, understand these, are concerned with the training of leaders of Free India's fighting forces. This may be necessary work, the spade work that is essential. But, we stand by twin standards of judgment on things military as indicated in our January number: "What they (the general public) are anxious about is that the mass enthusiasm created by freedom from British control should be harnessed to the service of the State, and that the insult implied in the division between 'martial' and 'non-martial' races in India should be effaced." Tested on these, Sardar Baldev Singh's announcement does not go far to satisfy us. Under this scheme his Senior Division will be recruited from Universities and Colleges with a strength of 32,540; his Junior Division, recruited from Boys' schools, will have a strength of 1,35,000.

The report of Sardar Baldev Singh's speech as has appeared in the Press does not give us any idea of the dimensions of the defence problem which the Cadet Corps are expected to help tackle. Unless the Defence Department of the Indian Union educates public opinion on this subject, the go-happy disposition of the people cannot be remodelled to understand the responsibilities of a free State, encompassed by potential enemies, far and near. This consciousness is the A. B. C. of all defence organization, the realization by the public of this postulate of freedom, of a free State life, is the seed-plot on which can be reared the cadre of leaders and men who will be prepared to stake their all for their country's honour, for the defence of their hearth and home, for the protection of the temples of their gods. For one hundred and ninety years of British rule this feeling and consciousness had been frowned upon; the "martial" races of the country had been content to hire themselves to the service of the alien state, and the "non-martial" races had held aloof or been kept aloof from work in the defence services of the country. This had been the general picture of mercenarism and indifference—at best resentment and discrimination. Sardar Baldev Singh's speech does not indicate any change that would create enthusiasm and passionate devotion. And we are not at all sure that the "non-martial" races of British manufacture will have a fair deal under the new dispensation. The idea behind the following words is not encouraging: "If the Senior Division is to be organized on an all-India basis, there should be no Provincial quotas. The Defence Department should be responsible for the allotments from the ceiling (*sic*)." This idea if given shape to may continue the British policy of discrimination between Province and Province, between class and class. To amplify the argument: The Radcliffe Award has formed two frontiers, west and east of India, running along "Pakistani" areas. The west is well provided against through the military training received under British hands; people in East Punjab have been trained in body and mind to meet their responsibilities as guardians of the frontiers. The West Bengal that must bear the brunt of the defence of the Indian Union's eastern marches, had during the British regime vegetated as a "non martial" area, as her people taken as a whole have had no military training. Under the Baldev Singh dispensation, people in West Bengal may not have the required opportunity to make up for the neglect of one hundred and ninety years. All-India considerations and the immediate needs of eastern defence may make West Bengal to the cold neglect of the past. This is a prospect to which we cannot reconcile ourselves.

Afghanistan

The British Government had tried to keep the Afghans contented with her sheltered existence

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by a judicious use of force and money. At one time it had thought to keep a protege on the Afghan throne, always agreeing to the line of Simla on every conceivable occasion. That was the Lytton tradition coincident with Benjamin Disraeli's vaunting imperialist dreams. The nearness of the Russian Bear and the natural fastnesses of Afghanistan stood in the way of success of these adventures. The search for a "scientific border" in the hills and dales bordering the country did not attain the success hoped for. And Afghanistan retained its practical freedom because Nature had put her as a buffer State between British India and Russia's Asia. In 1919-20, during the uncertain days of Russia's revolution, Amanullah Khan, son of Emir Habibullah Khan, a steady ally to Britain, tried to assert his own way with the many tribes that inhabited his eastern borders, trying to use them as a spear-head against the British regime weakened by the first World War. He failed and later had to flee his own country, which revolted against his too modern activities. Since then Afghanistan has remained a "hermit" kingdom, almost unaffected by the mighty communist upsurge around her in Central Asia. Nadir Shah and his son Zahir Shah, the present Afghan King, have been able to maintain their country's independence balanced between British India and Soviet Russia.

With the withdrawal of British power from India, and the setting up of an exclusively Islamic State in the neighbourhood of Afghanistan, the ruling classes of Kabul appear to have roused themselves from their somnolence. The impact of this awakening has touched Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's realm trying to find her feet in the new circumstances. There have been speculations that the hard realists of the Soviet Union are at the back of Kabul's move towards the Arabian Sea—the country, whose rulers have for more than three centuries been trying to gravitate towards the open seas through the Bosphorous, through the Persian Gulf. Britain has been baulking Russia's ambitions these centuries. Now, when she appears to be on the retreat from this region of the earth, it is not quite unlikely that the ruling powers of the Soviet Union should be thinking of using the Afghan for their centuries old purposes. Sardar Najeebullah Khan, Special Envoy to Pakistan, submitted certain proposals in this behalf to Pakistan's Foreign Office which have appeared in the *Sind Observer*, the personal organ of Sind's Premier Khuro :

> Official recognition of the right of self-determination of the Afghans, bringing the Pathans under one administrative unit and calling it by a name which may symbolise the culture of the Afghans, resettling the question of Pak-Afghan boundaries, establishment of embassies in the capitals of the two countries, a free zone at the port of Karachi ; a treaty of neutrality in case of attack on any of the two parties.

Though Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is the Foreign Minister, he has at his beck and call advisers from the old regime. We shall not be surprised if 'British experts' are found briefing him for his confabulations with Sardar Najeebullah Khan. So far as it is known Afghan support to the "Pathanistan" demand has been halted by the contention that the Pak Constituent Assembly is alone competent to deal with "the question of Tribal areas." A session of this Assembly has just closed without any decision being heard of, though Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan had joined it and put forward this demand on behalf of Pathans. The demand for a "free zone" at Karachi constitutes the most difficult of the negotiations. Sardar Nujeebullah Khan was reported to have presented the Pakistan Foreign Minister with copy of an agreement by which the British Government appeared to have "agreed to give Afghanistan a corridor to the Arabian Sea"; he also sent drafts of agreement and treaties on "similar lines" about ports in Pakistan. The Karachi Foreign Office submitted counter-proposals, and the two parties did not appear to have come near solution of the intricate problems raised by the Afghan Envoy. Matters rest here.

Palestine

Britain has got Palestine into a mess just as she did in India. In course of twenty-seven years she has squandered about a hundred crores of rupees of British tax-payers' money on a wild goose chase—on Winston Churchill's scheme of a west Asiatic empire built out of the debris of the Turkish empire. After twenty-seven years Britain finds this outlay a loss ; she has to write it off as a loss. She has decided to quit Palestine by the 15th of May next. And during the interval from now, her military and police forces are being killed impartially by the Jew and the Arab. And her Labour Government has been called upon to preside over the liquidation of her dreams of hegemony in this region of the earth. From reports that reach the world outside Palestine, we come to learn that Britishers as individuals and groups have been enlisting for service in Palestine, the majority on the side of the Arabs. The Arab League recruiters are busy helping to smuggle out of Britain these helpers. British Jews also are not inactive ; they are buying air-craft and military materials from the surplus British equipment. The Arab side has sums equal to Rs. 13 lakhs "available immediately for their purchases"—specially jeeps for desert warfare. Mr. Jan Micardo, one of the "keep Left" M.P.'s has thrown some light on these goings-on. "We are arming the Middle East. We are training the Middle East to fight. We are doing all sorts of queer things there." He alleged : "We are assuring that the Arab States will have plenty of forces when they start monkeying about with the United Nations." To what good ?

Sugar Industry

The sugar industry has been built up by the sacrifice of our people during the last sixteen years when it was granted protection against the competition of Java and subsidies to improve its mechanics of production.

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We have seen an estimate that said that about two hundred crores of rupees have gone from the pockets of the Indian consumers to this industry. But we are not sure that it can even now stand in competition of the Java and Cuba sugar industries if the Indian market is thrown open to these. During the last few years the record of this industry in India has not been creditable to its honesty, and even after "decontrol" two months back, the spirit of profiteering has been as strong as ever. This has lost them the sympathy of Indian consumers, and we are afraid that the Government cannot long prolong their tutelage of this industry; they will find it difficulty to resist the pressure of an angry public opinion inflamed by years of exploitation of their patriotic feeling for the defence of this industry.

Capitalist interests engaged in it are aware of this feeling seeking an outlet for expression. The last meeting of the Indian Central Sugarcane Committee was an occasion when the Chairman, Shri Datar Singh, was found expressing his fears about the future when Pakistan will start importing sugar from Java and Cuba, and the sugar industry in the Indian Union will have to depend solely on the internal market. For, by an international agreement, the Indian sugar industry agreed to limit their activities to the Indian market. This handicap will have to be broken through. The areas under Pakistan produced 23,273 tons of sugar in 1945-46; those in the Indian Union and in the States acceding to the Union produced 8,25,921 tons or 87·42 per cent of the volume of sugar.

The industry depends on subsidies financed by a special excise on the industry distributed by the Government. Out of it they expect Rs. 50 lakhs for the establishment of a new Institute of Sugar Technology and Sugarcane Research at Lucknow. There is already a College of Sugar Technology at Kanpur, and we do not see the need for another inside the same province. If an Institute be at all necessary, it should have its habitation in another province.

India's Foreign Policy

The debate raised in the Legislature of the Indian Union on our Foreign policy leaves us with the impression that the majority of the speakers in the debate did not have any particularly original or brilliant thing to say. A few of them talked of "realism" charging the minister in charge of External and Commonwealth with "idealism." But they do not appear to have been able to sustain this charge against Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The debate rambled from U.N.O. to Pakistan, Indonesia, Korea and India's future relation with the Commonwealth of British Nations. Prof. Ranga who initiated by a cut-motion this debate talked of "a positive policy". The report of his speech that we have seen did not give us any idea of what that policy should be. Mr. Hussain Imam, till late a shining light amongst the "Pakistanis" of Bihar, wanted India to take "the leadership of all the exploited nations of the East." Mr. Kamath of the Central Provinces wanted two contradictory things: "India should not participate in international disputes and like activities"; India should "endeavour to be a bloc with Russia, China and herself." Kuomintang China or Communist China? Mr. Santanam's was a counsel of perfection—India "should make friends with every one who could, and was willing to help her to become "economically and militarily strong." Such help in this imperfect world of the U. N. O. cannot be had without a price. Prices vary, and India might not be able or willing to pay these, demanded by the two rival blocs that divide the world. Mr. Naziruddin Ahmed, another "Pakistani" from Bihar suggested that India "should join the democratic group, led by the Anglo-Americans." This sample of opinions did not help the clarification of the issues involved, and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru did not find any difficulty in bringing reality to the discussion. He could not satisfy curiosity with regard to India's future relation with the British Commonwealth because the Constituent Assembly could be expected to decide it in its collective wisdom. His reference to the four million Indians in the various colonies and "self-governing" Dominions of Britain recalled us to an aspect of the question about their citizenship. But the most important part of his speech was when he said that

> he was not, in spite of his being minister in charge of External Affairs, interested in external affairs so much as in internal affairs at the present moment, because external affairs would follow internal affairs; but there was no basis for external affairs if internal affairs were wrong.

This approach to India's foreign relations would seem to suggest the wisdom of "isolationism" till we are more strong. Pundit Nehru was conscious that "we are potentially a great nation and a Power" that Asian nations in their search for a "lead" in U. N. O. matters "automatically" turn their eyes to India. This may be a great dignity. But it is also a position of great responsibility. We cannot be hustled into it. We have done nothing to "merit any kind of leadership." This is realism. So far so good. But we cannot say we are quite satisfied as to the running of this policy.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru further stated that the general position was defined by the Constituent Assembly right in the early stages and it would finally be decided, of course, by the Constituent Assembly itself. "Whatever the final decision might be, it is quite certain, I believe, that India would be a completely independent and sovereign Republic or Commonwealth or State, call it whatever you like"—Pandit Nehru said. That did not do away with the consideration of the other problem of what India's relations should be with England or the British Commonwealth or any other group. Apart from other

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questions, it affected the citizenship of all Indians in the various British colonies. In any event, politically and otherwise, India must be a completely independent country.

Reiterating the basis of India's foreign policy, Pandit Nehru said that even purely from the point of view of opportunism, a straightforward, honest, independent policy was the best. What that policy should be at a particular moment it was very difficult to say, because things changed rapidly from day to day. It might be that India had to choose what might be a lesser evil in a certain set of circumstances. "But we stood in this country for democracy, for an independent sovereign India," the Prime Minister said. "Obviously we ought to be opposed to anything that is opposed to the real, essential democratic concept which includes not only political but economic democracy. We would resist any imposition of any other concept or any other practice here. It is not a question of our attaching ourselves to this bloc or that bloc. It is merely the fact that we are potentially a great Nation and a big Power. It is not liked possibly for some people for anything to happen which strengthens us. So there are these various things to be considered. It is not such a simple matter for us just by a resolution to affiliate ourselves to this organisation or that organisation and get all the privileges of membership of that. That kind of thing is not going to happen."

Admitting that the External Affairs department and our Information Services had not functioned at all well in the past many months or a year, so far as our fundamental approach to this problem was concerned, Pandit Nehru said, "The more you analyse it, there is no other way. It is not a question of your adopting a certain policy because idealistically you think it a good one, but there is no other policy for this country to adopt to the slightest advantage." Panditji also said that our policy thus far in regard to various delegations to foreign countries had not been a very happy one.

When our Prime Minister has declared that India's foreign policy will be one of clear and straightforward honesty, we hope he will first try to overhaul the External Affairs department whose personnel seem to be unable to fit themselves within the four corners of the framework now defined in a clear and unambiguous language. India's vote at U.N.O. in favour of partition of Palestine has been very unhappy. Still more unhappy and unfortunate has been her delay in extending political recognition to the Free Viet Nam Government which, fighting for more than two years, have practically freed their country from French Imperial domination. During the last war, a motley of "Free Governments" of various countries of Europe overrun by Hitler had grown up in London and all of them were granted political recognition by the Allies with great promptitude. The recognition by the Allies with great promptitude. The recognition of Free Viet Nam is going by default and it would have been a happy consummation if the new foreign policy of India if the first recognition for Viet Nam came from our country which had a very long cultural connection with that land when it was called Champa.

The selection of India's Ambassadors and Foreign Office personnel has, to say the least, been most unfortunate. The selection of Mr. Asaf Ali forWashington had not the people's backing and the choice has not been happy. The Ambassadors for Egypt and Burma again are open to severe criticism. The Moscow Embassy has been, so far, more decorative than active and useful.

A recapitulation of the rules followed in the selection of Ambassadors by ancient Indian kings, as recorded in the Manusamhita, may be of use to our present Ministers. The Manusamhita says that the king should appoint as Ambassador one who is conversant with all the branches of knowledge, is intelligent enough to follow the meaning of a wink in the eye, is pure in his conduct, is efficient in his work and is born with a high family tradition. The Ambassador should know the art of gaining popularity without compromising his principle in any way. He must be a teetotaler, and a person of strict moral and financial honesty, because in that case the enemy of his king cannot influence him through drink, woman or money. He must have a strong memory and a masterly grasp over the history and law of Nations so that, in the absence of specific instructions, he can come to a quick independent decision on the spot when there is no time for reference to his home government. He must be fearless and a master of many languages.

When a Hero Dies

Under this caption the *Pakistan Times* of Lahore had an appreciation of the lifework of Gandhiji which we propose to share with our readers. The writer at long last appeared to have realized the significance of "the infinitely greater Gandhi, the man", whose body and voice lost during the last few months their ephemeral character, and "became timeless symbols of compassionate life and fearless rectitude."

> " . . . . . He saw, as few of us can fail to see, that spread out underneath the present political contour of India and Pakistan is one vast immensity of unhappiness and fear and suffering, and he strove as few of us have had the courage to strive to press back the dimensions of this suffering. . . . He saw as few of us can fail to see that the present bloodshed and savagery are the beginnings of an unholy assault not only on our freedom newly-won but also on our culture and civilisation inherited from our remote ancestors and he fought as few of us have had the courage to fight against this frenzied onslaught. And now he is gone. There have been great heroes in history who lived and fought and died to preserve their own people from dangers that threatened and from enemies lying in wait. It would be hard to name any who has fallen fighting his own people to preserve the honour of a people not his own. No greater sacrifice could be rendered by a member of one people to another and no greater tribute could be paid to the

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supremacy of fundamental human values as opposed to passing factional squabbles. . . . ."

Popular Government in Kashmir

The Interim Government in Kashmir has come to an end. The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has issued a proclamation declaring that a responsible government has been set up in the State. Reading out the proclamation in the Indian Parliament, Pandit Nehru said that the Council of Ministers in Kashmir will consist of the Prime Minister and such other Ministers as may be appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister and act on the principle of joint responsibility. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah has been appointed as the Prime Minister with effect from March 1. A Dewan appointed by the Maharaja will also be a member of the Cabinet.

The Council of Ministers will take appropriate steps as soon as restoration of formal conditions has been completed, to convene a National Assembly based on adult suffrage, having due regard to the principle that the number of representatives from each voting area shall as far as practicable be proportionate to the population of that area. The constitution to be framed by the National Assembly will provide adequate safeguards for the minorities and contain appropriate provisions guaranteeing freedom of conscience, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. The National Assembly will, as soon as the work of the new constitution is completed, submit it through the Council of Ministers to the Maharaja for his acceptance.

Pandit Nehru also presented the House with a White Paper which recorded the events relating to Indo-Kashmir-Pakistan relations. He prefaced his statement with some general observations on the developments in the State and commented on one dominant phase which was taking place, namely, the integration of Indian States into India. In his statement, Pandit Nehru gave a rather detailed account of the part Pakistan was playing in aiding the raiders, a summary of which is given below :

> Our complaint against Pakistan was that it incited and aided tribesmen from outside and its own nationals to wage war on Jammu and Kashmir State. Incursions by the raiders into State territory, involving murder, arson, loot and the abduction of women were continuing. The booty was being collected and carried to tribal areas to serve as an inducement to tribesmen to swell the ranks of the raiders. In addition to those actively participating in the raids, a large number of tribesmen and others had been collected in different places in the districts of West Punjab bordering upon Jammu and Kashmir State, and many of them were receiving military training under Pakistan nationals, including officers of the Pakistan Army. They were being looked after in Pakistan territory, fed, clothed, armed and otherwise equipped and transported to the territory of the Jammu and Kashmir State with the help, direct and indirect, of Pakistan officials, both military and civil. The equipment of the invaders included modern weapons, such as mortars, medium machine guns, the men wore the battle dress of regular soldiers, fought in regular battle formation and used the tactics of modern warfare. Man-packed wireless sets were in regular use and even mark 'V' mines were being employed.
>
> More than once, the Government of India has asked the Pakistan Government to deny facilities to the invaders, facilities which constituted an act of aggression and hostility against India, but without any satisfactory response. On December 22, I handed personally to the Prime Minister of Pakistan in New Delhi a letter in which the various forms of aid were briefly recited, and his Government were asked to put an end to such aid promptly and without reservation.
>
> As no reply to this letter was received for some days I sent a reminder by telegram on December 28. On December 31, the Government of India informed their Ambassador in Washington to convey a message to the Chairman of the Security Council of the United Nations. This message was a reference to the Security Council under Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations. On that same day the full text of the message was sent to the Prime Minister of Pakistan by telegram.
>
> On January 1, I received a reply from the Prime Minister of Pakistan to my letter dated December 22. The contents of this letter revealed no helpful approach to a solution of the Kashmir problem. They consisted only of a series of fantastic charges against India, *e.g.*, a determination to crush Pakistan, organise genocide of Muslims in India and the procurement of the accession of Kashmir by force and fraud.
>
> This letter, even if it had been received earlier, could not have modified our decision to request the Security Council of the United Nations to ask the Government of Pakistan : (1) to prevent Pakistan Government personnel, military or civil, from participating and assisting the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir State, (2) to call upon other Pakistan nationals to desist from taking part in the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir State, (3) to deny to the raiders (A) access to and use of its territory for operations against Kashmir, (B) military and other supplies, (C) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle.
>
> The House will remember the circumstances in which we had sent our forces to Kashmir. Kashmir State territory, that is, after the accession to India, Dominion Indian territory, was being invaded, to the accompaniment of murder, arson, loot and the abduction of women. The whole country-side was being ruined. Fresh raiders were continually coming from Pakistan territory into Kashmir State. All the fighting was taking place in Indian Dominion territory.
>
> The invaders had their principal bases across the border in Pakistan, received supply and reinforcements from them, and could go back there to rest and recuperate in safety. Our troops had strict orders not to enter Pakistan territory. In normal course to prevent raids on Indian territory would have been to deny the use of any bases to them in Pakistan.
>
> Since Pakistan was unwilling to co-operate with us in this manner, the alternatives left to us were to send our armed forces across Pakistan territory for dealing effectively with the invaders, or to request the United Nations to ask Pakistan to do so. Any resort to the first course would have involved armed conflict with Pakistan. We were anxious to avoid this and to try every available method to find a peaceful solution. Therefore,

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only course left open to us was to make a reference to the Security Council.

On behalf of Pakistan there was a repetition of the fantastic charges against India which had been made previously in the letter of the Prime Minister of Pakistan to which I have referred. Pakistan refused to act at once, to deny assistance in men and material to our enemies in Jammu and Kashmir, to prevent further incursions through Pakistan into the State, and to ask the tribesmen and Pakistanis now in the State to withdraw unless a previous agreement was reached and announced to the effect that the Indian armed forces should be withdrawn completely from Jammu and Kashmir State and the administration of the State should be replaced by another administration. There were some other matters in dispute also but the principal ones were the two I have mentioned above.

In effect Pakistan not only admitted that they were aiding the raiders but made it clear that they would continue to do so till certain political objectives of theirs were achieved by them. This was a proposal to which the Government of India could not agree.

Explaining the objects of India's interest in Kashmir, Pandit Nehru said, "We have only two objectives in Jammu and Kashmir States to ensure the freedom and the progress of the people there and to prevent anything happening that might endanger the security of India. We have nothing else to gain from Kashmir, though Kashmir may profit much by our assistance. If these two objectives are assured to us we are content."

Sheikh Abdullah addressed a press conference at New Delhi after the Maharaja's declaration was read in the Indian Parliament. He reiterated the determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to clear the raiders from their territory. It was for the people of the State to decide their future after normal conditions were restored but he had, he said, "decided for ever to live and die with India, to work, for the honour and strength of India as a whole."

Indian Budget

The first annual budget of the Dominion of India presented to the Parliament reveals a deficit of Rs. 26·85 crores for the financial year 1948-49. The budget estimates for the year, at the existing level of taxation, are—revenue Rs. 230·52 crores and expenditure charged to revenue Rs. 257·37 crores. Current year's deficit will be Rs. 6·52 crores against Rs. 24·59 crores in the interim budget. Defence services are expected to cost Rs. 121·08 crores next year with an additional expenditure of a capital nature amounting to Rs. 14·99 crores. Expenditure on food subsidies next year is estimated at Rs. 19·91 crores and Rs. 10·04 crores has been provided for the relief and rehabilitation of refugees. Besides, the Government will advance Rs. 10 crores for the setting up of the Rehabilitation Finance Administration. Expenditure on relief and rehabilitation in the current financial year will amount to Rs. 14·89 crores against Rs. 22 crores, included in the interim budget. The Finance Minister, in his speech, referred to the Indo-British Sterling Agreement and said that import of foodgrains was still a heavy drain on the country's foreign exchange. There would be no reduction in the extent of the Centre's assistance to the provinces in the matter of development schemes. Provision in the capital budget, for normal requirements and for the financing of the Central and Provincial schemes will be of the order of Rs. 165·5 crores in the coming financial year. Borrowings from the market are expected to amount to Rs. 150 crores.

The new taxation proposals made by the Finance Minister in order to make up the deficit have given rise to strong criticism. Business Profits Tax has been reduced considerably. The super-tax limit has been raised, both for earned and unearned income, to an extent which would cost the exchequer Rs. 1 crore. Tax on companies has been reduced to an appreciable extent. The existing specific export duty on cloth has been converted into an *ad valorem* duty and export duties on oil seeds, vegetable oils and manganese have been imposed. The doubling of the excise duties on tea and coffee and the raising of the excise duty on cigarettes and tobacco have hit the lower middle class people hard and these measures have been very unpopular.

The Budget has been severely criticised in the Parliament. Almost a universal grievance was that the Budget was no departure from the budget of the old British regime and that it contained no proper plan for the development of the country. In reply to criticism, the Finance Minister announced that he would consider sympathetically in the Select Committee on the Finance Bill, the question of giving relief from taxation to the lower middle class. According to lobby anticipation, the minimum taxable limit of income tax would be raised from Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 3,000.

We agree with the Finance Minister when he said that the budgetary position was very sound. But this soundness has come to no use to the average mass and the lower middle class. The burden of new taxation falls almost squarely on their shoulders. Rs. 7 crores have been raised by taxing them. We believe that this amount could have been found by introducing economy in the administration.

A Character-sketch of the Quaid-e-Azam

The New York Weekly, *Time*, made in October last an attempt to analyse the factors that made for the evolution of Mohammad Ali Jinnah into the Quaid-e-Azam (the great Leader) of the Muslim League. Not without reason did the writer put his finger on Congress' contribution to the Quaid-e-Azam's present eminence.

> Mohamed Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, . . . Seeing few, taking advice from none, he sulked in Karachi, the raddled capital of his already half-ruined country.
>
> Jinnah is far too easy a villain: conceivably an obsessed child of Mohamed, conceivably a man seized in his declining years by that most dangerous form of satyriasis which longs for naked power

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alone, Jinnah has beyond question done more than any other man in India to exacerbate the sores of communalism and to tease and torment their rawness . . . . .

Even so, he is much too shallowly held accountable; and there are extenuating circumstances. He is only a portion of India, and today all Islam stirs. In India, moreover, his people are a minority, largely an impoverished minority, and could by no means fully trust in the majority's will; Congress Party leaders consistently ignored his Moslem League in favour of Moslems he regarded as 'Congress puppets'; Nehru himself must be held responsible for under-estimating the force that Jinnah tapped, just as Western leaders for so long underestimated the evil well-spring that Hitler opened up.

Britain's Economic Sickness

Political prophets have started to say that the last twenty-four months have tested the quality of leadership in the British Labour Party and Government. These have proved themselves inadequate to the situation that confronts their country today. A Coalition Government as during the crisis-years of the second World War of the twentieth century could alone pull Britain out of the frustrations of peace. Sir Stafford Cripps is being tipped off as the head of this Government. The publicist in India may not be guided in his estimate of these speculations. But he cannot be wholly uninterested, specially when he remembers that Britain is a debtor to his country, and her economic solvency may expedite the payment of what are known as "sterling balances"; that her economic sickness may halt their payment altogether. This fact establishes a selfish interest in us for Britain's recovery. With all this, we cannot shake off the feeling that the conditions of success of this adventure in Britain's life are not quite propitious. Sir Stafford Cripps has given his country a slogan—"Export or Die". The Board of Trade has also given a blue-print of how Britain must reach an export figure, 140 per cent higher than that of 1938, if her people are to maintain decent standards of life. World economy, shattered by six years of war, may afford a new great opportunity to countries devoted to export trade as Britain has been since she pioneered the modern Industrial Revolution. But does Britain command the wherewithal to buy the raw materials of her industries, to buy the cereals from Canada, Australia and the United States on the import of which her people depend for seven or eight months of the year for their bread? On March 8 last, "the economic survey for 1948" was published by the British Government; it revealed certain "disagreeable prospects", said Sydney Campbell, *Reuter's* Financial Editor. He lay special emphasis on the fact that "Britain's position will be difficult with Marshall aid and impossible without it." Britain must sell to the "dollar area" more and more so that she can narrow the "dollar gap". There are other esoteric things, the significance of statistics of export and import which may be beyond the lay man. But he can sense it all right that Britain's economic sickness waits for a physician who has not appeared in the ranks of La[illegible] as it is at present organized in Britain.

The Late Mrs. Mary Das

We regret to learn that Mrs. Mary Keating [illegible] wife of Prof. Tarak Nath Das, well-known I[illegible] revolutionary, author, lecturer and leader of the Ind[illegible] community in America, passed away on January 10 [illegible] the age of 84, in her Manhattan apartment in [illegible] Ansonia.

Mrs. Das championed the cause of freedom [illegible] India for the last forty years. She helped the mo[illegible] ment for India's freedom from different parts of [illegible] world. Along with Dr. Tarak Nath Das she help[illegible] Indian students to prosecute thier studies in Eur[illegible] and America for more than three decades. She g[illegible] generous donations to various foundations which enab[illegible] many Indian scholars to come abroad for hig[illegible] studies. In an age when progressive forces were w[illegible] in America, she was one of the few Americans w[illegible] courageously joined her husband in taking a leading p[illegible] for India's freedom. She also supported similar mo[illegible] ments in other parts of the world. Mrs. Das was o[illegible] of the founders of the National Woman's Party [illegible] America and the National Association for the Advan[illegible] ment of Coloured People.

B. S. Moonje

The death of Dr. B. S. Moonje at the age [illegible] 76 years removes from the field of mundane activi[illegible] one of the most outstanding of the leaders of [illegible] Tilak school of politics. Early in life he showed [illegible] tendency of his mind when he joined the Brit[illegible] Medical Service during the Boer War. The experien[illegible] gained during it made him a confirmed believer [illegible] the militarization of Indians whom British meth[illegible] of administration, exploitation and enlightenm[illegible] had de-militarized with a view to consolidate Brit[illegible] strangle-hold over India. When we first came [illegible] know him during the anti-Partition agitation [illegible] we found him dedicated to this cause which st[illegible] towards fulfilment in the Bhonsle Military Coll[illegible] at Nasik of which he was the founder, the guide [illegible] philosopher. That he in his later life became [illegible] leader of the Hindu Mahasabha Movement was [illegible] of those changes in social psychology in India [illegible] betokened a revolt against the way of life indic[illegible] by Mahatma Gandhi. But this did not stand in [illegible] way of responding to every call for fight ag[illegible] British Imperialism sounded by Gandhiji except [illegible] of 1942. The last years of Dr. Moonje's life gave [illegible] community what was meant for the country. [illegible] died a disillusioned man fighting the battle [illegible] India's unity and integrity. He lived to witness [illegible] battle lost. But like a true warrior, he never desp[illegible] of the justice of the cause; to him the loss [illegible] battle did not mean the end of the war which [illegible] would have renewed till victory was his. This is [illegible] task that he has left, unfulfilled to his people, c[illegible] them to a re-dedication to the cause of freedom, [illegible] of [illegible]. He will not rest till the his[illegible] continuity of India is regained.

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RE-STATEMENT OF HUMAN VALUES

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

Today when all sense of human values has become unsettled and the curve dips very low, re-statement of these values in relation to every-day life, becomes both an imperative as well as a strenuous task. For values change as conditions of living change, and they can be measured only in so far as they trace the balance between the individual and his environment, his personality and the group he lives in, and maintain its harmony. Today modern civilization is threatening to shift its value orientation with growing emphasis from the dignity and nobility of personality to that of race, colour, blood and force.

Conflict between the old order and the new is always intense. It is to be found in the differing attitudes and morals of agrarian and industrial societies. To the pastoral age, the mechanical strikes as barbaric, greedy, irreligious, a denial of all that human beings had hitherto held sacred. And yet the new order has released undreamt-of energies with all the power of science. The old intimacy of family and feudal life tend increasingly to be replaced by a more impersonal and objective life, and in place of the old hierarchy and sanctions, is growing up a new one, built up and interpreted around machine and money. As one rationalist puts it:

"The mechanics of the free market slowly came to replace the authority of the lords and of the Church itself. *Laissez-faire* individualism was the economic, social and ethical expression of the free market. The cash nexus of the market-place replaced the Church as the nervous system of the new order. The pocket nerve was more than a humorous expression. It was recognition of a basic fact in western culture."

In the very process of this change it evolved new values for a larger community life, giving new meaning to personality and to labour.

Thus moral values may change from age to age, they from decade to decade, in this high-powered world. But underneath it all, down the centuries and through the generations, there has been running a silken thread of continuity that not all the cataclysmic upheavals can snap what one might call the absolute values—the single concept which has always given a sense of sanctity to human life, and an abiding worth to certain human attitudes: love, sincerity and honesty. Their interpretation may vary at different times under different conditions, as a piece of sculpture may assume different lines in different lights and shades, as a flower may present different hues at different times of the day. But the basic article remains the same. Our rules of conduct may vary and shade off from one to the other, but the compelling force remains the same. The essence of the content changes, the spiritual sanction persists, only the external expressions in terms of rules of morality change. The highest and the best in a human being has always meant the same, personal integrity, the capacity to love and serve others more than oneself.

These concepts are there, have always been there, like the stars that are blinded out by the glare of the day, but are fixed in the firmament nevertheless. The world of today is very chaotic but there is no reason for despair, for after all it is not an elemental chaos which rises out of causes beyond our control like a tornado or a blizzard. This is a social chaos created by man himself and with effort he can restore the world to order. It is so completely within his capacity and sphere.

The present moment is fraught with unprecedented tension. The human mind has been completely unsettled by the events of the last World War and its terrifying aftermath. The old landmarks have been flooded out, moral standards thrown into utter confusion, creating in humanity an utter frustration. History is after all as much of a biological process as an individual and the symptoms of historical pathology according to psychiatrists are almost identical with those of the individual. For the historical process is only that of collective individuals reacting together to a given situation. In the last three decades humanity has probably lived through experiences as new and as widely flung from each other as events separated by centuries. Humanity has obviously failed to adapt itself to these staggering changes and come to bear the stigma of imbalance. We have only to picture the condition by reproducing a million-fold or more the neurosis conditioned in a single system by constant mental pressure aggravated by repeated new trauma or shock. Neither our psychological nor social faculties have developed adequate faculties to meet these upsets. This condition is apparent to the discerning eye amongst all peoples—the victors, the vanquished and the neutrals. Referring to this evil Martin Gumpert, a well-known American physician, says :

> "The fog of mental and emotional disturbance affects almost every public function and can be felt in United Nations, in the Congress, in our schools and on our streets."

Another physician Dr. Mackey remarks :

> "There can be no doubt that the misdiagnosis and mismanagement of the so-called functionally ill patient is the medical scandal of the day."

The greater tragedy is that it is much more than a medical scandal—it is a fateful social tragedy. For the malady of imbalance is confined not to just an army of patients but almost our entire society—citizens on whom rests the responsibility for running

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the State and deciding the destiny of millions. The entire Nazi movement was but a mass hysteria caused no doubt by the action of certain deliberate and calculated stimulii on physically and morally exhausted systems.

Such a condition is brought about either by abnormal shocks, such as during war periods, or equally so by living under depressing conditions. The advent of machine, for instance, threw whole communities into a complicated vortex. Before that human beings lived in tightly knit communities, members clinging closely together, conforming their lives to a well-established pattern, where the rules and the codes were familiar, the paths to tread each day, old beaten tracks; above all every individual was a wanted person, who had an accredited place and set job. Today we live in a world that is being continually jolted by changes suddenly wrought by fast-moving applied sciences that force us to keep adapting ourselves all the time to rapid changes, so that we hardly know where we belong or what is expected of us. Often when a machine takes over the tasks of thousands of men, these men find themselves uprooted convulsively, with no props to maintain themselves or their families, with complete loss of their social position and prestige. Trained for a certain established society they become helplessly stranded when the girders which maintained that structure are suddenly removed without any forewarning. New factors just flow into this order, scattering men and communities in all directions like whiffs of cotton in high wind, who become placeless and lost not only in their jobs but their communities. The social aspect of this which follows is even a greater evil. For people who train for professions simultaneously apprentice for social skills as well to enable them to get along with one another with understanding and appreciation. It is this quality above all which helps maintain social equilibrium in our collective organism. When men and communities are thrown off the economic rails, the social skills too wither. The two do not keep pace with each other today and the result is generating of anti-social forces. In fact no substantial effort is made to overcome the lag between the rapid progress in technical skills and the obvious slowness in the social skills to find new adjustments. Humanity does not and cannot stumble into new modes of life just mechanically. It has to be guided in building new institutions to cope with new environments. This is how Dr. Mayo, an authority on man in the machine age, says :

> "Social skill shows itself as a capacity to receive communications from others and to respond to the attitudes and ideas of others in such fashion as to promote congenial participation in a common task."

When men are economically disrupted they necessarily become a prey to obsessive personal pre-occupations—brooding, hatred, vindictiveness, plans for revenge on society and the like. Dr. Mayo asserts that

> "If one observes either industrial workers or university students with sufficient care and continuity, one finds that the proportionate number activated by motives of self-interest logically elaborated is exceedingly small. They have relapsed into self-interest only when social association has failed them . . . . the issue lies right here—in an industrial mechanical physico-chemical advance so rapid that it has been destructive of all the historic social and personal relationships. And no compensating organisation or even study of actual social relationships has been developed that might have enabled us to face a period of rapid change with understanding."

In the old days when professions were hereditary social skills too were handed down from generation to generation. In the present context special provision in our educational system must take its place, to guide and lead the way for the members of the society of today.

Education today can be defined mainly in terms of this rebuilding, reconstructing order out of disorder, peace out of conflict, happiness out of discontent. Education cannot lose itself, in plastering up the cracks in the old walls, bolstering up broken down props and trying to whitewash the obvious unwashable black spots. While carrying over and preserving the old heritage, humanity needs to build upon new foundations, a new structure. That is the task of education in the immediate future, to train courageous pioneers who will venture into these modern forests of chaos, hew new paths, and rally all members of society to co-operate in a common structure in which man's potentialities and the benefits of scientific knowledge would have full play.

If the aim of education is to create wholesome attitudes towards life in order to establish harmonious and happy social relationships, it is necessary to make the child assimilate the more abiding values, ideologies, thoughts and actions which make for a happier and fuller individual life, and a richer and finer adjusted social organism, impart a philosophy of life, a spiritual foundation on which to build, a rod with which to measure, for in proportion to its adherence to this, will its purpose and function in life be evaluated. Happiness may, therefore, be interpreted as the realisation of this ideal or philosophy. The closer the individual's approach to it, the greater will be the sense of fulfilment and the higher the sense of satisfaction. In the very striving is the zest of existence the purpose of which imparts a meaningful contour to life and lends it depth and stability.

Education is a social process by means of which the individual is prepared to fit a complicated social pattern, wherein he may find a place that would enable him to make his cultural contribution to the group and in return draw the warmth and satisfaction that comes of human contact and intimate relationships. As long as society remained simple, the task was easy for relationships were direct. But as society grew more complex, the task became heavier, relationships more distant. No more can the old attitude

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passed on to the young as tools for craftsmanship were once handed down from generation to generation. Nor can a fresh growing life be modelled upon the older. For thought modes change as the technique of living changes. The old conception of the apprenticeship of the young to the old, and of education as an agency to carry out the social purpose of conservation and transmission in order to ensure the survival and stability of society, need very considerable modification now. Something much more than mere conservation, a definite provision for adaptation to the changing demands arising out of rapidly altering conditions, becomes essential; in other words, there arises the vital need for a new sense of values, a reorientation of moral attitudes in life.

At no time has this task been beset with so many difficulties as at the present moment, with the growing conflict between the old order and the new, between the individual and the group, between man and woman. The last named conflict receding more to the background as other phases come forward to dominate the stage. But it is far from adjusted, particularly in India where the obsolete form and living thought are still in very sharp contrast.

The quality which lends the highest moral value to life is freedom. This ideal has haunted man since the dawn of history. Freedom is the essence of life and living is but the opportunity for the fullest development and expression of an individual's gifts and talents, and which alone can make for the completest growth of his or her personality. Only freedom can create and maintain an environment conducive to this. For where the individual's natural expression is thwarted, the frustrated element forges subterranean passages and takes on anti-social forms. The highest function of education is to encourage the urge towards freedom. Where it seeks to put the lid on, the moral balance is bound to be upset, for while the mind and heart give allegiance to the ideal of freedom, the lips will be given service to the authority which thwarts this very natural urge. This immediately creates a state of tension, mental reservations that stabilify relationships, and a perpetual haunting by a sense of guilt at having let down the ideal and stemmed life's very impulse. But the attainment of the ideal is impossible unless the teachers are themselves free, free through experience and a comprehension of their responsibilities through a professional training for freedom. For the object of education should be to determine not merely the type of society, but also the aim of life; hence the overwhelming need for spiritual values to provide the necessary guidance.

Contemplation of ideals without the opportunity to realise them, necessarily leads to spiritual frustration. It is therefore as essential for educators to import ways and means of implementing the ideals placed before the pupils, as it is to impart methods of working out material formulae. So much of the disillusionment and cynicism among the youth comes of this bankruptcy of the professionals to implement ideals, the complete divorce between the copy-book maxims, the slogans given by the leaders, and the actual paths along which they are ultimately forced by so-called exigencies. Today, systems of ideas, ideals, skills, information are inculcated in such a way as to give little or no help to adjust the gap between the ideal and its attainment. The classics, fine arts, science, philosophy, history all carry profound values for ennobling the present and improving the future only when a respect for one's culture and intellectual ability becomes a real experience. That is completely undermined in a politically subject people, and long exploited masses and our youth suffer from this severe handicap. That self-respect has to be restored. But self-respect comes from self-confidence, which is but a by-product of freedom. Without this basic moral foundation, all else becomes insecure, unreal.

Rising direct out of this is the isolation of the intellectual activities from the field of production and exchange, and the manifold inter-relationships these involve. Today, culture is regarded as a delicate hot-house plant which can thrive only in solemn isolation under careful shelter, far removed from the harsh din of the struggle for existence. This has also upset the moral equilibrium because unless our intellectual, ethical and aesthetic ideals are grounded and correlated to every phase of our economic and material existence, our moral values get confused, because irrelevant and illogical. Whilst we insist on our right to things of beauty and comfort, we rarely assume any conscious responsibility as to how those things are produced, by what immoral methods, sweating, child labour, ugly conditions of work, exploitation, and a whole train of human degradation and sorrow. Even where one has knowledge, the social conscience is lacking, due to this divorce, and mental dishonesty that results from it. Some explain it away as irrationality of historic forces, others as inevitable human nature, entirely forgetting that human beings are the product of a group (society) and the environment it provides. The sharpening of the social awareness is a process generated by the interaction between the child and the society and the surroundings provided. The educators assume no responsibility for that; they only shut the door of their splendid ivory tower the tighter.

> "The cash-nexus of our culture, its pecuniary-mindedness, subordinates all other values and functions to the pecuniary where it does not completely suppress them. Thus our medical profession finds the pecuniary interests of its leaders in direct conflict with the interests and needs of the profession generally, and its broader functional role. Engineers and technicians, educators and other professionals find their acquisitive interests in direct conflict with their occupational functions. In short, the almost exclusive pre-occupation with the pecuniary aspect and relationship of occupations tends to rigidify their functions and to destroy their proper and necessary articulation with one another," comments a well-known educationist.

In the new society which is struggling to be born,

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if culture is to be a vigorous and progressive moral force, it is necessary to maintain properly balanced relationships between the different functional fields of life, and make culture an element of common link in the total process of daily life.

The present condition of society all the world over is beginning to worry some of the thinking sections. Some of this is sensed in the new literature that is coming out. Victor Gollanez's "Our Threatened Values is Typical of This", wherein he says:

> "At the crucial moment it will not be paper constitutions that men and women will obey; they will obey their own nature, such as it has become . . . . means and not ends are the effective reality; behaviour, not the reason for it, is socially decisive . . ."

Incidentally he lays the blame for it at the doors of the interpreters of Marxism; Marx's insistence on materialism in the technical sense, an insistence prompted by a passion to liberate personality, has been a potent factor in the spread of materialism in the popular sense and in the growth of contempt for the very personality that Marx desired to liberate. Lenin carried it a step forward in that passionate urge for the ideal society whose protection to him meant so infinitely crucial that any method that might contribute to the absolute power—even if it be dictatorship, seemed not only necessary but a duty. Today not only Russia but the whole world is reaping its fruit because of the use of that technique by the communist in every country.

Up to the advent of Nazism, moral values were never openly abrogated although wide disparities yawned between precept and practice. Slogans and high-sounding catches that fill so gracefully from lips found no echo in action. Fascism however paid scant courtesy to niceties. They made a high cult of brutality and a philosophy of totalitarianism. Although the danger of fascist tendencies is not quite lost, it stands generally discredited, more because the countries which openly practised fascism sustained heavy defeats. But the communist party still continues to exercise its influence, especially on the young minds, by its ruthless "short-cuts" to achievements. So much has the youth of our country been exercised by this quality unaware of its grave implications. It has therefore become doubly imperative to reiterate the old moral values although in new terms to remind ourselves just as much as our youth, that those standards still continue to remain like faithful gate-posts to sustain that abiding quality in our body politic which lends meaning to our achievement. For we see only too well from experience that all isms or a State, called by any name you like, does not automatically assume the qualities of such a state. Nor is the mere economics that can for instance make a state socialistic, it is much more the actual structure and its capacity for allowing the citizens as free human beings. For where a socialist State is not at the same time liberal and democratic, it is bound to become exploitative and oppressive perhaps in the old conventional sense but in a ent yet real way.

The moral issues of our day are necessarily cerned with the conflict between those who stand what are recognised as permanent values such liberty, tolerence, respect for the human personality. It is human experience that no society can together without some such cementing ties. At same time one has also to realise that one rigidly adhere to forms where the content has radically altered or the form is out of focus in newly altered situation. Where the society is quick transformation as at the present moment, the tive value of some of the old codes are bound to affected, nay sometimes what was once commended the virtue may now be condemned as an undesirable quality, such as for instance meekness and humility which Christianity extolled and managed thereby keep the toiling masses in bondage. These qualities may be intrinsically alright but in their social application have been so grossly abused that unpleasant associations have sprung up around them. In their place new virtues or rather old concepts with new orientations are being substituted, such as that of thrift industry, which mainly take on their colour from the setting. For thrift in a prosperous society would miserliness just as industry in the sense of driving large sections of society to exhaustion to keep smaller ones in comparative idleness and comfort would be immoral. In the same way those based excessive concern with individual rectitude need reorienting in the direction of social responsibility. Accumulation of private property, not only commendable but even desirable in the highly insecure state capitalistic society, would be a crime in the social state.

The abstractness of codes does not how mean that institutions, customs and laws are to disregarded or despised and to carry on from hour hour or day to day short-lived codes for each occasion nor can it mean that because life is an unending of revolution one is only justified in engaging in revolutionary acts every moment. For creative purpose, stability and freedom from too much is as necessary as change, otherwise no construction work would ever be possible. That is why has from time immemorial created institutions canalising and preserving whatever it garners gains from time to time in the course of its ceaseless march down the long centuries. The appeal and tion of tradition are based on this. Otherwise would not be able to plan life according to a pattern with reasonable hope of its being realised. The relative stability of such a condition is peace, so dear to the storm-tossed human heart. our present context of life the most dominating is the evaluation of moral values in relation to cal life and institutions, particularly—Grad—

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an increasing degree, the state is being endowed with definite and positive moral responsibilities and duties, in some instances it being a gradual transference from the individual and the society to the state. Charity, philanthropy and the like are today given constitutional status and integrated into the normal functions of the State. There are however other aspects of this relationship especially where a liberal, democratic socialist state is contemplated, as opposed to authoritarian, for while the latter calls up force, the former suggests spontaniety and agreement. Yet there can be no organised state without the two —as someone has said liberty struggles against authority, yet deserves it, at the same time while authority checks liberty it seeks to keep it alive. Really speaking in the political context force and consent are correlative. Every consent is more or less forced, but the compelling factor need not necessarily be a weapon of violence, rather one of reason and agreement built upon facts. Liberty is the complete experience of an individual of the joy of projection and expansion, to enable the personality to feel the various expressions of life in his own way and give scope to individual tendencies and activities, faculties and aptitudes, so that he can do what is satisfying to himself, while authority represents the order and regularity, the self-imposed restraints which reasoning individuals realise they owe to each other, thereby strengthening each in the collective, and, the all in one. It is to serve this that democracy is upheld, signifyiny the desire to give the masses importance in the shaping and deliberating of their affairs. Every form of human activity as it unfolds, takes strength from all other activities. This applies equally to politics into which come so many other aspects of human activity—for no activity is isolated. One may say therefore that no moral codes can be built up except through the economic and political structures. After all every citizen of a state in some measure or another puts into practice his ethical beliefs through political life. The conventional belief that politics is only machiavellism in which moral standards have no place, has been completely exploded by men like Gandhiji who in the definition of Croce, the distinguished Italian Social Philosopher, is interpreted as "the politics of a Saint, who in order to attain his saintly goal, availed himself of the sole means of attaining it, which were those offered him by politics". Politics is after all only a means, not an end. A real moral education must embrace political education, that is cultivation of qualities which will imbue every type of public activity, so that sovereignty is translated into terms of duty, fear is replaced by confidence, and equality becomes not a mathematical quotient but a consciousness of our common humanity and common rights. Then the state itself ceases to convey a simple utilitarian relation and become instead of a synthesis of forces, synthesis of culture.

The growing emphasis on the rights of the individual and the struggle towards a democratic form of society, also raises a conflict in moral concepts. This is further complicated in Indian society —still semi-feudal in character and stamped by family authoritarianism—by a direct challenge from a rising industrial community with its new set of values. Democracy, which is a social ideal on respect for the individual, recognises and safeguards the uniqueness of each personality, affirms the individual's right to equal —not identical—opportunities for the development of his or her potentialities, believes that each has something special to contribute, and that each, while taking something away from society also puts something back. "Public education emerges from and flows into the stream of social living." These concepts no doubt militiate against the "take over" from a previous age that has gone by. But if we have faith in the democratic idea as we profess to do, and believe there is morality only in intelligent consent, that coercion resting on no matter how high-sounding a motive, is unethical; that "circular response" or an integration resulting from group exploration, discussion and interpretation represents a method superior to the dictates of a single mind, then we have a moral obligation to introduce and practise its basic principles in all phases of life.

This takes as its premise the concept of dialectics that is development and growth through the impact of the various internal forces in continuous rise and fall, thereby enriching life by change and variety instead of stagnation and monotony. It is these waves of renovation which ennoble life and endow it with stimulation. Therefore, a democratic society accepts the *bonafides* of these diverse currents and rather than set limits and checks, open the field to them to enable them to co-operate in "harmonious discord". The authoritarian society, on the other hand, distrusts opposition and spontaneous forces in conflict, believes in shortcuts to the siezure of its objective, insensitive to the means employed, prescribes established rigid regulations which can only be disobeyed at a fatal cost. It is also seen that the rises and falls of democratic groups do not lead to social deterioration or political collapse as in the authoritarian one, for as in the physical system, reactions produce crises. Rather it is a process which can be likened to the ploughing of the earth to woo a new crop out of it.

But if creative life forces are to inundate the narrow form of practical life and transform themselves into abundanty productive streams, the responsibility on each individual is greater than on the collective, the important thing is the vigour of the personality in whom the ethical ideal is deeply embedded and which he can reach for. Gandhiji has in his own quaint way characterised it as his inner voice, which Croce describes as "nothing but the needs of history personified in individuals and they gradually assume their proper order in the maze, in the intricacy, in

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the struggle of individual actions gradually being translated into actuality in the manner and degree possible to them." It is therefore more realistic to put greater emphasis on the moral standards each individual conforms to, instead of their only burying themselves calling on the state to change its nature.

Indian women have also to fight against the double standard of sexual morality that still plagues Indian society, which is another aspect of the conflict of moral ideas. The older moral codes need definite alteration. Education has a great responsibility in replacing these false evaluations of sex, which have resulted in so much injustice and discrimination against woman, by a correct analysis of the two sexes in relationship to society. Education must bring society to a recognition of the social division of labour between the sexes, of the truth that woman power is basic and that she is a social and economic factor on her own, not as an assistant to man. It is also essential to make society accept the housewife as a distinct economic entity that makes an invaluable contribution to the natural economy, though she may not labour at a machine or scratch at a desk and bring home a monthly pay cheque. In reality, even in material terms she is as much of a working woman as a factory worker, for she expends more energy, time and skill in the production of commodities than any legally protected industrial worker, for her working hours are practically unlimited and her tools countless. As for her social value it cannot be measured in terms of standard weights, as society is dependent on her not only for its biological perpetuation but cultural as well, for woman is one of the most important stabilising social forces in the home and outside. One writer has rightly defined her social value as "priceless". Education has to reorient the traditional discount attached to the female sex as a whole, and give it an intelligent, scientific and cogent value. This alone can restore the moral balance which has long been very badly tipped between the sexes, attitudes of the two sexes and society, with all its attendant hardship to women and the infinite moral damage to society as a whole.

The time has come when the old type of moral behaviour has to be replaced by a new, when it must not be forgotten that the young people of today are not merely heirs of the past but also the builders of tomorrow, that either spiritual values must become real and therefore, dominant, or the world be left for ever to the ravages and havocs that become inevitable when economic values alone prevail. Education must create in each human heart a new faith in a new philosophy that teaches, however paradoxical it may seem, that in the mathematics of present-day economics sharing leads to an increase in the good things of life, that plenty is maintained only when all have a share in it, that the greatest happiness of each is but a counterpart of the greatest good of all.

So man still continues to dream, hope and strive for a more human world from which exploitation and oppression, poverty and disease will have disappeared and the state become the expression of this noble life. For moral standards become meaningful only in translating those codes in terms of everyday life—or as someone has said, transform morals into politics. In this lies the salvaging of humanity from the present moral morass.

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WHY GANDHISM !

A Study in the Relationship of Technique and Civilization

By BUDDHA PRAKASH, M.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S.

CIVILIZATION is the supreme art of Life-spirit. It is the attribute of concord and co-ordination, the function of harmony and homonoia, the spirit of adaptation and adjustment. Human relations are, in fact, marked by discord and conflict as those of other lesser breeds and blind elements of nature. But there is a fine instinct in man, which generates a sense of restraint and a spirit of sacrifice and thus makes possible a social order, a political state and a religious fellowship. This instinct is the root of civilization whose outward symbol is the 'civitas' or the state.

The civitas and hence civilization requires an environment of placidity and accommodation among different phenomenal and human forces. The relationship of physical surrounding and human existence is as vital to the geneses of civilization as that subsisting between human beings *inter se* in respect of matters of common concern. The first relationship leads to the progress of physical science and development of material paraphernalia; the second results in state, society and religion. This bi-faced evolution —material and spiritual—tending towards command over environment is known as technique. This is instrumental to the growth of civilization in so far as it helps create an atmosphere of adjustment and harmony, in which physical forces, animal impulses and spiritual urges meet in a symmetrical pattern to form a cosmic sittilickhaus. Technique and civilization are in this way, interwining in their effects and inter-related in their incidence. As technique progresses, the mechanism of accommodation advances and civilization steps forward. Likewise, as civilization rises, the spirit of accommodation is ingrained deep and the technique becomes perfect. The process of technique promoting civilization is that of thought evolving into action and a machine put to production. A

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thought can never become action until the impelling urge of spirit brings to bear on it its moulding influence ; a machine can never act as a productive agency until the steam-pressure of human effort moves it on. This moulding influence or formative force, this steam-pressure of effort are the indicia of civilization. Technique, therefore, is a sign of civilization only if it is annealed, assimilated and formed an integral part of human life. It is a sign of un-civilization if it results in indigestion, diarrhoea or constipation. Technique has, thus, to develop with regard to the general trend of civilization. History abounds in instances wherein technique displays an overgrowth and smothers the life of civilization. Like the overfed Roman, who vomits to eat again, till he succumbs to nausea, an ailing civilization goes on intaking techniques till it finds itself cramped by it. Like a spider it is caught in the cumbrous web which it so strenuously weaves.

In the early history of life some species of fishes evolved a remarkable system of fins which facilitated quick movement in water but this specialized technique destroyed the incentive to further development. Hence those poor species, which were fastened to the floor, provided the stimulus for the next stage of evolution. They emerged as amphibians and reptiles. In course of time these reptiles, in turn, abnormally swelled in bulk and developed an abstruse technique of life, which told heavily on their mobility and adaptiveness and rendered them unfit to respond successfully to the challenge of the ice age. In their place, the rats came and carried the process of biological evolution ahead. Their successors, the anthropoids and later the Neanderthals, again cultivated an advanced technique of living as manifest from their paintings and funeral paraphernalia. But they could not summon the stamina to contend with the conditions of the fourth glacial epoch and in their place, the authors of the upper Palaeolithic culture, that was infinitely poorer in technique, led the course of evolution to its goal, *viz.*, man.

In human history also, the Polynesians, Eskimos and Nomads showed great inventiveness by taming a forbidding environment by means of the amazing techniques of seamanship, salmon hunting and domestication of animals respectively. But their life-spirit was spent in their endeavours and their civilization was at last arrested. Likewise in ancient Egypt and Babylon, architecture and engineering reached a high pitch of development. The pyramids, colossii and obelisks, canals, siggurats and towns still vouch for the great technical achievement of our ancestors. But it is equally true that their cultures curbed the progress of civilization and the uncultured barbarian invaders came and spurred it on.

Turning the searchlight towards our own civilization of the present age we find that we have tremendously advanced in science, industry and techniques. Practically all activities of human life are done by machines. Sowing and reaping of corn, spinning and weaving of cloth, cooking, lighting, printing, building—all are done by power-driven engines. Even travelling, talking, writing and counting have become mechanized and in developed countries feeling and thinking are also getting mechanized since mental complexes have begun to be shaped by administration of various hormones. In brief, man has been enmeshed from all sides in the net of techniques. These giant techniques, of course, demonstrate the great co-ordination of human endeavour and pooling and pumping of vast reserves of energy and skill. Never has such close collaboration been displayed by mankind on a world-wide scale ; never has such control over nature been achieved in history before. Man's mastery over his environment, effectuated by his conquest of matter and command over time and space, is an unprecedented *chef-d'oeuvre* of human progress. This crowning triumph is the result of extreme specialization of role and subtle distribution of functions made possible by the growing capacity for social accommodation and adjustment. So far it is a sign of the growth of civilization. But, side by side, this striding development of techniques could not be absorbed and assimilated by man. Hence it could not cause any improvement in the general health. It rather impaired it by over-feeding. The result is the anomalous position of gluttony and anaemia, of over-production and under-consumption, of exceeding command over environment and loosening grip of conscience. Egypt, for instance, was asked in 1936 to reduce the cotton acreage to a third of every plantation; Cuba curtailed the sugar crop to 4½ million tons in 1927; Brazil destroyed 12 million bags of coffee in 1931; Jersey let her cows go dry; Mexico wasted her figs and the United States of America have burnt their wheat. Recently an enormous quantity of potato was destroyed in Alabama under the Congressional price support programme and a drastic cut in the rice production of California is in contemplation. All this is being done while there is a global scarcity of foodstuffs. This shocking paradox of modern civilization shows that there is something wrong with it. There is thus scarcity amidst plenty. The mal-distribution of wealth has polarized the disparity between moneyed and poor people and precipitated class conflicts and revolutions. These vertical differences have been accompanied by horizontal differences on a wider plane. Cumulative acquisitiveness, known as nationalism, has pitted all countries of the world against each other in an arena of internecine wars. These wars have been rendered ghastly and destructive by the impact of industrialism, democracy and science and scourged by them the world is awaiting the fate of Hiroshima day and night. Thus all the forces of progress are providing impulsion to the engines of devastation. Human civilization is drifting towards a black-out !

The reason is simple : The progress we have made is an illusion ; it has enslaved its maker ; it has crushed his soul and made him a flywheel of the machine of nature. It has made him like a cotterpin, a cogwheel, a crank-shaft, a pulley or a piston. A worker working on a rotary machine, which types, prints, cuts, folds and bundles, acts only as its handle ; a person operating a crane on a harbour and lifting tons in a trice is an insignificant cog-wheel of that giant mechanism. Deafened by din and dazed with speed, this black, dust-covered marlock, the ghost

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of man, has become a chattel and an automaton. He has lost his heart and sold his soul. He has become subject to so many complexes and stimulii that he is unable to bear them. Extreme specialization and technicality have resulted in one-sided development of his personality and led to narrowness of outlook. Narrow-mindedness begets bigotry and want of accommodation. Hence the riddle and crisis of present civilization.

One of the consequences of the mechanization of techniques has been a speedy over-production of goods which cannot all be consumed by their producers. Necessarily that have to be exported abroad. But the outer-markets are themselves replete with foods, since those countries are being industrialized and rendered self-sufficient and the exporters are also at loggerheads to sell cheaper. Therefore, on one side there are tariffs, protections and bounties and on the other there are colonies, empires and monopolies. Thus nationalism collides with colonialism and the result is war.

There are critics who ascribe these evils to the economic system of capitalism. They argue that with the rise of socialism the motive for profit would disappear and the conflict for exports would come to an end. Colonies and empires would vanish away and countries excelling in one article would freely supply the surplus to those who need it. There would be no question of over-production, for the international field of free distribution would absorb all that now looks surplus. Man also will have to work less, his needs being easily and adequately satisfied, and will have more leisure to enjoy the amenities of life which civilization has made available.

The picture is very fascinating and granting that it becomes a reality, we are to ask as to whether man would be as happy and civilized as it portrays him. Leaving aside utopian criticisms, we should scan the success of this programme with the measures that are at our disposal at present. Regarding Indian cloth industry, it has been computed by a learned savant that if all the workers whom mill cloth keeps out of employment in India were to be engaged in machine-production, there would be enough cloth produced in India in one year to clothe the entire world for several years. In other words, the textile industry of all countries of the world would stop. Likewise other parts of the world which have specialized in other industries would meet the world-requirements in that respect. Middle East would supply oil ; Argentine, boots ; America, radios ; England bicycles and Russia, what not. In this way there would be strictly one-sided development of industries in different countries and their people would be specialized to do only these varieties of work. This rigid division of work would result in rigid segregation of peoples and a stratified society of alphas, betas, gammas, deltas and epsilons each having different biological make-up and psychological techniques as depicted in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*. In such society, the elaborate discipline of training and education and surgery would fit a man so completely to his station of life that he would have neither ideas nor organs for any purpose beyond it. Such people are fossils of men with no creative spirit, no artistic impulse, no sense of self-culture. They have nothing in common which can bring them together ; and their distance and difference create the same problem of adjustment which faces mankind today. In Russia, where some show of socialism was made, we find the same problem staring us in the face. Huge economic and mechanical plans have engulfed the creative personality of man and the cumbrous trade unions have not been able to save the individual from overwork. Recent income-tax laws show what great leeway is being given for the amassing of private fortunes and the ban on the freedom of thought and expression indicates as to what extent these laws can allow men to do so. Adding to this the foul game of power-politics, one can easily imagine the lethal and violent forces that this system has released to international relations. How then can it serve the cause of world peace and stability.

Thus socialism is not the lasting panacea of our ills. We want a radical cure and happily that cure has been prescribed by Gandhiji. Gandhiji has not dallied with the symptoms, he has directly diagnosed the disease. As a firm believer in nature-cure he has sought to treat the patient by quickening the curative process of his own nature. He has, therefore, not suggested tonics, extracts and elixirs ; he has rather stressed on fasting, abstinence and penance. His patient is one of high blood-pressure and high neurotic tension. Hence he has tried to tone up his spirit by prayer, love and truthfulness. Instead of forming an idea and imposing it on society he has evolved the technique of improvement from the very defects of our civilization.

Gandhiji's thoughts and actions have been conditioned by Indian circumstances. Hence his culture and philosophy have the inextricable context of Indian life to explain them. Yet he has a universal message for mankind which he dreams to deliver through India of his ideals. His fundamental postulate has been the restoration of the mastery and freedom of human individuality. Hence he has preached a comprehensible, self-sufficing, full and free culture in which the personality of man may luxuriantly flourish and prosper. He takes, therefore, mankind to the vital springs of nature in which it may drink the blissful elixir of life. His 'back-to-nature' directive does not mean the renovation of atavism or reversion to animalism. He does not like man to be a slave of nature or servile to its base impulses ; he also does not like him to pose as a master of nature and suppress its vital cravings. He wishes man to be a companion of nature, to establish harmony and concord with it, to derive freshness and nobility from its gentle elements and to fashion his life in close communion with all that is good, graceful and enlivening in its phenomena. He leads the baffled man of the ailing civilization to the bosom of mother earth for solace and inspiration. Thus he advocates a rural culture wherein everyone works according to his capacity and breathes his soul in his work. Every such work is instinct with a creative spirit that prompts it and is, as such, the full and free expression of what is best in the worker. Such work is a spiritual need and not only a psychologic

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necessity, as Kropotkin argues. It is to provide such work to every person, that lives on the surface of the earth, that Gandhiji had launched his programme of Khadi and rural reconstruction. As he wrote :

"The problem is how to find work and wages for the millions of villagers who are fast losing the will to work, to think and even to live."

The rejuvenation of will-power, the bestowal of spiritual strength and the development of individuality in the framework of society are the hall-marks of Gandhiji's plea for simple living.

But this is not a dogma or a fetish with Gandhiji. He has throughout been a scientist and loved science. He is not prepared to forego the benefits that science has conferred on man. In his life, he used torch, watch, set of teeth, microphone, radio and motor car. What Gandhiji ever eschewed is the conversion of man into a machine. Even more Gandhiji hated dullness, idling, unemployment and inequality caused by extremes of richness and poverty. Hence, he envisaged free work of one's own free choice, which does not only bring economic freedom, but also leads to political freedom through it and is at the same time a way of spiritual freedom. Khadi is the symbol of free work. But it is not a superstition. If urban culture and industrial technique can be so developed and manipulated as to fulfill the ideals lying behind Khadi, Gandhiji would be quite prepared to renounce it. He has written :

"Khadi is the only true economic proposition in terms of the millions of villagers until such time, if ever, when a better system of supplying work and adequate wages for every able-bodied person above the age of sixteen, male or female, is found for his field, cottage or even factory in every one of the villages of India ; or till sufficient cities are built up to displace the villages so as to give the villagers the necessary comforts and amenities that a well-regulated life demands and is entitled to."

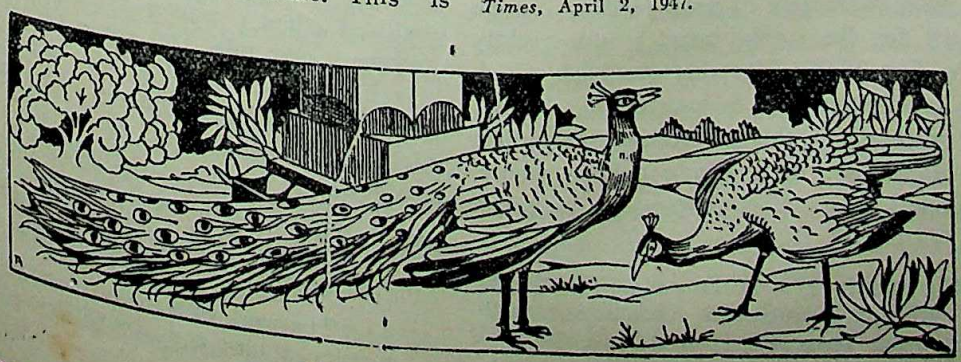
Thus, Khadi is the tentative solution of the problems facing the present generation of mankind. It can conveniently become the stepping-stone to something better, in case civilization progresses along the lines laid down by it.

Technique has, thus, to be subordinated to civilization; it has to become a minister and not a master ; it has to promote adjustment and not to hamper it ; it has to aid the development of creative individuality and not to hinder it ; it has to make human life full, free and pleasant rather than dirty, thwarted and wearisome. This is possible when man fully imbibes and follows the working of these techniques and contributes his best to their development. Then alone can there be equality or freedom. To think of equality in an age in which millions work blindly without understanding and appreciating what they are doing is a chimerical dream ; to conceive of freedom in an environment in which man toils mechanically without exercising his free will or expressing his creative instinct is logically absurd. To make equality and freedom real, it is necessary to equalize techniques and a knowledge of their operations, so that man may employ them according to his inner impulses and attain through them the height to which his personality is destined.

The Gandhist solution is commended by some eminent authorities of present thought for the ills of our society. Mr. Aldous Huxley, in his latest book *Science, Liberty and Peace*, has attempted a masterly exposition of the working of modern civilization and reached the conclusion that every advance in the application of pure science to mass-production and mass distribution, as is done almost universally at present, will increase the tyranny of an ever-increasing minority over the rest of mankind. He then goes on to consider the remedies and recommends passive resistance, propagation of religion, restriction of international trade as may curb competition and nationalist feeling and the localization of industries to replace mass production. All these are the cardinal tenets of Gandhism, as seen above. Mr. Louis Fischer also writes that the fountain of trouble is the vast accumulation of power. He, therefore, suggests the breaking of the citadels of power by decentralizing the processes of production and restoring the joy of Home-life.* But this is not possible in the existing system of production by heavy machines, until they are thoroughly integrated by mankind, as essential ingredients of their lifework. Hence like the Erewhonians, whom Samuel Butler portrayed in his satire *Erewhon*, modern man should realize that he has been enslaved by his mechanical inventions and hasten to rid himself of these shackles.

Today Gandhiji is no more amongst us, but it is wrong to say that he is dead. His spirit, his message and his inspiration would continue to emblam the hearts of millions of men up to milleniums of years. His path is the best one for us to tread if we really wish to save our civilization from the dangers of the atomic age.

*See his book *Gandhi and Stalin* and his article in *The Hindustan Times*, April 2, 1947.



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THE CROSS AND THE EAGLE

By Prof. SUNIL KUMAR BOSE. M.A.

COUNT KEYSERLING makes an interesting statement regarding the future saints of the world. In his opinion, the days of one-sided saints are gone. The future saints will be complete men in whom the forces of earth and spirit will balance each other and whose symbol will be the Cross and the Eagle. The coming of those saints has been prepared for, more than by anybody else, by Gandhiji. Gandhiji's philosophy is actually a philosophy of work which is quite in tune with the modern world of dynamism, not a philosophy which precludes the possibility of disinterested religious faith no less than that of unspiritual work, but is happy synthesis of both. This is his great philosophy of non-violence.

Non-violence is not Gandhiji's discovery, he rediscovered it. But in doing so he gave it a new life and a new character undreamt of before. The greatest saints of antiquity preached it and not a few of the modern thinkers speak of it passionately. Christ said :

> ". . . but I say unto you that resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also."

The society of friends caught the spirit of this text, and Tolstoy got drunk from the same intoxicating source. Gandhiji has given this message a revolutionary character and role and made the most fruitful experiment in modern history. He has also made the tremendous possibility of Christ's message apparent to a misguided world. That is why we see that a few years ago Lansbury pleaded with Hitler to "adopt the principles contained in the gospel of Jesus Christ." Speaking at the Peace Aims Conference, Oxford, 1943, Lionel Curtis caught the same tune :

> "Such a system must be a commonwealth, by which we mean the Sermon on the Mount translated into political terms."

C. F. Andrews is equally eloquent of the possibility of this message in his book on the above gospel. But no greater defeat of spiritual values, no more glaring wastage of spiritual wealth, has ever been witnessed in this world than the defeat of Christ's message. Tolstoy rightly pointed out that the men who repudiate Christ's message most are either non-believers or most devout believers. Christian Europe, therefore, went mad with violence. So was violence lurking in the exaggerated piety of the middle ages, and the holy crusades wanted to redeem the religion of love with the most implacable of hate. Modern Europe has crucified Christ for the second time. It was rightly thought during the first World War that one book which was to be closed indefinitely was Sermon on the Mount. It is interesting to recall in this connection the satiric picture in Joad's *Adventures of a Young Soldier*, where, an ironical interpretation of Christ's message is given thus :

> "What is Christianity ? It is the religion of Christ, it means long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, justice and kindness. Therefore I would use our Air Force to bomb Berlin until the hated city lies in ruins."

But this was not always so, not, at least, during the early days of Christianity under Roman rule, when the persecuted minority of Christians pitted against barbarism a love-inspired faith, and could thus claim to be truer Christians than their more enlightened brothers-in-faith of the present century. Tagore put a very uncomfortable question, during the first Great War, to Andrews, who was then vacillating between the lurid lure of war romance and the stark asceticism of non-violence.

> "What are you Christians doing," asked Tagore, "you have the clearest moral precept in the Sermon on the Mount. Why do you not work up to it?"

According to Stephen Hobhouse, it has not been possible for Christian Europe to penetrate to the full meaning of the Cross. Even while Christians in recent times have tried to live up to Christ's message, they "have not proclaimed it as the only salvation for mankind." It may be added that neither did they realise its importance in society and politics. It was therefore seen that bewildered Christians after about two thousand years of failure, used to flock to Gandhiji to learn the way of the Cross.

One fact emerges out of the nebulous forecasts regarding the future world, that the spirit of religion, which the world has before long relinquished, has to be restored to it. Not religion in the popular sense of the term. High idealism which is the bedrock of religion and ethical spirit which every religion fosters,—these must be incorporated in our social life, as well as religion in so far as it recognises the brotherhood of man as the only social relation and peace as the only social aim. Christopher Dawson, Editor, *Dublin Review*, says that the renewal of civilization "can only be achieved by bringing back into the social life the deeper forces of religious faith and spiritual will which have been neglected and cut off from the dominant elements of modern culture by acquisitiveness and extroversion which characterise the age of material expansion." Again Wells in one of his pamphlets voices the same demand for the infusion of religious spirit into politics. The idea of non-violence is looked upon in some quarters today as a creed of medieval awkwardness, because of the element of religion incorporated in it. But it is not actually an out-of-date ideology. Truth, which is the very basis of the theory of non-violence, and is another name for God, as Gandhiji believed, is ever new. Then again the moral and religious spirit underlying it has acquired a new character in the hands of Gandhiji and is playing a new role. This theory has taken the breath of religion and morality and infused it into social relationship, being a synthesis of two apparently irreconcilable elements, work and ethical spirit. It is an amalgamation of ancient spirituality with modern energy of action that makes Gandhiji's non-violence of such a unique character and inexhaustible value. Rightly Einstein pointed out in this connection that

> "The work of statesmen is permanent only in so far as it helps and consolidate the moral forces

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their peoples through personal example and educating influence."

Biologists speak of a natural belligerency in animals which have to engage themselves in a maddening fury of struggle for existence, and violence thus has its own *raison d'être* in biological law. This idea is furthered by Freudian psychologists who proceed upon an assumption of death-instinct striving side by side with Eros. But the mere fact of a man's biological descent cannot confine him within the immutable orbit of struggle and survival. To evolve into more complex patterns, and leave behind more and more the remnants of crude biological origin is the sum-total of man's social and spiritual aspirations. The primitive society was conspicuous by violence-motives where an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, was the unwritten law. Violence, in some form or other, was thus a socially, and therefore, morally, legitimate behaviour-pattern. With the progress of civilisation, this ancient enemy got its fury a little allayed in some spheres of human activity, but in the national and international spheres of action it still stalks the civilised man. Non-violence can help its eradication by rousing up the moral sense of man through practice of self-immolating ascetism and propaganda. Even the gloom of Freudian pessimism is pierced for a while by the hopeful suggestion of the possibility of removing violence, at least, greatly allaying it, by suitable re-action-formations through culture. Far from there being any attempt in history to eradicate violence from social relation, it was perpetuated with all the religiousness of a legitimate ritual. But violence is actually a primitive ethic stratified into human system. To disown it, to dig out its last vestige, will constitute the highest achievement of man.

In society, co-operation is of greater value than competition. The essence of social life is not always disharmony consequent upon biological rivalry, but reciprocity. Whitehead says in this connection :

"There is something in the ready use of force which defeats its own object. Its main defect is that it bars co-operation. Every organism requires an environment of friends . . . The gospel of force is incompatible with social life."

The mammoth animals of pre-historic times, conspicuous by physical fitness, have disappeared, and their less ancient successors, the kings of the jungles, are also fast disappearing. Even the fortunate animals, argues Whitehead, which are naturally endowed with protective shells, are also disappearing. But the shell-less non-militant creatures are miraculously surviving. This goes right against the emphasis rather confidently laid on biological struggle since Darwin. Not Nature red in tooth and claw but a society of species organised for co-operation, is what one can see in Nature. Not an insignificant part of Nature's law is aimed at securing co-operation between species and species, species and environments. How can this ancient pulse of germ and birth that we see in Nature keep its eternal rhythm, were it not for an organised and favourable adjustment of different elements ?

Co-operation is thus the law not only of Nature but also of society. Communism recognises co-operation as of great value, but does not eliminate war. While it does not idealise war, it, at the same time, recognises the importance, nay, the inevitability of wars of national liberation and class wars. Extermination of war is not possible unless socialism is established. On behalf of Russia, the only socialist country in the world, peace is claimed. D. N. Pritt says :

> ". . . and the Soviet State can justly claim that through the whole of its twenty-three years, it has always striven for peace, not only for itself but for the people of all the countries."

Lenin also made the same claim for Russia. But the peace which socialism or communism visualises must have iron wings, and can not be achieved through non-violence. Its midwife is war, as Marx might have said. Communism envisages the last bloody throes through which the world must pass before the birth of a new era. But in any case, communism, which Rolland claims to be the only sincere political creed with a programme and justly so, falls short of newer ethical reorientation and prescribes the traditional weapon for the traditional ill. Can a communistic society with its social equitableness eschew violence altogether ? That society, according to this ideology, has to be established through violence and maintained through violence, and it is to be asked if communism in itself is expected to create a moral regeneration of man to the extent of liquidating violence for ever. Social equitableness is the primary object of socialism, and not non-violence, either as a means or as an end, and the latter might not automatically follow from the former, unless a complete moral regeneration of man, which non-violence envisages, takes place, creating a new social ethics, in which acquisitiveness is not only a social crime but also a moral sin.

If peace is the ultimate goal of social relationship, then why have poets and prophets preached its untiring message, Cassandra-like, not to be believed ? Why has earnest desire for peace not fructified, why when it has produced any effect, it has produced only a local and temporary one and why the dream of world peace has receded from human grasp with the elusiveness of a mirage ? The roots of violence and aggression lie deeply embedded in man's powerful acquisitive motives and instinct for possession, which shape relation between man and man, state and state. So much of the peace propagandas of the world are therefore only wistful thinkings, starting, as they do, from the wrong way round, without facing facts. The peace-moves undertaken on the eve of the second World War by men like Lansbury and others failed. So also failed Roosevelt's appeal to Hitler to solve "all international problems at the council table." The reason is not only the Nazi country's aggressive hunger for living space, but also the infinite acquisitiveness of other countries. That is why it was seen that the pacifists were far outnumbered by so-called enemies of war who would accept a convenient and conditional peace, peace in so far as it was not contrary to their own imperialistic and colonial interests. Neither did the pacifist movement take the shape of a non-violent struggle. Avoidance of war

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up to a certain point only, and a vehement war thereafter, was the policy of many of the leaders of Europe. This is not sincerity. What right had England, having India at her heels, to ask Germany to have no living space? In short, bankruptcy of the great powers stood on the way of their taking a fair and just stand against a more perverted moral bankruptcy which fascism represents. It was not love for peace, it was the maintenance of a dishonourable *status quo*, not a desire for equitableness among the nations of the world, but an anxious watchfulness over one's own vested interest. The allied powers, therefore, failing to face evil with their own broken backbone, prepared to meet it with violence, crush it, and be seemingly confident of a finality in the matter, and while after the first World War, national pride rose up phoenix-like from the ashes, this time it is the Frankenstein of power and pelf, which the war had let loose, now threatens its very creator, civilised man, with annihilation. With violence violence has not been quelled. Gandhiji said in this connection :

> "If the enemy rob you of your earthly possession, you will yield because earthly possessions have nothing to do with your souls. This does not make you a bondman or slave of Hitler or Mussolini. But you cannot yield your soul to the conqueror because your conscience forbids you to do so."

This soul force, which emboldens one to dare defy the iron strength of dictators, has to be cultivated through the most difficult self-purification, involving purging out of acquisitive motives, motives of domineering, and of violence. If that can be achieved on individual scale and national scale, the fury of despots can be faced. Peace moves have failed in the past, because this self-purification on the part of individuals or States had not been achieved. Peace had been taken to be a relative and not absolute goal of states. People have interpreted peace in their own selfish and relative lights, and have not thought of peace through non-violence, which many have looked upon scornfully. Hitler called pacifism a communistic idea, Lenin called it a nationalistic idea, but nobody calls it a humanistic idea, which ought to be its only denomination.

A third world war, we are told, is already in the offing, an atomic war of course, which, as Bertrand Russel envisages, is likely to wipe out all civilised ways of life. A war after every twenty-five years is becoming the normal pattern of our society, and "all the interim is a phantasma or a hideous dream" of the throes of the last war and preparedness for the next.

Divisions and redivisions of territories, armaments and disarmaments, national and international efforts for peace, have failed. The League of Nations stood spectre-like in the grave of peace, and even UNO gasps and fumbles under the darkening shadow that overcasts the horizon. In these circumstances, what is wanted is a complete re-orientation of the outlook on life. Gandhiji's non-violence has the power of revolutionising modern man's diseased view of life. Gandhiji has converted an ethical creed into a dynamic and revolutionary faith, covering social, political, economic and ethical aspects of life and having immense possibility for re-orientation and re-construction of life. Non-violence is a complete philo[illegible] in itself. In its revolutionary aspect, it is a mea[illegible] fighting oppression, inequality and injustice in a[illegible] form, social, political or economic. In its constru[illegible] aspect, it represents a restoration and stabilisation [illegible] human values which, man, as a social creature, m[illegible] always consider the most precious possession.

Non-violence is a means as well as an end, a[illegible] proceeds upon an assumption of an innate reform[illegible] of man. By the examples of self-immolating sacrifice [illegible] rouses up the deeper forces of humanism which lie [illegible] under the crushing weight of acquisitiveness and vio[illegible] motives. It has experimentally been seen that non-vio[illegible] has the power of irrigating the choked-up humanis[illegible] man letting it freely flow, wash away the supergrowth [illegible] unsocial tendencies, and water and fertilise the see[illegible] deserts of human mind. Acquisitiveness on individual [illegible] national scale, unwillingness to share the resources of [illegible] earth equally with other individuals or states has b[illegible] said to be the stumbling block on the way to peace [illegible] the roots of social injustice. Dictatorship rises thus. [illegible] meet it with violence is useless. With violence it will [illegible] only temporarily crushed or not crushed at all, which [illegible] the lesson of history. Non-violent resistance, as Gandhi [illegible] said, can resurrect the spirit of man, mobilise it agai[illegible] war and violence, induce it to refuse to become m[illegible] killing machines and thus put a check to the iron dictat[illegible] war-machine. Man's fundamental feelings of humani[illegible] can be so mobilised as to make an invincible Maginot L[illegible] against which the despot's wheel will dash in vain. B[illegible] this non-violence can not be practised without a rigo[illegible] self-purification, the want of which makes it a failu[illegible] Speaking of Rome-Berlin Axis, Gandhiji had the cou[illegible] to declare that the dictators felt satisfaction in defi[illegible] world opinion which was vehemently against war, [illegible] because they knew that the Great Powers themselves w[illegible] were citing gospels of justice, had their own hands s[illegible] with injustice, inequality and violence. Similiarly, he a[illegible] said :

> "Peace will never come until the Great Pow[illegible] themselves courageously decide to disarm themselv[illegible]

In this way he visualised a non-violent revolution [illegible] a world scale, in which, violence shall not be kept [illegible] under threat of violence, but purged until it is e[illegible] washed away by strict self-purification in respect [illegible] empire-lust and inequality.

History, as we see it, is a saga of violence. Its b[illegible] is glorification of war. And those wars which h[illegible] celebrates with so much ceremony, were, in a sense, [illegible] of aggression and not at all of liberation, far less [illegible] wars. They are at bottom wars of imperialistic exp[illegible] masquerading as national and patriotic wars. H[illegible] created by the distorted verdict, of history, thus a[illegible] and reappear on the stage, fight desperate battles [illegible] pretended glory, but ultimately and actually cause [illegible] annihilation of human values by doing so. But in s[illegible] of the romantic glamour with which war has been [illegible] it must be said that history presents a bewil[illegible] panorama of guilt and retribution, in which every [illegible]

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even the most patriotic and holy, is a link in the chain of violence, which lengthens with every fresh war. In order to save the world from this vicious circle of wars and counter-wars, the very fundamental moral outlook of man has to be changed, which non-violence alone can do. People are naturally peace-loving and would not go to war unless wrought to extremes by skilful and planned propaganda of the so-called leaders of the State, who are economically and politically poles apart from, and callous and even inimical to, them. Those handful of leaders, to secure and perpetuate their own vested interests, incite the underdogs and lead them like cattle into the slaughtering scene to be fodder for guns. Russel tells us that the future society would be propaganda-planned. Can it not be expected that the masses can be welded into a non-violent society by large-scale propagation of ideas and living experiments in it?

Non-violence is a complete philosophy. Its roots lie deep in the hearts of men. In the Gandhian society it is a means as well as an end. It is a positive antidote to acquisitiveness, inequality and power-lust, the alleged causes of war. Production being in the hands of the workers, and direct and positive democracy being the structure of the society, chances of aggression are eliminated. Through this process, acquisitiveness and inequality will be liquidated. The results which a few isolated non-violent struggles may achieve, may be made permanent by this kind of society-planning. As an end, non-violence envisages this kind of society federating with one another into larger units, and thus preparing for a world fellowship of nations. As a means, it is the only one, for creating a society of wellbeing, by virtue of its negative character but positive effect, by its dynamism.

Non-violence is not an escape, neither is it a compromise. It has more than often demonstrated its dynamism, unquelled by the torturing machine of the awful British Empire. It has also proved its power of evoking easy response in the heart of other people and also of converting even hardened men. Its dynamism being based on moral force it entails heavy responsibility upon the men who practise it. Says Aldous Huxley:

> "Those who would use non-violence, must practise self-control, must learn moral as well as physical courage, must pit against anger and malice a steady goodwill and a patient determination to understand and sympathise."

This attitude underlying non-violence makes it so irresistible. As regards its dynamism, Rolland says:

> "The Mahatma condemned violence. But his non-violence is more revolutionary than even violence."

Then again,

> "No one in this world has shown greater aversion towards passivity than this indefatigable fighter (Gandhi), who represents one of the heroic types of resisters. The soul of this movement is resistance by means of inflamed energy of love, faith and sacrifice."

When Gandhiji himself said that every injustice in history has been got rid of through non-violence, he uttered a paradox. But it is also a great truth. Organised mass opinion has worked wonders in history. Democracy is an eloquent testimony to the power of mass opinion. Even in Fascist countries, the revolutionary voice of the masses is not ignored, and the blood-thirstiest of tyrants can not remain indifferent for a long time to this stern voice of Demos. Non-violence aims at the creation of this enlightened public opinion which will, by its own inner urge, defy any suggestion of violence. Having set out this great ideal before man through the Union of the Cross and the Eagle, Gandhiji has left the world, showing for the last time in his life, and most conclusively, the force and value of non-violence, which was his religion as well as politics.

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GANDHIJI AMONG THE IMMORTALS

By CYRIL MODAK

Of all the tributes paid to Gandhiji, and many thousands have been paid during the last few days, the one which seems to sum up Gandhiji's international stature was paid by Dr. John Haynes Holmes:

"Gandhi is great among all the great of ages past. He is great with Alfred, Wallace, Washington, Kosciusko, Lafayette, as a nationalist leader. He is great with Clarkson, Wilberforce, Garrison, Lincoln, as an emancipator of the enslaved. He ranks with St. Francis, Thoreau, Tolstoy, as a teacher of what the Christian scriptures call 'non-resistance', and better the 'love that never faileth.' He holds his place with Lao-tse, Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, as one of the supreme religious prophets of all time."

This tribute might sound extravagant at the first blush. But let us consider it calmly and intelligently. All the Nationalist leaders of the world, East and West, Alfred, Wallace, Washington, Kosciusko and Lafayette, were perhaps the most daring and the most criticised. So was Gandhiji—most criticised and most daring of the Nationalist leaders during the twentieth century. For let it not be forgotten that from a loyal co-operator having won the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal in South Africa for his co-operative loyalty in establishing the Ambulance Corps during the Boer and later Zulu wars, he became the fearless non-co-operator who challenged the might of the mighty British Empire guarded with all the steel weapons of war and challenged this mighty Empire merely with a smile and a smiling determination.

Gandhiji as the "emancipator of the enslaved" is certainly equal to Clarkson, Wilberforce, Garrison, and Loncoln who was also shot by a white man because Lincoln championed the cause of the Blackman in America. Perhaps Wilberforce, the great champion of the liberation

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of slaves, did not suffer the kicks and blows that Gandhiji suffered in South Africa.

It is absolutely true that Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, who in his famous Gettysberg address urged the American army to fight against the slave-driven South, saying "with malice towards none," had not all the painful experiences that Gandhiji had in South Africa. No one knows what the reactions of Wilberforce and Lincoln might have been if they have been subjected to the discrimination and the ill-treatment which fell to the lot of Gandhiji in White-ridden area controlled by General Smuts. And yet it is the outstanding triumph of Gandhiji that General Smuts, perhaps the most iron-willed opponent of Gandhiji, should bow and say of Gandhiji that he was "a prince among men." We hope General Smuts will behave in a fashion so as to inspire India to pay him the same compliment when he is dead.

Saint Francis of Assisi proved himself to be a friend of birds and beasts and could not bear to think of any injury being done to any living thing. Gandhiji too was willing to let snakes go by him and scorpions climb on his knee while at prayer, but, could not think of harming them. If during the last three centuries any man has lived who in his life attained the peak of glory in the vales of everyday existence, and has proved that love never fails, it has been the Indian saint.

Saints are martyred. They are martyred because they are misunderstood. They are misunderstood because they live ahead of their times. They live ahead of their times because they are saints. Gandhiji lived a century ahead of his time and perhaps centuries and more centuries will find it difficult to keep up to the ideal of Gandhiji. He was a prophet. He was a prophet in an age when prophets were outmoded. He was a prophet of Non-violence and Truth, Love and Justice, in an age which was ruled by falsehood, injustice and the atom bomb. And yet his method succeeded in conquering injustice. His method won a glorious victory over violence just because he was willing to lay down his life with a smile and with folded hands to conquer violence. Violence spluttered in the sneezing of an automatic pistol, but Gandhiji's spirit rose above it and smiled.

He was an angel among demons. A demon may have put an end to the angel's life but that only proves that the angel will have the last word. The angel did have the last word. When he was shot, he was able to fold his hands in forgiving salutation and say : "He, Ram !"

What was the greatness of this great man ? What was the source of this greatness which like a mighty sun out-shone all the planets and which even in burning out seemed to give forth an effulgence which made suns and moons and stars pale into insignificance ? The source of this greatness was a heroic spirit which persevered in the face of all opposition, which persevered against all odds and which knew no defeat—which knew no defeat even in the hour of death. It would be difficult to cite all the examples which go to prove the existence of this unusual spirit of heroic perseverence. A few examples may well be cited and these are not intended to cast any slur on any community or race or people.

At the age of 24, in April 1893, Gandhiji reached India dressed in a frock-coat and a turban. This was typical enough of Gandhiji's attitude for more than a generation, for in spite of the ill-treatment he received at the hands of white people in South Africa he still d[illegible] that his turbaned head acknowledging the supremacy of the Indian community and Indian demands could be made subservient to a frock-coat or the demands of the Brit[illegible] Empire. But he was not one of those who would sub[illegible] to injustice. He was not one of those who would allow [illegible] fellowmen to be insulted without making a protest e[illegible] though his protests cost him dearly. The detailed acco[illegible] of this period of Mahatma Gandhi's life would not se[illegible] the purpose to which his life was dedicated for it wo[illegible] merely stir up petty feelings between the whites a[illegible] coloured peoples of the earth, and make the whites [illegible] uncomfortable and the coloured people feel rebellio[illegible] Gandhiji was the last man on the face of the earth w[illegible] would want to make any group feel uncomfortable or [illegible] group feel rebellious.

But Gandhiji forgot all the abuses hurled at him [illegible] South Africa, by European nations and by Europeans, [illegible] the brickbats and the rotten eggs, all the blows and ki[illegible] which almost finished him during 1897-98 when he w[illegible] only 28 years of age. It was a unique coincidence that [illegible] woman saved his life at that time. It was the wife of t[illegible] Superintendent of Police in Natal, Mrs. Alexander. W[illegible] could have imagined that 50 years later this man wo[illegible] be done to death by a bullet of an Indian, a Hin[illegible] assassin ? And that another woman, Sushila Nayyar, w[illegible] had been his personal physician for years, flying back fr[illegible] Amritsar to Delhi would clasp his feet and wep[illegible] Thousands of women wept. It only proves that he w[illegible] able to make himself sexless and that men and wo[illegible] equally adored him and lived by his inspiration.

After several years and through many suffer[illegible] Gandhiji succeeded in getting a certain amount of vic[illegible] for the Indians in South Africa, but that was not [illegible] end of his battle. When he had won his victories [illegible] South Africa it was only the beginning of another b[illegible] in India, and Gandhiji came to India to take part in [illegible] battle as an ordinary volunteer to start with, as the [illegible] Father of the Nation to end with. Gokhale had tak[illegible] promise from Gandhiji that he would not enter into p[illegible] or make a statement on the political situation in I[illegible] until he had studied the Indian problem for a [illegible] Gandhiji agreed. He went around studying the I[illegible] situation. It was in a letter dated February 18, 1915, [illegible] Rabindranath Tagore referred for the first time to Ga[illegible] as *Mahatma*. Gurudeva wrote :

> "I hope that Mahatma and Mrs. Gandhi [illegible] arrived in Bolpore."

The next day the Mahatma and Kasturbai, his w[illegible] were at Santiniketan and Gokhale was dead in Po[illegible] And Gandhiji's battle for India's liberation had beg[illegible]

From thence he went to Hardwar for the Ku[illegible] Even at Hardwar his African struggles were [illegible]

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known and people flocked in their thousands to have his *Darshan*. It was here that he decided to limit his diet and pledged while in India to take five items of clothing* and never to eat after dark. This was perhaps the influence of Jainism which was marked in his ancestral home. He went on to Rishikesh. At Rishikesh, a Sannyasi insisted that Gandhiji should wear *shikha* (tuft of hair) and the sacred thread. After a great deal of discussion Gandhiji agreed to keep the *shikha* (under protest !) but refused to wear the sacred thread, because countless Hindus (Harijans) did not have the privilege of wearing it.

This was perhaps the beginning of the opposition between Gandhiji and that group of orthodoxy which sent a fanatic to fire three shots at him.

It was not long after this that Gandhiji plunged into the political movement of India. His beginnings were in a small way. But these small beginnings like the beginnings of all new religions were pregnant with the seeds of growth and the growth threatened the established order of things.

Let us for a moment turn our glance to the beginnings of Christianity, for indeed Gandhiji was one of those privileged and unusual characters who in his life-time proved that the world of the spirit, the world of ideals, is more real than the world of flesh and blood and the devil. That is what 2,000 years ago, Jesus said to his own people, the Jews, when they surrounded him and demanded that he should be crucified as a criminal and the robber Barrabas should be released. The world has always seemed more partial to those who favour the doctrines of the *status quo* and has opposed the doctrines which threaten the *status quo*. But what is the *status quo* ? And what is the status-to-be ? In the days of the Roman empire the *status quo* was the condition of Roman well-being prompted by the ideology of the rulers that they were the measure of all things. Jesus challenged this *status quo* and was crucified by the jealous guardians of the *status quo*. In India Gandhiji, the great rebel, fought for many decades against evils of the British Empire and also the evils of Indian Society. The British Empire died a slow death. But all the evils of British rule are not dead. All the Rowlatt Acts and Black Acts and the policies of imperialism which dictated repressive measures are of the past. But the vicious effects of the vicious policy of divide and rule continue and fill men's hearts with hate and anger and make men do outrageous things against their own kith and kin, their own fellow citizens. Gandhiji fought valliantly against the evil forces of reaction as found in Imperialism, in the Muslim League and in Hindu Society. And he shook the foundations of reaction. It was no easy battle. It was a stiff one. And Gandhiji's triumph lies in the fact that his ideals aroused the masses to join the fight and follow him. That is why fifteen hundred thousand people flocked to witness the burning of the mortal remains of him who in his frail body and with his weak voice defied evil and injustice.

Here and everywhere in this country and in every country, on this side and on the other, people say of him that he was not only the uncrowned King of India but in Shelleyan phrase "the unacknowledged legislator" of the universe of spirit. The sun itself seemed to be less bright and the elements seemed to rend their breezes to fan the flames of his mortal remains. The fact remains that his mortal remains are not only mortal but immortal, for the remains that we hold so precious are not those of flesh and blood or bone and skin but of those ideals of justice, truth and non-violence which he held dearer than life, and those ideals will goad his country and his countrymen and those ideals will, in spite of the stiffest opposition of reaction, continue through the ages to inspire men and women to join the relentless battle against injustice and wrong, against hatred and violence.

That is his triumph. That is why Indians will still cry "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai." For that is what it is. He is not dead. He is among the immortals.

And his unique victory is that it is not his own people who cry "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai," but it is the people who stoned him, it is the people who claimed that they were superior to the people for whose sake he laid down his life, who today are loudest in their praise for him. They are Muslims, Christians, South Africans, Europeans, Americans, Chinese, Japanese and a multitude which can hardly be named or recognized, which claims that Gandhiji was the great saviour of all distressed and downtrodden people. It is they who shout "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai," and that is his victory and that is India's victory because though India may be unworthy of having such a glorious son, that glorious son makes India worthy of the new sun-rise, the new dawn for which the world is looking forward. That new dawn across which might be written in letters of flaming gold the word "Non-violence" will bring us the sacred memory of that frail man who in his life-time preached the truth of non-violence and who taught our little world to strive for a glory not won by guns but by a smile.

Even in the hour of death he had a smile, a smile which three bullets could not quench. Three bullets cannot quench the smile of the sun-rise. That is why we feel today in India, in America and all over the world that bullets cannot quench the smile of the sun-rise of freedom, justice and brotherhood, peace, unity and progress.

*Dhoti (Pyjama, Pant or undercloth)—Bundi—Langot—Kurta and Chaddar.

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FLORENCE : CITY OF THE SOUL*

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By U. S. NAVANI, B.A., B.SC. (Econ.) Lond.

As the German guns thunder in the streets of Florence and the shells of Allied guns fall on the city, my mind goes back to the summer of 1939, two months before the drums of war beat once again in battle-scarred Europe. Then, I stepped out of the *Staziona Nouvelle* into the City, with ruck-sack slung on my shoulders and an attache-case in hand looking so much like the proverbial tramp with a chin overdue for a shave and my mind full of apprehension lest all my dreams of Florence might prove to be false. I enquired my way to *L'arno* which was only a stone's throw from the station and immediately all my fears vanished. Was not this the City of Dante and Beatrice, Marcus Aurelius, Leonardo Da Vinci and scores of all those who had striven to make the world a richer and happier place? How could I ever feel lost in this beautiful town, each stone of which was replete with the memory of some saint, some poet, some artist of immortal fame? Surely they would forgive a tramp for pushing his unshaven chin in this ancient city of art and letters. As I sat on the wall of the *L'arno* and gazed into its blue depths and looked across its expanse, a quiet and soothing mood descended on me, a feeling which one only experiences in places of natural setting and harmonious human dwellings. I wended my way back to the town through winding streets, very quiet on that summer morning and knocked at a *Pension* ("*Albergo*", by Mussolini's Orders) and a middle-aged lady admitted me into the house. "*Ono Lito*"†, I demanded and "*Lira*"?. She quoted a figure. "Oh no", I argued, "not that much". But she pretended not to understand and took my attache-case and installed me in a tolerable bed-sitting room. Well.

You can take a Baedecker in one hand and a camera in another and cover Florence in American style from end to end admiring an art treasure here and another there and then catch the next train out, or you can wander about aimlessly on cobbled streets and suddenly turn into a Plaza Signoria and find yourself on the steps of *Palazzo Vecchio* or *Loggia del Signora*. Or wander along the bank of *L'arno* until you come face to face with *Ponte Vecchio*, arching gracefully across the river and pause for a second to recall Holloway's immortal painting of the aquiline-nosed Dante standing by and looking with eager eyes, on the approaching Beatrice and her two companions. The very bricks of the pavement seem to be alive with that vision of Dante and you may even see the pigeons flutter at the approach of Beatrice. The *Ponte Vecchio* has often roused your curiosity. When you climb it you are surprised to find a shopping centre rather than romantic residential cottages. You pass on to *Palaz Pitti* and discover and admire.

If you find yourself in *Piazza Signoria* in front of *Palaz Vecchio* and that colossal statue of David by Michael Angelo, keep your eyes on the ground, for it contains a precious disc which records the martyrdom of Savonarola, that fiery youthful priest who had dared to raise his b against the corruption and vice of Florentine clergy a aristocracy. Something of his fire still burns in that c bled squire, and maybe, his curse still hangs like d in this town of saints and martyrs, poets and ar rulers and merchants. Call to yourself the picture Savonarola with burning eyes, facing a hostile crowd anxi only for his blood. Was it worthwhile, he might have ask himself, but it was too late to retreat. They will h his blood and nothing else. And so he climbed the sta consigned himself to the flames, jeered and mocked by t crowd, with no friendly face to shed a tear over him. yes, the Florentines like their Roman and Pompeiian p decessors and contemporaries of European towns enjo the sport of human sacrifice to beasts as much as a re gious procession or mass in the Church. Perhaps the cro psychology in the civilised countries is not much differe to-day. Not quite far away is Dante's home, a low d leads into this ancient house, with a few of his perso belongings still preserved. But this was no home Dante, for he had been exiled by the pitiless rulers of t rival faction and Dante ended his life far from his o native town. But Florence never bore a truer son a Dante thought again and again of his beloved town a of one who became his guiding star and led him through t journey in Celestial Sphere, in *Divine Comedy*. En *Palazzo Vecchio* and see the palace of the Medicis, t merchant princes of Florence who ruled during the Rena ssance and gathered around them a galaxy of artists a poets and philosophers. Look at those gorgeous paintin particularly of Boccaccios' Venus rising from the Sea the ceiling of an upper chamber. The works of Gio Leonardo Da Vinci, Benevento Cellini, Michael Angelo a scores of others of great or less renown. These are the whose works have adorned the halls not only of Flore but of the museums, art galleries, palaces and churc of European cities which boast of culture, though all acquired by fair means. During the eighte and nineteenth centuries when Italy became the ba field of the warring empires of Europe, the conque plundered some of these art treasures and bore them a History has repeated itself and once again Florence been robbed by its Nazi masters, to an unascertain extent. The walls of *Palazzo Vecchio* if they remain tact, will bear witness to that. But I am forgetting are in 1939 in Palaz Vecchio. Look at its spacious its embattled walls, and think of the great struggles t went on within and without this palace. The Bo Ufizzis, the Medicis, the Pittis, their eternal feuds and ri ries for the mastery of Florence, mark *Palazzo Ve* not merely as a receptacle of best Italian art but also best part of Florentine history. Florence was then centre of a cultural empire, as also for a brief spell capital of entire Italia and had disputed the claim the Eternal City. Florentine warriors had marched o battle and not only subdued the Tuscan country but s ed the gates of Rome Itself. Ah! that was a

* Written on the eve of German inyasion, Summer, 1944.

† "Ono Lito" *i.e.*, "One Bed."

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monument for Florence. Florence lording it over Rome itself.

But Florence is not a mere town of ancient memory of ghosts or dead history. Of an evening you take a seat in the spacious *Piaz Vittorio Emanuel* and hear good Italian music and drink vermouth watching and being watched by crowds of Italians and a good sprinkling of foreigners. There is the lady with the violin, another singing a solo which may send you into rapture. If you feel being more active, walk to L'arnos' bank and enter Grotto Bianco and under its shifting lights, dance a waltz or tango, to the accompaniment of a song, or sit down at a table and sip your vermouth and watch the gay and youthful couples sweep the floor with *L'arno* sweeping by, and the stars shining overhead.

Has Europe a prettier picture to show than that of fair *Firenze* as seen from the heights of St. Croce and monument of Michael Angelo? From here you see Florence stretch before you, the finely proportioned Duomo and the tall Companile, the Crown and Sceptre of this noble city, with L'arno winding its silvery way, bridged by innumerable *Pontes*,* and all set like a gem in a picture of lovely hills and valleys, the heart of Tuscany. A fine breeze is stirring and you stretch your tired limbs in the shadow of the statue of David (replica of the one in Piazza Signoria) and wish for no better resting place.

If you are lucky you will find yourself in Florence during some Florentine festival and come across a procession of priests and laity in flowing sacred robes and gorgeous colours, bearing the image of Madonna to the Florence Cathedral with music playing and banners flying, almost a pageant from the sixteenth century. If you are unlucky, as I was in that summer of 1939, the jarring Fascist Anthem is repeatedly drummed, ding-dong into your ears, until you feel like crying, "Stop this sacrilege. It sounds alien in Florence." The Florentines think likewise and give the Fascist players a wide berth, unlike the crowds in Rome.

There are other beauties of this place which you will find out as you roam from one end to another. A small fort on a hillock overlooking a park, where the children are playing, is a place where peace reigns supreme and the sounds of children add to it rather than disturb the quiet. There are its cafes where the best coffee in Europe is served, and its art products, paintings on shells, cigarette boxes, images, a thousand souvenirs that the tourist may carry away, miniature portraits of saints, angels and churches, replicas of Giotto and Michael Angelo executed beautifully on a number of things.

On Florence, how I wish (and who would not?) that the fury of warring nations had spared you the horrors of the battlefield and that the Nazi marauders had respected your venerable halls and ancient streets and left you in peace! How shall I even approach your gates and see your battered walls, plundered palaces, defaced churches and streets covered with shrapnel and debris and perhaps corpses rotting in the streets. But mercifully in that summer of 1939, I could not foresee this fate in store for you. It was with great regret that I parted with you, Florence. But even as I entered the train I knew that I had left my heart behind. I felt then, as I wish I could now, that if I were asked to name one place in the world where I should gladly spend my life, I should name you *Firenze*—City of the Soul.

* i.e., Bridges.

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INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION OF JOURNALISTS

By NRIPEN GHOSH

The International Organisation of Journalists was created at the International Congress of Journalists at Copenhagen in June 1946, with twenty-one countries participating. Aims and objects of the IOJ were laid down as follows: (*a*) Protection by all means of all liberty of the press and of journalism. (*b*) Promotion of international friendship and understanding through free interchange of information. (*c*) The promotion of trade unionism amongst journalists. The organisation is composed of national organisations of working journalists organised on trade union basis. Only one organisation for each country shall be eligible to affiliate to it.

The second world congress was held in Prague—June 3 to 7—last year with the delegates from fifty-three countries. The Indian Journalists' Association of Great Britain deputed the author to observe and report.

From Prague, I wrote several letters to contact the registered journalists' organisations in India. Unfortunately, I have not received any reply as yet.

India's 300 dailies and 70 weeklies (app.) have at least 1,000 sub-editors, reporters, correspondents, foreign correspondents, cartoonists, photographers whose duties are innumerable and rights non-existent though their contribution towards national liberation is almost equal to that of other sections of the population. An English poet rightly called them "the slaves of the lamp and servants of the light." It is for these slaves that my article is intended.

Nearly ten years ago, Mr. Joseph Pothan spoke very bitterly about the condition of Indian journalists at the Lahore conference of the same. After that nothing was heard, nor any step was taken to develop trade unionism among them. I should say, in these days of organisation and method of organisation professionals have only themselves to blame.

It is interesting to know that the journalist unions of Europe, and America have made surprising progress. In all these countries their interests are protected by the State. In Czechoslovakia, the scale of pay is fixed according to the grade of paper and years of service of journalists. I attach herewith a schedule of the weekly wages in Britain as agreed upon between the newspaper owners and the National Union of Journalists. Besides, the NUJ has unemployment benefit and also provides to some extent for the widows and orphans of the deceased journalists. It has also published a Press Album proceeds of which go to those orphans. Surprisingly enough these conditions not only

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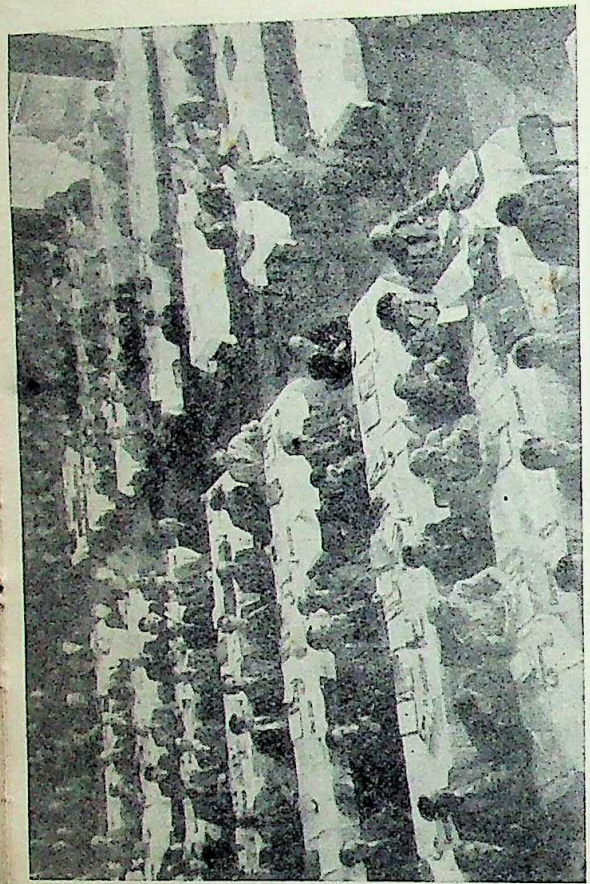
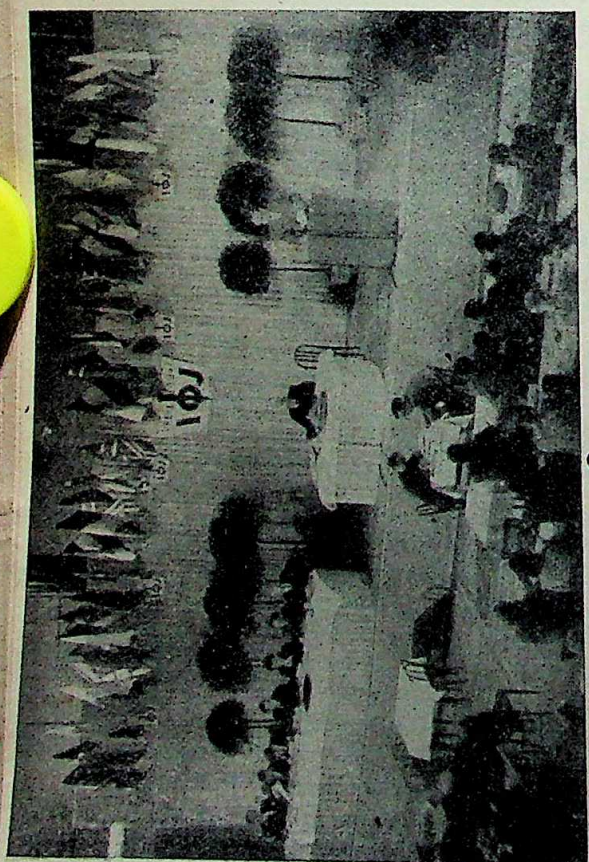


India and Iran sitting behind France



Mr. Masaryk, Czech Foreign Minister, opening the Congress (*standing*) and Mr. Kenyon presiding (*sitting*)

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exist in Europe, America and the Middle Eastern countries but also in Philippine Island whose delegate I had the good fortune to meet, at Prague congress.

Journalist organisations—however tiny and ineffective—do exist in our country as I have already mentioned. Now, then, what prevents them from becoming united in a national union and finding out ways and means of bettering their lot? The Chief Information Officer of the Government of India wrote me that the number of people engaged on the staff of the Indian papers is unavailable while I find figures regarding the number of domestic servants and beggars in the statistical abstracts of British India. The journalists in our country know almost everything about everything except their own strength. It is, therefore, up to them to find out the relevant data and prepare ground for a national conference.

I firmly believe that my fellow pilgrims in India and Pakistan will not fail to realise the need of the time and rise to the occasion for which the humble author pledges full support. Any information as regards the constitution or conditions of working journalists of leading countries may be always available from him without delay or obligation.

Newspaper Society wage increase—week commencing 4th November, 1946 :

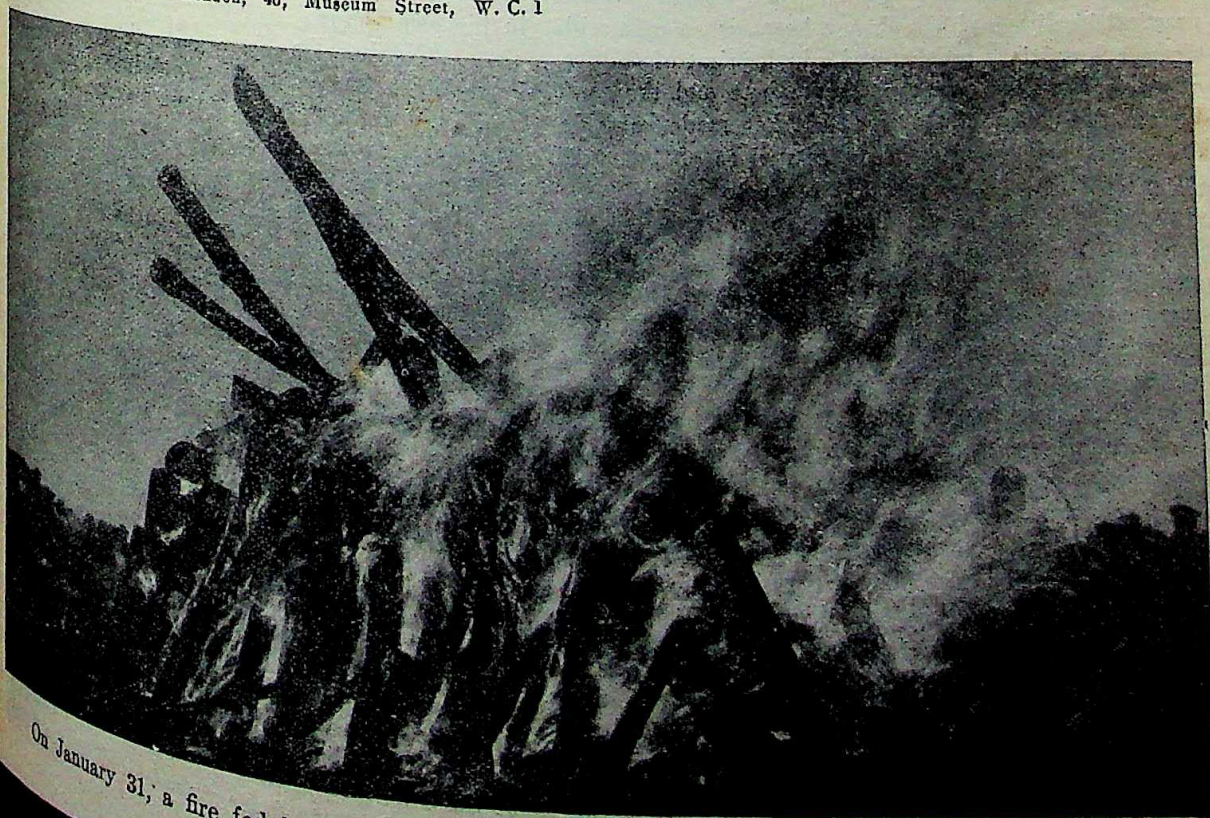
Provincial Offices	*Adults* 24 & over	*Juniors* 18	19	20	21	22	23
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
Weekly Papers	6 9 6	1 19 —	2 12 —	3 5 —	3 17 6	4 17 —	5 10 —
Weekly papers in places where daily papers are published	6 16 —	2 1 —	2 14 6	3 8 —	4 1 6	5 2 —	5 15 6
Weekly papers within 12 miles of Charing Cross	7 2 6	2 3 —	2 17 —	3 11 6	4 5 6	5 7 —	6 1 —
Daily papers published in towns of under 100,000 inhabitants	7 6 —	2 4 —	2 18 6	3 13 —	4 7 6	5 9 6	6 4 —
Daily papers published in towns of between 100,000 and 250,000 inhabitants	7 14 6	2 6 6	3 2 —	3 17 6	4 12 6	5 16 —	6 11 6
Daily papers published in towns of over 250,000 inhabitants	8 1 —	2 8 6	3 4 6	4 — 6	4 16 6	6 1 —	6 17 —

London Offices of Provincial Daily Papers

Adults	£ s d
First year's service in London	9 13 —
Second year's service in London	10 3 6
Third year's service in London	10 14 —

Juniors	£ s d
First year's service in London	4 10 6
Second year's service in London	5 18 6
Third year's service in London	8 5 —

London, 46, Museum Street, W. C. 1



On January 31, a fire fed by sandal-wood logs consumed the mortal remains of Mahatma Gandhi

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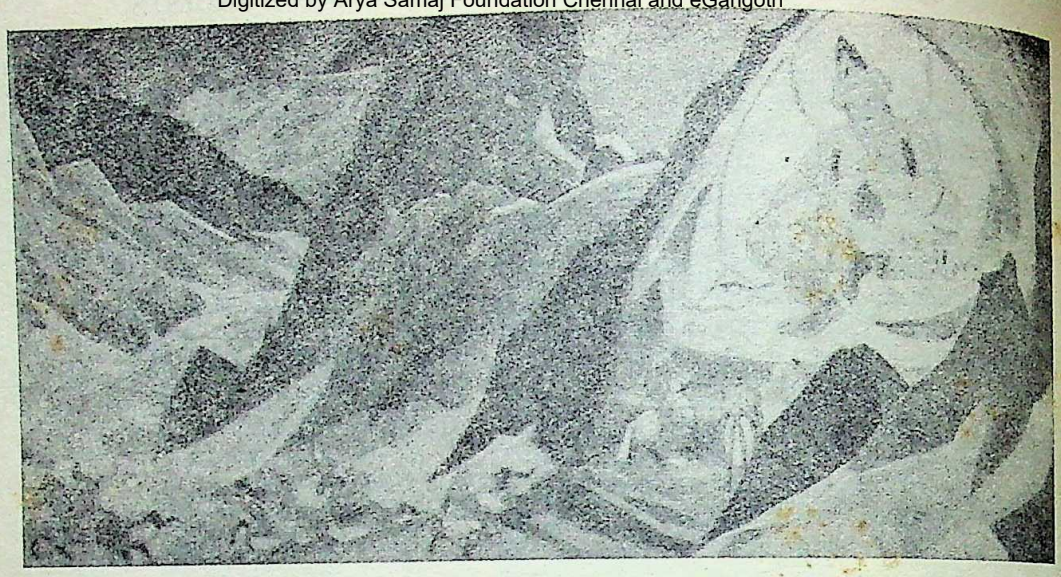

Command of Rigden Tyepo by Nicholas Roerich

NICHOLAS ROERICH
The Prophet of Beauty and Peace

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The death of Nicholas Roerich removes a towering figure, a veritable giant, a *mahi-ruha* of Himalayan magnitude from the landscape of the world's culture. As a leader of culture and spiritual thoughts, he can be easily compared with Tolstoy, Romain Rolland, and Mahatma Gandhi. Nominally, an artist, incessantly employing his brush with an untiring energy, and producing and bequeathing for posterity thousands of canvases which fill many museums and galleries, he was much more than an artist, a great thinker, a practical idealist, a philosopher, a humanist, a man with a message, a mystic, a prophet and a high priest of culture, a veritable *Rishi*, a missionary in the best and the most extensive connotation of the term. He has made valuable contributions in the field of letters as well as of Art. And the incessant flow of his literary products parallel the incessant flow of his brush. Living in seclusion, as a recluse in the solitude of his Himalayan *Ashrama* at Naggar in the Kulu District of the Punjab, during the last twenty years of his life, he had been an indefatigable traveller and an intrepid explorer, a veritable pilgrim across impenetrable mountains and deserts. His intimate relations with Nature and natural phenomena are best revealed in the records of his exploratory travels in the brilliant pages of his travel-diaries, illustrating the truth of the picturesque adage that 'great things happen when men and mountains meet, things do not happen by jostling in the street.' Roerich was a 'Man of the Mountain,' a devotee of the mystery, the solemnity and the desolation of the rocky faces, the geological ebullitions of the earth, their silence, grandeur, and majestic beauty which he explored and set down in his innumerable canvases in wonderful colours. As a modern worshipper of the Himalayas he challenges the activities of the Swedish and the Swiss mountaineers and other European leaders of Himalayan expeditions on the one hand, and the Rishis and hermits of ancient India, on the other. This is best demonstra in his magnum opus, *Altai-Himalayas*, and his *Leaves*, and nowhere more graphically than in the astou ing beauty of his gigantic landscapes, in which he incessantly portrayed the Himalayas, in all their moods, and in the infinite variety of their forms colours.

His love of the Himalayas and the secret of worship of this king of the mountains is pithily expres in his own words :

> "Nowhere is there such glimmer, such spiri satiety as amidst the precious snows of the Hima . . . I am happy to have the privilege of dissemina throughout the world the glory of the Himalaya Sacred Jewel of India."

There is not an important city in India, Europe America which has not received gifts of one or other his colourful studies of the Himalayan landscapes. best and largest collection of his paintings is in the gig Roerich Museum in New York. Most Indian cities po representative specimens of his studies of the Hima in the dreamy harmonies of the blue, the silver, and grey. In a gallery at Benares there are about specimens and in the Municipal Museum at Allah there is a large collection exhibited in a special called the Roerich Hall. Roerich's sense of the structure of the earth, and the architecture of its mo masses is almost unique in the history of painting. Be presenting Himalayan scenes in infinite moods and he has left many masterpieces with other subjects imbued with a mystic flavour and a profound vision other pictures cover many Christian themes, Bu legends and Indian subject-matters. To name only his *Saint Sergius, Sancta Protectrix, Conflagration, Colours, Buddha the Giver, Command of Rigden Tye*

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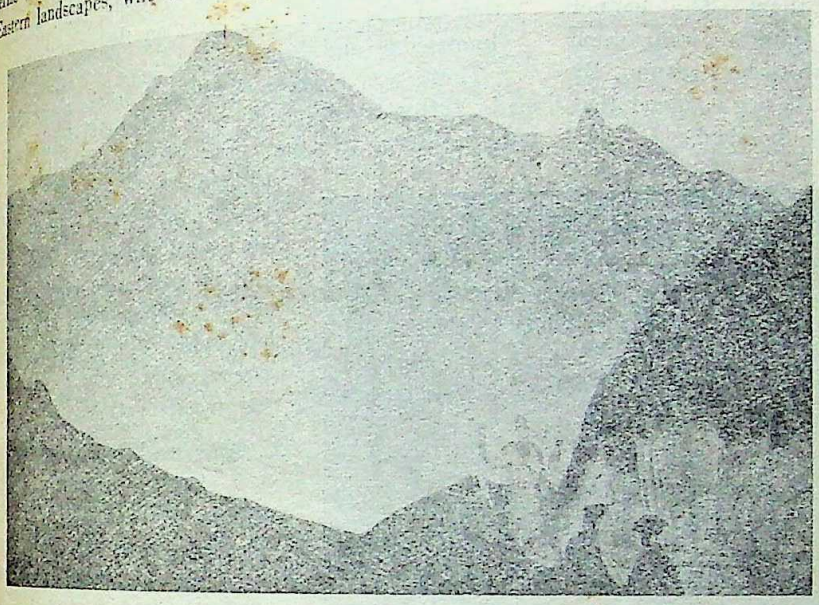
Krishna and Kalki Avatara are important landmarks in his career of the painter's craft, interpreting the most profound and abstruse thoughts through the symbols of colours. All the art-critics of the world have lavished on him their unstinted tributes. The present writer was led to characterise him, twenty-five years before, as "the wizard of Eastern landscapes, who sublimates realistic scenes to the



Tibetan Landscape by Nicholas Roerich

dizzy heights of divine dream-lands."

As an eminent critic has put it:

"His Art knows no limitation of time and space, for he envisages the universe in its past, present and future as a unit, as a continuous song, binding the stone age to the age of electricity."

The tribute of Rabindranath Tagore is worth quoting:

"Your pictures profoundly move me. They made me realize that Truth is Infinite. When I tried to find words to describe to myself what were the ideas which your pictures suggested, I failed. It was because the language of words can only express a particular aspect of Truth. . . . When one Art can fully be expressed by another then it is a failure. Your pictures are distinct and yet are not definable by words—your Art is beyond of its independence, because it is great."

His doctrine and philosophy of Art is intimately connected with his philosophy of life and they may be best studied in his own statements, very significant and indicative of his theory of Art and his notions about the functions of beauty:

"The pledge of happiness for humanity lies in beauty. Hence, we assert Art to be the highest stimulus for the regeneration of the Spirit. We consider Art to be immortal and boundless."

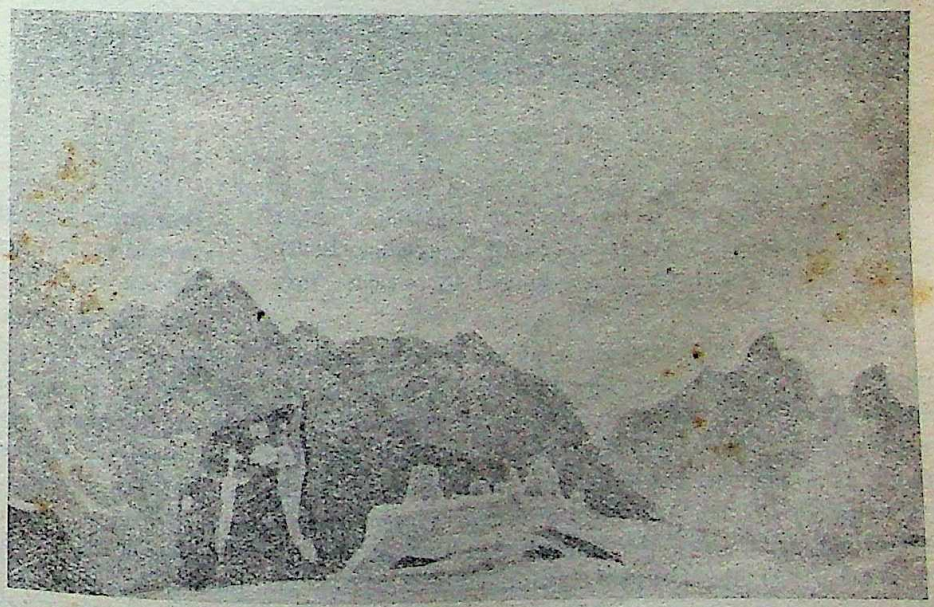
"Art is to create Beauty; through Beauty we gain victory; through Beauty we unite and through Beauty we pray to God."

"Art is the heart of the people and knowledge the brain of the people, and that only through the heart and through wisdom can mankind arrive at union and mutual understanding."

"Art will unify all humanity. Art is one—indivisible. Art has its many branches, yet is for all. Everyone will enjoy true art. The gates of the 'sacred source' must be wide open for everybody, and the light of Art will influence numerous hearts with a new love."

In his spirited, profound and moving essay, "Joy of Art," Roerich interprets the cult of beauty and exhorts humanity "to labour in the name of Beauty," "to collect and safeguard all flowers of Beauty," and "to regard Beauty as a real motive force."

His contributions to literature have been prolific and profound and reveal him as a great thinker and a prophet. His book of poems, *Flame in Chalice*, is full of



Himalayan Landscape by Nicholas Roerich

profound teachings sometimes echoing the thoughts of the Upanisads:

"Before Thine image the sun does not shine nor the stars nor the flame. In the darkness are shining particles of Thy glory, and in my closed eyes dawns Thy wonderous light."

His facile pen, sometimes rivalling his brush, has poured forth incessantly, gems of essays, articles and spiritual appeals, published in all the journals of the world. In many obscure and little known journals of India

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(*e.g.*, the *Scholar*) he published numerous articles of great significance and prophetic values.

His greatest contribution in the field of international politics was his design for the Roerich Banner of Peace and the signing of the Pact of Peace (*Pax Per Cultura*) for the purpose of safeguarding works of Art, and cultural monuments from the destructive horrors of wars. He designed a special banner to protect them. The banner comprises a scarlet circle with three spheres of the same colour inscribed in the centre, on a white background. By an international convention it has been resolved that buildings flying this banner cannot be bombed.

The Sacred Flame
By Nicholas Roerich

"Twenty-four years ago Nicholas Roerich thought of the Banner of Peace. To-day (23rd September, 1938) thirty-six nations have already agreed to respect that Banner."

Another very important phase of his activity was the founding of cultural associations bearing his name in all the important cities of Europe. The most important of these foundations are, (1) the Master Institute of the United Arts, the first institution in America to teach all Arts under one roof; (2) Corona Mundi (International Art Centre) 1922; (3) the Roerich Academy of Art in New York; (4) the Urusvati Institution of Research at Kulu and (5) Flamma, an Association for advancement of culture, founded at Indiana (U.S.A.) in 1937.

The fundamental doctrine underlying all the above educational institutions founded by him is best summarized in his own words:

"To educate does not mean to give a record of technical information. Education, the forming of world-consciousness, is attained by synthesis, not by the synthesis of misfortunes, but by the synthesis of perfection and creativeness. The true knowledge is attained by inner accumulations, by daring; for the approaches to the One Knowledge are manifold. . . . The evolution of the New Era rests on the corner-stone of knowledge and beauty."

There was a great significance in the choice that he made (after travelling all over the world) for his permanent residence in a far corner of India, where he built his *Ashrama* in a quite recess of the Himalayas in the Kulu Valley where he passed the last 19 years of his life in meditation, in his *sadhana* in his pictorial practices, in his Work and Worship in sight of the eternal snows, uttering the following inspired words of prayer:

"Himavat, the beautiful! Thou hast given us our greatest treasure and for ever thou shalt remain the guardian of the greatest mystery the holy marriage of heaven and earth!"

His love for India and all that she stands for was expressed in numerous tributes of praise expressed with great ecstasy:

"O Bharata, all beautiful, let me send thee my heart-felt admiration for all the greatness and inspiration which fill thy ancient cities and temples, thy meadows, thy *deobans*, thy sacred rivers, and the Himalayas."

As Dr. Kalidas Nag has pointed out that "Professor Roerich was the first Russian ambassador of beauty who brought to modern India the deathless message of Art and we are for ever grateful to him for his inspiring thought and his loyal co-operation in bringing the soul of Russia and of India closer." Though Europe called for Roerich and America demanded him, he chose to remain in Himalayan India like the Rishis of ancient India as an Indian, as a *yogi*, in the same spiritual atmosphere, absorbing the spirit of India and assimilating the secrets of her spiritual culture and interpreting it in his ecstatic raptures and in his pulsating pictures, as a *Bhakta*, as a *Rishi*, as a spiritual dreamer of the greatest visions of the heaven realized on the face of the earth.

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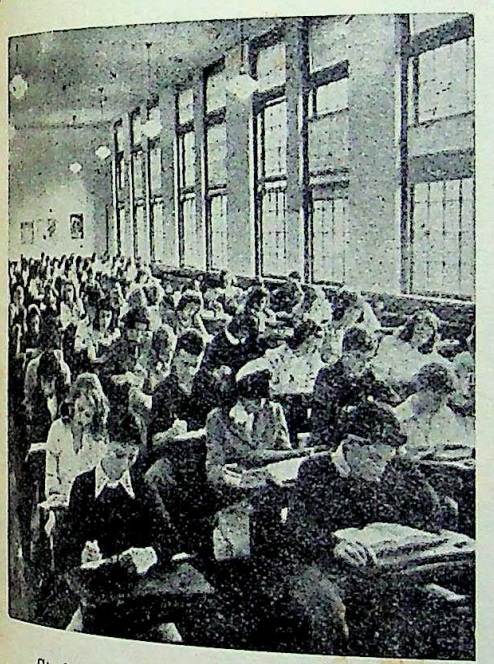
LIFE IN AN AMERICAN SCHOOL

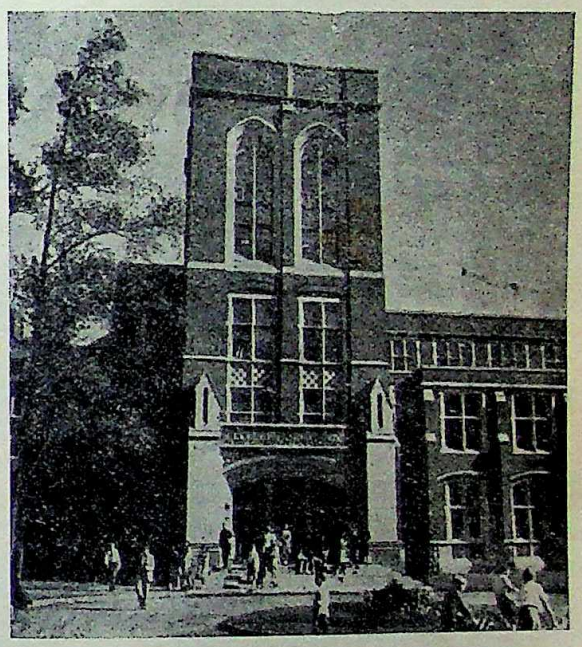
Seven million students, ranging in ages from 14 to 18 years, attend public schools throughout the United States. Some of the students are preparing for college. Others are taking general or vocational courses to fit them for business or home careers. The high school, secondary school of the American free public school system, attempts to develop particular talents, using a variety of educational methods from the usual classroom textbook lecture to field expeditions and moving picture and radio lessons.



Students in a class of the Scarsdale High School

Typical of U. S. high school boys is 17-year-old Isaac Newton Stewart, Jr., known as Ike to his fellow-seniors at the Scarsdale High School in Scarsdale, New York, a residential community, 25 miles from New York City. Ike, who attains better-than-average ratings in his studies, hopes to make scientific agriculture his career and after graduation plans to attend the New York State School of Agriculture at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Since childhood, Ike has spent his summer vacations on a ranch in western United States where he has driven tractors, "row punched," dug post holes and helped brand cattle.

As a senior, his scholastic program is lighter than that required in other terms, as the school authorities prefer to give seniors ample time to concentrate on special studies to fit them for college or vocational work. Ike attends for 45-minute classes daily and does homework or reads in the school library during study periods. He is a member of a school's student government organization, and the school's social planning board, which arranges guest lectures, musicals, dances and other social activities. Most of the school's social activities are planned and directed by the students, with faculty members acting as advisers. He also is a member of the Rifle Club and a star performer on the track team. The school's 24-acre campus includes a baseball diamond, a football field, two hockey fields, and a quarter-mile track.



The main entrance to the Scarsdale High School

Scarsdale High School offers its students much the same program that the country's other 25,600 high schools offer their students. The school has 65 faculty members who teach a wide variety of subjects including mathematics, history, science, literature, and classical and modern languages. For students who plan a business career, the school's commercial course offers elementary business, business law, economics, book-keeping, stenography and typing. An industrial arts course provides instruction in mechanical drawing, gas engines operation and the uses of wood and metals.

Many of the girl students enroll in the home economics course, which includes clothing, food, nutrition, textile and child-care classes, or the arts course which teaches representation and commercial fashion and stage design.

The Scarsdale High School serves an area of six square miles and the registration of 1,200 is divided evenly between students of junior (7 and 8) and the senior level (grades 9 through 12).—*USIS*

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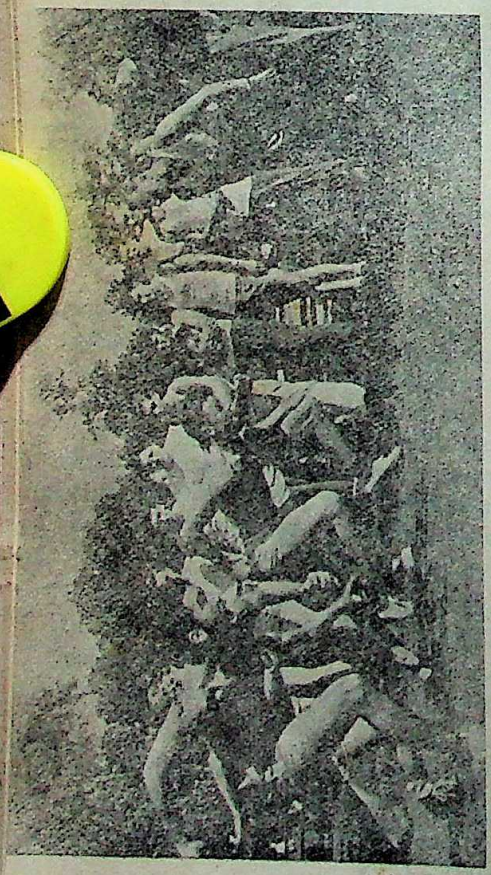
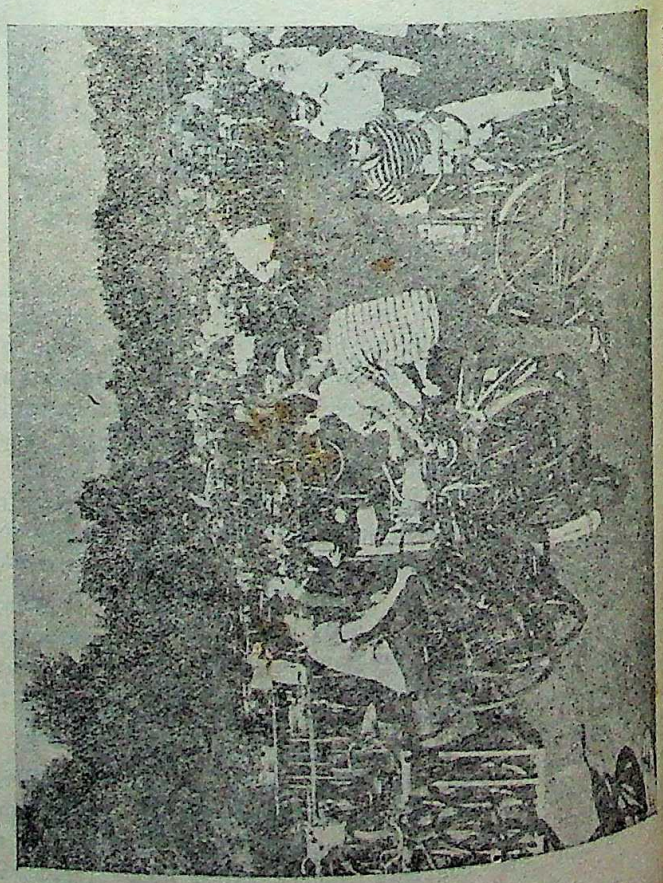
Ike Stewart (*right*) and a classmate conduct an experiment in a physics laboratory





Ike Stewart (second from left) in a practice dash on the cinder track which is part of the school's athletic field

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ANANDA MOHUN BOSE ON THE FUTURE OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

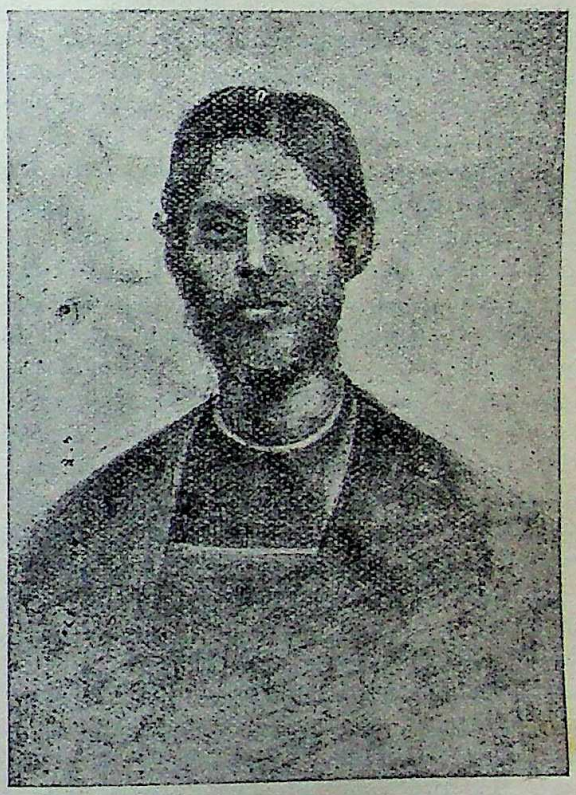
By JOGESH C. BAGAL

Ananda Mohun Bose accompanied Keshub Chunder Sen, the Brahmo Leader, to England, in early 1870 and entered Cambridge University for higher studies. While there, he was connected with all the movements for the welfare of his country and countrymen. In 1872, an address was presented to Henry Fawcett, a member of Parliament, for his services to India at a meeting held at Brighton on behalf of the Indian people. Ananda Mohun Bose attended the meeting, and after the presentation of the address, made a forcible speech. In this speech he not only criticised the British Indian administration but also pointed to the fact that if the mal-administration continued for some time, British connection with India might be at stake. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 13th March, 1873, then an Anglo-Bengali weekly, referred to the speech in its English columns and also quoted the opinion of Mr. White, another M.P., as follows :

> The Brighton Meeting.—Mr. Bose who is no other than our dear friend Babu Ananda Mohan Bose, made a brilliant speech of which another Mr. White, M.P., said, "Never in his life had he listened to a more eloquent description of the wrongs of India. Cognizant as he was with the highest flights of oratory, with the greatest efforts of genius in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, he was truly struck with the wonderful eloquence, the thorough power of language, the admirable description and grasp of the subject and the nobleness of intellect displayed by Mr. Bose."

I have recently found this speech in its indirect narration in one of the Books of Cuttings from newspapers of Romesh Chunder Dutt preserved in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library. Here is that speech :

"Mr. A. M. Bose, an Hindoo Under-graduate at Cambridge, also supported the address. He said it was with great diffidence that he rose to address so largely attended and so influential a meeting. But he was encouraged by the hope that they would grant him an indulgent ear, and this enabled him to comply with a request to appear before them. (Applause.) He felt it a sort of duty to come forward on this occasion and to show by actual presence the importance of a meeting of this character. When he first received an intimation of the meeting, two days ago, he was fearful lest he could not be present; but he had now the pleasure in attending on behalf of a vast country and giving a little life, and blood, and flesh beyond the parchment which had been read to them. (Cheers). He looked upon the meeting as one of very great importance indeed (Hear, Hear.) He trusted that in future the people of England and the people of India will sympathise more fully with, and will enter more deeply into the feelings of each other. (Cheers.) They know that sympathy makes the whole world kin, and that the bonds of justice join the whole world together. Sympathy and justice were things which India require, and these were points which he was sure they and he could not loth to grant. (Hear, Hear.) He wondered if any present ever thought of the fact that England entered India in the capacity of traders and had ended by becoming supreme rulers. At a time when the great writers and states-



Ananda Mohun Bose in England, 1872

men in this country were crying out against the ambition of aggression of the first Napolean, England was carrying on its conquests and its acquisition of territory with perhaps even less excuse than Napoleon himself. (Hear, Hear.) He did not mention this in the way of reproach; but merely to show to England more fully the extent of her obligation and the obvious duty devolving upon her to pay attention to the interests of the great empire of India. (Applause.) He assured them most solemnly that the welfare of the two countries was bound together; and that their interests were so directly connected that one country could not suffer without serious loss being inflicted upon the other. The relations between the two countries should be placed on a satisfactory footing. If India were to be a source of strength and not of weakness to England, then it followed that the British

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nation must take means to regulate the dealings of natives. (Loud applause.) He did not think there had ever been a parallel case to that of British rule in India. It was a solemn charge; and, if England could discharge it properly, she would have set one of the most glorious examples that had ever been witnessed. (Loud Applause.) In order that this might be the case, it was the imperative duty of constituencies to stir their representatives in Parliament to take a greater interest in the affairs of India. If this meeting was not the most interesting, in its present relations, that had ever taken place within the walls of that building, it was certainly so when looking to its future consequences. (Loud Applause.) Although England had had reform after reform, it seemed to be thought that India required no looking after and no reform. He hoped a different impression would be left on the minds of those present when leaving the room that evening. Was it not right that two hundred millions of their fellow subjects should claim some attention, and the affairs of a vast country like India should occupy some consideration? It was not enough that England should be a free country; it would be still more glorious if she could impart this freedom to others. (Loud Applause.) Remembering the services rendered by the British public a generation ago to do away with physical slavery, surely it would not be less glorious to abolish the political slavery which practically exists in India? (Loud Applause.) Apathy in this respect had only too deeply reflected on Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Noticing some of the arguments used to justify the want of attention to Indian affairs, he said it was stated that Parliament had not time to think about the vast concerns of India. But he could scarcely believe this to be so. It might be the case when there was a trivial and irrelevant discussion upon matters of detail; but the general principles, the cardinal doctrines, and the main policy throughout regulating the relations between the two countries must justify and fairly claim the attention of Parliament for a few evenings in the course of the session. (Applause.) Another argument was, that members, knowing nothing about India, should not interfere with the doings of those on the spot. How, he fully admitted that the argument would be unanswerable, but for what had been done by members of Parliament who had not been to India; and he failed to see why they could not be made even better acquainted with the affairs of India. (Hear, hear.) To support what he said, he had but to point to the example of two members of the British Parliament, whose labours in connection with India were most gratefully recorded in the hearts of the Indian people—he alluded to Mr. John Bright, Brighton's own able representative Mr. Fawcett. (Applause.) He was not aware that either of these gentlemen ever went to India or that they had, by such a visit, distracted that time and attention which they properly owed to their constituents or to other important matters affecting home legislature. (Hear, hear.) The two names would alone be a sufficient refutation of anything of this kind. (Applause.) He believed the two gentlemen he had mentioned had as fully and as ably and as efficiently performed their duties as had any of the 600 members of the House of Commons. (Loud Applause.)

He (Mr. Bose) did not think this either the time or the place to go over the grievances of India. That was a tale which would take many hours in reciting; and he did not consider a matter for discussion at the present meeting. While passing them over, he might be allowed to make a brief allusion to one or two matters. Perhaps they might know that all the public offices of any importance in India,—host of honours and pecuniary benefit,—were monopolised by Europeans. In order that the natives might have the surest chance of getting into one of these offices, he had to come to England to undergo an examination. Now, what would they think of matters if an Englishman had to go to a foreign country before he was given the least chance of getting into the civil service of his own country? (Applause and hear, hear.) Did they think this would be justice or a following out of the golden rule of doing to others as they would wish that others should do to them. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Such a thing would not for a moment stand in the light of fairness or of reasons. He would not, however, dwell upon this; but he would speak for a few moments upon another point—that of the representation of India. A noble lord—the Marquis of Salisbury—had said that he should regard it as a great misfortune if the representative form of Government were resorted to in India. (Ironical laughter, and a Voice: He is a fool he is.—Renewed laughter.) The Marquis of Salisbury had a right to his opinion on the representation of India to try his best to prevent the people of this country from having inflicted upon them the representative form of government which some of his English friends would like to give them. (Laughter.) It seemed to him (Mr. Bose), however, that England ought to be the last to support such a proposition. (Applause.) He stood before them to confess that real amelioration of the condition or progress of a nation can take place without the people having a share in the government of the country, without the adoption of some regular system by which their wrongs may be made known and their wrongs brought to notice. (Applause.) Of course, he did not mean that a representative form of government, as it exists in England should at once be imported into India. That would really be a foolish proposition to make. But let them remember that the government England now had was not the growth of a single day, but even within the last forty years, by two reform bills it had undergone great changes indeed. (Applause.) He (Mr. Bose) believed a great deal in this country but he did not believe that the people of England

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metamorphosed into perfect beings on emigrating to India, while they were wanting in manners and—as a rule—as ignorant of everything as can be almost imagined. (Hear, hear.) There was, perhaps, an impression that the Indian mind was altogether unfitted for anything like representative government, that such Government had its growth in European countries and was not likely to fit or take root in India. But they had now in India many things which they never had before. Formerly they did not have railways, yet they never now objected to travel by them; and so it would be if representative government were given the country.

Without wishing to speak of the grievances of India, his object was to draw attention to the necessity of giving greater consideration to matters concerning that country; and this was a point directly connected with the address before the meeting. He was desirous to show that, on the higher grounds of morality, it was the duty of England to think of India and to consider how her affairs could be best managed. He would, however, say a few words to show that it was not simply on this higher ground but on the lower ground of self-interest that his advice should be followed because some would think that this was the practical view of the question. (Hear, hear.) He believed there was great truth in the remark of Oliver Goldsmith that "We first act and when too late, begin to think" (Hear, hear.) He hoped the time has passed when this remark applied to English history; and that England would now begin to think of its duties to the future and not alone of the requirements of the present. (Applause.) He believed there was a hundred thousand Englishmen who every year derived their living directly from India—a living of a character which he thought it would be impossible to get from any other part of the world. This alone, we would think, was an interest sufficiently large to induce the people to look to India. (Hear, hear.) Besides this, there were large numbers,—he could not tell them how many hundreds of thousands,—whose interest and welfare depended upon the social and political well-being of that vast country. (Applause.) India also "boasted" of a national debt, and in this debt Englishmen were directly and deeply interested; for, depend upon it, England and Englishmen would have to bear part of any loss that might accrue for want of proper management in the political government of the country. (Hear, hear.) Serious as it might be to the interests of England, another Ireland might be experienced in India, only that India would be many times more dangerous and vastly more troublesome owing to its distance and its size. India might not remain for ever, as it was today, disunited; but, even if it did, that statesmanship was blind and fatal which relied not on the justice of its policy, but on the weakness of its victims. (Hear, hear, and loud applause.) A nation, in order to be recognised as of importance, must depend on its own efforts. There was no trait in the British character which he admired more than the self-reliance and manly energy displayed by the English people. As soon as the people felt any grievance they immediately began to agitate, and the matter was sure to be taken up by the nation and the grievance in time redressed. (Applause.) But there was a very radical and essential difference between the state of things in England and in India. In India there was no such means of redressing a grievance; although the principle of agitation had already begun to take root in that country. The future character of India will depend on English statesmen—whether they would undertake to sympathise with the people and take the pains to regulate and direct them. (Applause.) He would conclude by a reference to the reported movement of Russia in Central Asia. There was no other means by which England could fortify so strongly against the Russians as by entrenching herself, not behind outward fortification, but in the hearts of the people of India. (Loud applause.) If England could do this, then she could fortify against a hundred times the extent of any force which Russia might bring against them. (Applause.) The feeling of a country towards those who might happen to be its rulers depended, not so much on the acquisition of power in the past, as upon the manner in which those rulers administer and discharge their duties; and he could see no reason why India should not form as integral a part of this country as did Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. (Loud applause.) The speaker concluded by expressing his special obligations to Professor Fawcett for the interest he had taken in India's cause, and to the meeting for the patient hearing accorded him.

NOTE.—The photograph of Ananda Mohun Bose, reproduced here, is supposed to have been taken in 1872. Ananda Mohun always stuck to his national, or rather Indian costume. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* with which he was closely associated, remarked in its issue of June 13, 1870, on receipt of a photograph from him, as follows:

> "Ananda Mohun Bose has sent his friends at Amrita Bazar a photograph of his from England. We have seen this photograph. Ananda Mohun has recovered a great deal during his sojourn in England. Though his dress does not consist of *dhoti*, *chadar* and *piran*, still he has not put on European costume. Our heart is filled with hope when we take note of the costume he has chosen to wear."

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U. S. LABORATORY COMBATS TYPHUS AND SPOTTED FEVER

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More than 100 men and women in the Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever Laboratory at Hamilton, Montana, in the north-western United States, are producing vaccines that are combating typhus and yellow fever in all parts of the world. The laboratory is a branch of the National Institute of Health, research unit of the U. S. Pacific Health Service, and is an outgrowth of early investigations into the disease known as Rocky Mountain spotted fever. In 1941, the laboratory developed a specific cure for the virulent fever from which it takes its name.

A chemist inspects yellow fever vaccine during the desiccation period

Under the direction of Dr. Ralph R. Parker, one of the U.S. pioneers in spotted fever research, the laboratory helped to supply the vast amounts of vaccines used by United Nations armed forces.

Probably more than any other single individual, Dr. Howard Taylor Ricketts laid the groundwork for the laboratory's valuable contribution to medicine.

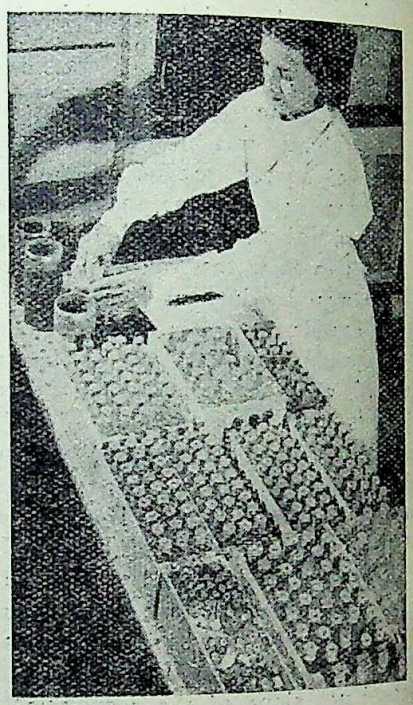
Rocky Mountain spotted fever in many ways resembles typhus. Its symptoms include chills, fever, headaches, and pains in the joints and muscles. Skin eruptions, which give the disease its name, appear about the third day of the fever.

For many years the fever was a disease of mystery. Then, in 1906, because of ill health, Dr. Ricketts went to Bitter Root Valley in Montana for a vacation. He became interested in the baffling ailment. Embarking upon a series of experiments with guinea pigs and monkeys, he finally discovered that Rocky Mountain spotted fever infects humans through the bite of virus-carrying ticks.

Bacillus Identified

Ricketts isolated a rod-shaped microbe in infected human blood that appeared also in ticks and tick eggs—the "x" of Rocky Mountain spotted fever. Then Ricketts turned his attention to typhus. He found that typhus and spotted fever have many characteristics in common, including the rod-shaped bacillus. In 1910, Ricketts contracted typhus in Mexico and died. His name and the of another research victim of typhus, Poland's Stanislaus von Prowazek, have been given to the rod-shaped microbe of typhus, spotted fever, and related diseases—"rickettsia prowazeki," frequently called "rickettsia."

Two other research workers played an important part in the Montana studies: Dr. Roscoe Roy Spencer and Dr. Ralph R. Parker.



A worker packs typhus vaccine for shipment

Spencer developed a method of building accumulations of the deadly virus in the ticks under laboratory conditions, and found that there was a sufficient concentration of infection in one of them to kill 3,000 guinea pigs.

Spencer and Parker decided to use these laboratory infected ticks as the basis of a vaccine. They made infected ticks, covered them with a weak solution of carbolic acid, and injected them into guinea pigs, all which thereupon became immune to spotted fever. On May 19, 1924, Spencer inoculated himself to prove the effectiveness of the vaccine on humans; later the vaccine was made available to others. Immunity in humans is not total. The vaccine is effective for approximately one season, and does not in all cases ward off spotted fever. But where it does not completely prevent infection, it materially lessens the violence of the disease. Parker was made director of the Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever Laboratory in 1928 and in 1931, the laboratory became a part of the National Institute of Health. At present it is devoted almost entirely to research in the rickettsial diseases—those caused by the rod-shaped microbes discovered by Ricketts—and to production of vaccines. Included in its studies are spotted fever, epidemic typhus, endemic typhus, tsutsugamushi fever of Japan

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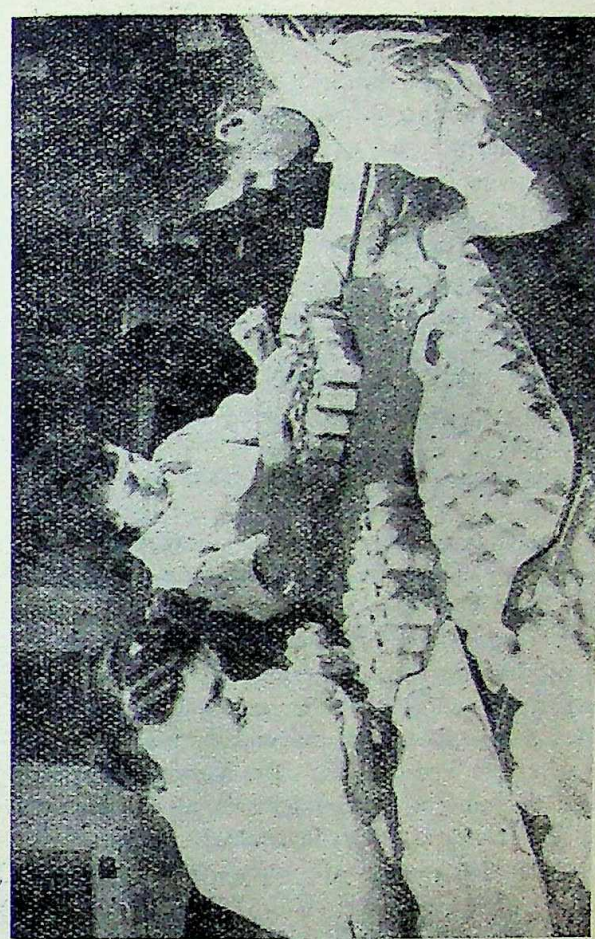
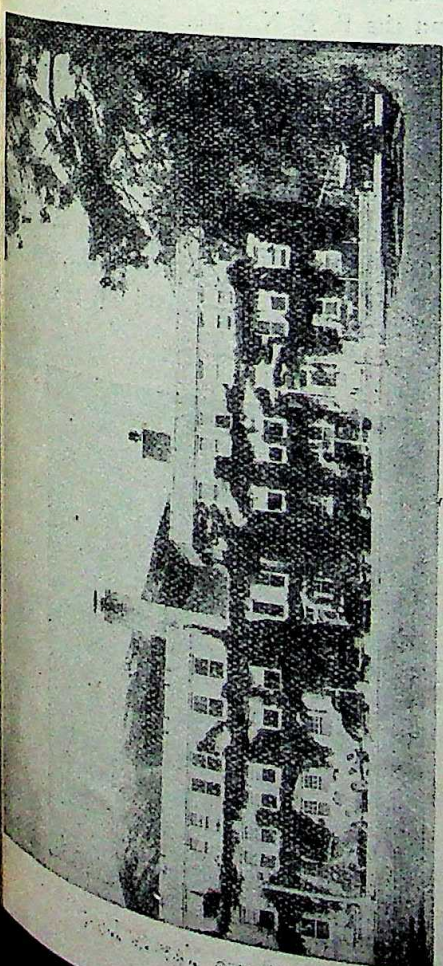
Dr. Ralph Parker (at right), director of the Rocky Mountain Laboratory, and Dr. C. G. Pundit, director of the King Institute of Preventive Medicine at Madras



These workers harvest embryonic membranes from eggs infected with louse-borne typhus for the manufacture of vaccine to combat typhus



The Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever Laboratory at Hamilton, Montana, in the north-western United States

Dr. Herrald R. Cox, who developed the method of producing typhus vaccine from infected eggs, examines bacteria cultures at the Rocky Mountain Laboratory

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trench fever, deer-fly fever, and the "Q" fever of Australia.

The vaccine developed by Spencer and Parker has been produced in ever-increasing quantities. In 1925, it cost $20 to manufacture a single dose. By 1940, the laboratory was producing enough of the vaccine annually to inoculate 130,000 persons at a cost of 75 cents a dose.

Dr. Herrald Cox, one of the research workers at the laboratory, was directly responsible for the increased low-cost production. He infected fertile chicken eggs with rickettsia and found that it was possible to produce vaccines in larger quantities, faster, and at less expense than previously. The infected egg yolks were dried and the still active microbes killed with carbolic acid and formalin. A single egg yolk provided as many as 20 doses of vaccine.

In 1938, the laboratory began to develop typhus vaccines by the egg yolk method. The following year small experimental quantities were shipped to various European countries, and today large amounts go to the United States and its United Nations Allies.

Up to 1941, there was still no specific cure for Rocky Mountain spotted fever—though the vaccine was effective as a preventive. But in that year Dr. Norman Topping succeeded in preparing a successful serum at the laboratory from the blood of hyper-immunized rabbits. He acquired a laboratory infection of spotted fever and cured himself with his new serum. Today it is widely used in the treatment of the disease. In 1943, Topping was given the Bailey K. Ashford Award of the American Society of Tropical Medicine for his achievement.

The body louse is the carrier of the dread typhus fever

The whole history of the Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever Laboratory has not yet been written. Day by day its workers seek answers to unsolved questions, slowly adding to the growing store of human knowledge.—*USIS*

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs. Chandra Kiran Sonrexa has been awarded the *Seksaria Prize* of Hindi Literature by the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan for her contributions to Hindi fiction. One of the topmost of living Hindi short-story writers, Shrimati Sonrexa is Secretary of the Delhi Provincial Hindi Progressive Writers Association and member of the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha and the P. E. N. Club. Some of her best stories have been translated into English and several Indian languages. She was also a member of the Writers' Goodwill Delegation to Kashmir which visited the raided territories at the special invitation of Sheikh Kashmir Sheikh Abdulla.

Mrs. Chandra Kiran Sonrexa

Miss Kowta Yasoda Devi, M.A., M. Litt. has been awarded a doctorate, D. Litt., by the Madras University for her thesis, The Andhras: 1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D. She is the first Andhra lady to achieve this distinction.

Miss Kowta Yasoda Devi

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DOMINION STATUS FOR CEYLON

By J. BIIAR

Another pro-British fanfare was whipped up and a chorus of encomium sung when Ceylon attained her "independence" on February 4, as provided for under the Ceylonese Independence Act. But the British claim that Atulee's Socialist Cabinet is determined to liquidate imperialism has to be taken with a large dose of salt only. It is all to the good that the British Government lost no time in recognising the fact that World War II had drastically altered the age-old relations between the Ruler and the Ruled, and the tremendous change that followed in the wake of that cataclysm in Britain's Colonial Policy, far from being testimony to its love of progress, was more or less compelled by the refusal of its colonies and dependencies to reconcile themselves to their state of political bondage any longer. Grant of "independence" to Ceylon, therefore, should not have been made into an occasion for praising Britain's progressive post-war policy towards her colonies and dependencies. Those that have obtained the rights for self-government, have got them as their birth-right.

Self-liquidation of Imperialism

But Britain's voluntary surrender of her empire already experimented upon in India, Burma, and Ceylon—has not been altogether unconditional. Burma attained a sovereign independent status. But even so she had to conclude a treaty with Britain which provides for certain defence and financial arrangements between the two. Nobody could be sure to what extent Burma will be able to exercise her own choice in case of a future war which already exists potentially as "a cold war of nerves" between Soviet Communism and Anglo-American Democracy.

In our own case we have been given the right to decide whether or not we shall continue as a member of the Commonwealth. By providing for division of India and independence for the Princes, the British sought to catch us trapping by a sinister device. But India can go one better than Britain in diplomacy. The land of Chanakya (Kautilya) will never lack talent in that direction. Our States Department has already done good work by prevailing upon the Ruling Princes to see that independence can reduce them to so many emigre monarchs ousted by their own people. There is also little chance for the Anglo-Americans to hook us in as their partners in the game of power politics. The essence of our foreign policy, as enunciated by Pandit Nehru, is non-appeasement and non-aggression towards both contending sides, Russia and the Anglo-Americans.

Need for Cautious Estimate

But Ceylon's case is far less encouraging. Her "independence" is equivalent to Dominion Status with no freedom to opt out of the Commonwealth. Also, it is hedged in on all sides by Anglo-Ceylonese pacts relating to Defence, External Affairs and certain other matters, that do not make a happy augury for the future of her Self-Government miscalled "Independence." Another significant fact of recent Ceylonese history, is that already there is a complete disagreement between the Right and the Left in the island on the Anglo-Ceylonese settlement arrived at and implemented. Also Ceylon's present top-ranking politicians kept their people in the dark, and carried on negotiations with the British in a queer clandestine fashion. If the ideal aimed at was Democracy, why should there have been any need to do things surreptitiously. There is indeed close similarity between Ceylon and Malaya in this respect. The Party called UMNO and the Sultans of Malaya States combined in an unholy alliance to carry on secret negotiations with the British to throw overboard the previous Union Proposals and replace it by a new plan for a Federation of Malaya which has raised such a storm of protest from the Chinese and Malayan Leftist organisations.

Nevertheless "Independence," whatever the brand may be, is an occasion for rejoicing. The writer has no intention to discourage the Ceylonese leaders who have taken over the reins of administration from their previous ruler. Dominion Status, whatever its shortcomings, is undoubtedly a good thing to start with. And Ceylon, given proper lead and direction by her leaders, may surely hope to march from strength to strength and finally reach the cherished goal of complete independence even. But in the midst of her present exuberations, she will do well to exercise a certain amount of caution in her relations with the outgoing party. On the entire vast tract of what used to be British Empire a short while ago, the mellow glow of twilight is now descending. But the sooner it is made to sink into the mist of memory, the better. For, the lurid grandeur of twilight often tends to persist a little too obdurately.

Reforms Reviewed

Ceylon certainly does not attain her status of a Dominion overnight and as a result of Britain's policy of voluntary liquidation of imperialism. There is plenty of political awakening in the island today which can be traced back to a much earlier period.

Way back in 1795 an expedition sent out by the British from Madras occupied Ceylon. It became a British colony when by the Treaty of Amiens the British were allowed to retain the island. Between 1798 and 1802, the control of the island was divided between the Crown and the East India Company. But in 1802, the Company was divested of its responsibility and Ceylon became a Crown colony. The last king of Kandy, Wickrama Rajasimha

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(1798-1815) waged a bitter war against the British, but the British Governor Sir Robert Brownrigg put down his patriotic struggle and Kandy fell into British hands in 1815. Ceylon's administrative separation from India was effected in 1902.

For nearly 30 years the British Governor with an Advisory Council had been exercising absolute executive and legislative power, till in 1833, the first step was taken to provide an opportunity for ascertaining the desires of the people by setting up a Legislative Council of European and Sinhalese members nominated by the Governor. It is claimed by the spokesmen of the British that all through the long period of their stay in Ceylon they were preparing the people of the island for democratic self-government, such as the recent Ceylonese Independence Act provides. The first Legislative Council composed of elected members came into being in Ceylon in 1931 under the Reforms proposed by the Donoughmore Commission.

The Soulbury Commission and After

During the thirties of this century Ceylon's national awakening had received a tremendous impetus from the events in neighbouring countries, especially India. But the British could do but little to meet Ceylon's patriotic demands. It was only after the conclusion of World War II that some substantial efforts were made by Britain to satisfy Ceylon's national aspirations. The Soulbury Commission appointed to consider the island's administrative reforms, made certain recommendations which were accepted by the British Government as the basis of the White Paper issued in October, 1945. The Ceylon State Council accepted these Proposals for Reforms. In May, 1946, a new Constitution was enacted based on the White Paper of the previous year. It provided for a Legislature and a Responsible Government. According to British officials, "It marked an important step forward, making Ceylon the first colony with a predominantly non-European population to approach Dominion Status." Under the Soulbury Reforms Ceylon's State Council was replaced by two chambers,—the Senate and the House of Representatives. Provision was also made for a Cabinet of Ministers with responsibility to the Legislature and through it to the people. But as regards Defence, External Affairs and Constitutional Amendments Ceylon's national Parliament would be subordinated to the British Government. Bills relating to all three matters were reserved for the Governor's assent.

For obvious reasons the Soulbury Reforms could meet Ceylon's nationalist aspirations only partially. In June, 1947, the British Government announced they were ready to accord Ceylon the status of a Dominion, and invited the Ceylon Government for negotiations to realise the goal. The decision was a welcome departure from Britain's past manoeuvres to rivet fresh forges into the chain of slavery, while professing to make the colonies fit for self-government. Or rather it appeared to be so in the estimation of Ceylon's top-ranking politicians who reacted favourably to the new British move.

The British Government by their readiness to supersede the Soulbury Commission tacitly recognised the strength of the Ceylonese public opinion and the forces of liberation at work in the entire Far E... Ceylon's politicians appreciated the worth of Domin... Status, as it could give them the right to govern their ... country according to their own choice though, of co... Ceylon's prospects in matters like Defence and Exter... Affairs were not promising enough.

September Elections

In September, 1947, Ceylon's first General Elect... under the Soulbury Reforms were held. Mr. D. S. Se... nayake's United National Party came off victorious a... he became Ceylon's Prime Minister. On November 14 l... the British Government announced that Anglo-Ceylo... agreements were reached on matters like Defence, Exter... Affairs, etc., "as a preliminary to conferring upon Cey... fully responsible Status within the British Commonwea... of Nations." Under the Ceylonese Independence B... enacted later in November Ceylon obtained "full a... unrestricted powers of legislation in all matters." T... Bill became operative with effect from February 4 th... year. But qualifications that accompany Ceylon's "I... dependence" as embodied in her Defence Pact with Brit... leave no doubt that she will play a second fiddle to h... previous Ruler in the years to come. Under the Defe... arrangements concluded between Ceylon and Britain, th... two Governments undertake to provide military assista... against external aggression and for the protection o... essential communications. Britain will also enjoy th... privilege of stationing forces on the island, and undertak... to help in the training and development of Ceylon... Armed Forces.

Ceylon's New Constitution was inaugurated on Nove... ber 25 last. When the Dominion Parliament was open... by the Governor he expressed the hope that very so... Ceylon would attain full responsible government. But ... Parliamentary legislation making this provision is ... in keeping with the British tradition of 'Divide and Ru... Dominion Status girt on all sides by pacts and agreem... for the protection of British strategic and financial inter... in the East may satisfy a section of Ceylon's people, b... not all. Dominion Status is not the same thing as ... dependence. It may satisfy Ceylon's Rightist politi... groups, but her Leftists are in no mood to reconcile th... selves to it. All that can be said at the present stage ... that the march to political emancipation has just begun... Ceylon. Certainly her political progress will not end w... the status of a Dominion being bestowed on ... Tremendous political changes will take place every ... in the East, and Ceylon is not an air-tight compartm... not to be affected by these.

The Right and the Left

Ceylon is not that never-never land of romance ... pageantry it is often described to be in travelogues ... pamphlets issued by the Railway and Shipping Compa... Today it is a veritable cock-pit of a tough political ...

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between the Left and the Right. The British Imperialists are certainly alive to the danger of these Leftist rumblings which may ultimately lead to a complete overthrow of alien imperialist regime and with it plunge deep into the ocean of oblivion whatever influence its lackeys hold on the political life of the island today. Just to forestall that and build up a bastion against the Leftist forces in the island consolidating their strength any further, the British have successfully manoeuvred with its Rightists to foist on Ceylon a regime that will look like independence outwardly, but actually help Britain wield her economic and strategic interests there with all the support of her own stooges eulogised wrongly as the representatives of the people. Britain has not abandoned her imperialism. She is only modernising her colonial rule in the altered circumstances of the post-war period.

For hundreds of years in the past the different communities inhabiting Ceylon used to raise the primitive cry of "Religion in danger". This was an expression of rivalry and jealousy among them,—Buddhists, Muslims, Hindus and Christians on the island. At a later stage religious riots yielded place to nationalism, but Ceylon's nationalism too was soon caught in the siren grip of racial rivalry, and a section of the island's population with or without reason raised an unhappy cry of "Ceylon for the Sinhalese." But today even that phase is gradually coming to an end and yielding scope and place to division of the people on the basis of political ideologies. To be more exact, in Ceylon today there is a more straight fight than ever between the Left and the Right. The latter are the party in power, but the former too are a potent force in the island's political life. Democratic Socialism seems the only feasible way out of this dilemma. The top-ranking politicians of Burma and India have taken care to take into account what explosive possibilities may follow if the Leftist aspirations of their countrymen are altogether ignored. To prevent Communism having much of a dent on the soil of Asia, it is necessary to forge ahead to a new social order which will be more just and equitable than the older Capitalist order already in decay. That is why both Burma and India have declared their objective to be the establishment of Democratic Socialism in both countries. But Ceylon's Rightists seem to be living in their own narrow Paradise. Not only have they flouted their Leftists altogether, but tied their future blindly to the apron-strings of a dying foreign imperialism that aims to linger obstinately while creating at the same time the illusory spectacle of self-liquidation. The future of Ceylon is thus fraught with possibilities of political troubles and even an upheaval that may give Communism a chance on the island's soil.

The Influence of the Left

The rifts between the Right and the Left were clearly visible during the General Elections last September and the result of this political rivalry was that Mr. Senanayake's UNP (United National Party) failed to secure a sweeping victory at the polls. Even now in the Ceylonese Legislature the UNP commands but a thin majority. The UNP's representative character is doubtful and its influence is confined to the groups that control Ceylon's vested interests. In the last General Elections the Left Parties in Ceylon succeeded in attracting a good number of votes—a phenomenon that reveals there is a swing towards the Left in this island of backward, and down-trodden but politically conscious people.

Among the Left Parties, the first in influence is the *Lanka Samasamaj* (Trotskyist). Next in position is the Bolshevik-Leninist Party. Then there is the Ceylon Communist Party, the third large Leftist group in the island. All these Leftist groups along with others like the Ceylon Indian Congress and the Tamil Congress stand for complete independence. They criticise Senanayake and his UNP for their acceptance of the Soulbury Constitution without consulting the electorate.

The Leftists naturally look askance at British intentions and their tricky manoeuvrings with the Rightists for making Ceylon "an integral part of the imperial defence scheme." Is it not, they rightly ask, 'mortgaging the independence of the island in perpetuity'?

Socialism, a Golden Solution

Ceylon's people can be divided into two distinct groups—the "Haves" and the "Have-nots." In such circumstances bitter class-war is likely. But whether there will follow a swing to the Right or to the Left depends on what influence Mr. Senanayake's UNP can wield over the people. At present the influence of Ceylon's Leftists acting in alliance with the non-Sinhalese Parties is by no means negligible. The new Parliament of 96 contains 42 members from the UNP, 18 Leftists, 7 from Tamil Congress, 6 from Indian Ceylon Congress, 21 Independents, and 1 Labour. Will it be possible for the UNP to withstand the strain of the opposition should leftists and other disgruntled elements ever seek to overthrow their pro-British regime? There is, of course, a golden solution to their difficulties. Mr. Senanayake can emulate Pandit Nehru's example, try to come nearer the masses and understand them and their difficulties, and if possible, work for a compromise between the Right and the Left. But God help him, if he does not do that and takes care to appease the British and the Sinhalese top-dogs only. That way the island will be rocked by a storm, and the inevitable will happen not by a slow peaceful process but through bitter struggles for power between the Right and the Left. The age of imperialism is over, and the bitter-enders cannot but resent any attempt to prolong the tenure of its life in a new garb.

Indians in Ceylon

Ceylon's population comprises in the main three different peoples,—the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Indians. A section of the Sinhalese have developed a chauvinistic outlook and their anti-Indian feeling seems to run high at the present moment. It is for this reason that Indians who number about one million out of the island's total population of six million and who control most of its trade have begun to feel nervous about their position in

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new Ceylon after the British exit (*i.e.*, withdrawal by the front door, but re-entry by the back door). Ceylon's Prime Minister Mr. D. S. Senanayake came out to India last December and had talks with Pandit Nehru with a view to straighten out relations between India and Ceylon. Talks were held in a very friendly atmosphere and after his return home Mr. Senanayake issued a statement from Colombo which said that Indians who would desire to make Ceylon their permanent home would be entitled to Ceylon citizenship, provided they had certain necessary qualifications. This is an eminently sensible stand as no modern state could encourage dual citizenship. The Indian Government have a duty to our nationals abroad to see to it that their legitimate rights are not curbed as in F.-M. Smuts' Kingdom that still sticks to its outmoded notion of white-supremacy. But let us not unduly seek to placate ves ed interests in foreign countries even if owned by our own nationals.

Whatever rivalry and ill-feeling be there between the Sinhalese and the Indians in Ceylon, owe their origin to economic causes. Early in the 19th century European tea and coffee planters took over to Ceylon a number of Indian subjects,—the Malayalees and the Tamilians to be engaged as workers on their estates. Later there were more crossing over to Ceylon and settling down as permanent inhabitants on the island. In course of time Indians living in Ceylon came to occupy an important position in the island's economy,—its labour personnel and its trade. Ceylonese nationalism naturally looked askance at the dominating role played by Indians in Ceylon's economic life. Indians claim that they have given prosperity to the island, and hope that the Sinhalese will not turn down their legitimate demand for citizenship rights including franchise. But Mr. Senanayake's statement referred to above is no more than a pleasantly-phrased vagary: it is significant that he did not explain what he meant when he said, Indians in Ceylon would get citizenship rights provided they had certain necessary qualifications. What are these necessary qualifications after all? Mr. Senanayake could not help us much beyond suggesting, these were a matter for legislation in the near future. It is a well-known fact that India's ties with Ceylon date back to antiquity. But can mere sentiment solve a problem which to some extent has unnerved our nationals on the island? Let us hope that Ceylon's present rulers will not fail to mete out a just and equitable deal towards them. And Indians in their turn should not resent the control which the Sinhalese may decide to exercise with regard to future immigration from India into Ceylon. It is true that even after a very long period of their sojourn in Ceylon Indians retain their own custom. They have not been absorbed in the main stream of Ceylonese life and culture. But as Ceylonese citizens, they cannot and should not stand apart politically from other communities on the island.

Ceylon certainly needs to maintain good-neighbourly relations with India through all the years to come. Not only do close religious and cultural ties exist between them, but geographically too Ceylon is a part of India. This small island which is more or less an appendage of India cannot stand apart from the latter. She has to rely on India for political reasons. In the interest of her own security she certainly cannot afford to have an unfriendly big neighbour nagging at her. Given determination and good-will Ceylon's present administrators can and must straighten out the relations between the Sinhalese and the Indians in Ceylon. In fact, in an otherwise bright and hopeful picture of future Indo-Ceylonese relations the only black spot as yet discernible is the narrow anti-Indian sentiment which has grown up among a section of the Sinhalese. Ceylon has to erase it or troubles will be brewing.

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HOW QAZIS AND MUFTIS DID JUSTICE

(In the early years of British rule in Bengal)

By Dr. N. K. SINHA, M.A. Ph.D.
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Muslim penal law, as also the criminal law of the Hindus which it had superseded, were regarded by Macaulay as altogether unfit for the consideration of the Indian Law Commission. In a letter, dated 2nd May, 1837, he argued that if India was in possession of a system of criminal law which the people regarded with partiality the law commissioners would try to digest it and moderately to correct it and would not propose a system fundamentally different. At the advent of British rule in Bengal the penal law in force in Bengal was Muhammadan law. Even after 1765 the administration of criminal justice continued in the hands of the Muhammadans, the Qazis and Muftis being responsible for the *fatwah* or interpretation of Muhammadan law, the Foujdars referring for sentence to the Naib Nazim. Muhammad Reza Khan, who was Naib Nazim for the greater part of the period from 1765 to 1790 thus controlled country justice on the criminal side. But after December 1790 began the systematic supersession of Muslim criminal law by British regulations. Muslim penal law was gradually 'dis-stated' to such an extent that it had no longer any title to the religious veneration of the Muslims and only certain original peculiarities, certain technical terms and nice distinctions—mere lumber of pedantry—remained as relics encumbering the direction of justice. Macaulay swept this rubbish aside. In the Sadr Nizamat records of 1791 and 1792, we

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In the custody of the High Court of Calcutta, I have seen some of the *fatwahs* of the Qazis and Muftis that give us an idea of Muslim criminal jurisprudence before the advent of British regulations. We can also trace in these records the supersession of Muslim criminal law step by step. I give here the exact words used by the Qazis and Muftis, as translated into English for the enlightenment of the judges of the Sadr Nizamat Adalat, about a century and a half ago.

Fatwah of Sirajuddin Khan, Qazi to the Court of Circuit for the Calcutta Division and Mufti Abdul Basat re: the murder of Amala by her husband Mangal Das, March, 1791.

"Mangol Das has been guilty of a bad action for which according to the doctrine of Imaum Aboo Yusuf and Imaum Mohammud he would be liable to be punished with death but as one of the heirs has forgiven the murderer and as it is not possible to divide a person, the law ordains that Mungal Dass shall not be punished with death. Parbotty (daughter of the deceased) having remitted her claim to have share of the price of blood, her claim is accordingly done away but Shoroo (sister of the deceased) is entitled to receive her share of the price of blood."

It was the considered opinion of Meer Hyder and Md. Moshuruff, Muftis to the Sadr Nizamat Adalat that "the law ordains that it is incumbent on the hakim first to consider the will of the heirs of a murdered person with regard to the option of requiring blood for blood or the price of blood, and if the heirs are not present he must cause them to be summoned to attend for *Kessaus* (Qasas —blood for blood) and *Deyut* (price of blood) are the rights of the slaves of god. Therefore a sentence is properly established when it is founded on the will of the heirs of a murdered man."

Abstract from the proceedings received from the Naib Nazim with sentences and dates on which they were passed —case of Seyed Chand—murder—date, 17th Shaban, 1205 (21st April, 1791).

"In a trial for murder the evidence of woman is invalid. Shaikh Garoo has given in evidence that Naunee, the deceased, died 21 days after receiving the wounds from the sword . . . . the amlah must be directed to keep Seyed Chand in confinement and to call on the plaintiff to know whether he has any other evidence (except that of women) to prove that the deceased person died from the wounds she received from the sword."

A *fatwah* of Nijm-ud-Din, the Chief Qazi of Bengal, in a case of murder—Sadr Nizamat Adalat, December, 1791 :

"It does not appear whether Keetoo Chowdhury and Kaloo Choudhury are true believers (Musalmans) or Zimmies (infidels). If they are Mosulman, the evidence of Hindu witnesses cannot be allowed to operate against them and further they deny the crime, therefore they are not deserving of *Tazeer*. If the persons are Zimmies, as two witnesses give evidence saying that they saw them with their own eyes striking with their swords they would have been punishable by death had not the witnesses further declared that they did not know from whence the affray commenced on which account they are not subject to *Kessaus* but they are deserving of severe punishment. Therefore let them be kept in confinement for seven years and then be released."

Fatwah of Nijm-ud-Din, Meer Hyder and Md. Moshuruff in the case of Russea for murder, May, 1792 :

"Russea would have been deserving of being put to death for crime which he has committed had the witnesses been Mohamedan but on account of the invalidity of witnesses *Kassaus* is removed although he is deserving of being imprisoned."

Circuit Division of Patna—Trial of Dilla, 5th October, 1792—Fatwah of Qazi and Mufti at Patna :

"Dilla, the defendant confessed the murder of Ramdial but the deceased left an infant daughter three years of age. Hence, in conformity to the doctrine of Aboo Yusuf* and Mohummad, Dilla the defendant, is not subject to *Kessaus* until the daughter arrives at maturity. . . because the right to demand Kessaus is conjcint."

On an appeal to the Sadr Nizamat Adalat, the Chief Qazi and Mufti opined :

"The widow and the father of the deceased demand *Kessaus*. In this case, therefore, Dilla according to the doctrine of Aboo Huneefa should be put to death."

The inconsistency of this law to natural justice could not be overlooked by the Governor-General in Council and they had to announce that the right of punishment belongs to the Government and not to the individual. The disability on the Hindus as witnesses and the ban on the evidence of women had to be removed. But the Muhammadan administrators were themselves convinced of the inadequacy of their law for the prevention of crimes. They were unable to alter this law in spite of its inadequacy because of its religious sanction. So the custom was almost universal in all criminal courts of the Qazis and the Muftis adding a reference to the will of the Hakim at the end of their judgments. The practice also grew up of condemning prisoners to imprisonment during the pleasure of the ruler. Md. Reza Khan informed the Sadr Nizamat Adalat that such sentences were passed on offenders of whose guilt the Qazis and Muftis were convinced but the evidence against whom did not amount to legal proof. Such offenders were not permitted to return to society and were committed to prison during the pleasure of the sovereign. The perpetual imprisonment was naturally repugnant to the principle of justice and the Sadr Nizamat Adalat in 1791 and 1792 reviewed all cases of perpetual imprisonment, releasing most of the prisoners who had already undergone a considerable term of imprisonment.†

*Abu Yusuf Ibn Yakub, Chief Justice of Baghdad under Harun-al-Rashid and the author of the standard legal text book Kitab-ul-Kharaj.

†I have given extracts from only four case records. To illustrate the principles guiding Qazis and Muftis I could have referred to at least twenty such cases from the Sadr Nizamat Adalat records but that would have given the article not a historical but a technical legal aspect.

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INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS AND WORLD ECONOMY

By C. SELVANAYAKI

To study the role that raw materials have played in the shaping of world economy, one should go back to that great cataclystic upheaval in the social and economic conditions of man—the " Industrial Revolution." The emergence of scientific inventions and technical progress, unparalleled transportation development and the ushering in of the industrial era, the growing importance of manufacturing industries and the new significance of 'raw materials'—these changes followed one another in quick succession and a new society was born in which men and women produced for commerce and not merely for subsistence, in which they used in their daily lives the products of different countries and in which they relied for the most part of their production on the help of new marvels called machines.

The development of material knowledge took rapid strides and placed in the hands of man new weapons by which to harness the forces of nature. The progress of physical sciences reacted upon metallurgy affording the possibility of a larger and a bolder handling of masses of metal and other minerals. Machinery on a new scale and in a new abundance appeared to revolutionise industry. The industrial revolution which divided the 19th century civilisation from the previous ones was the product of this mechanical revolution.

The industrial revolution gave a new importance and significance to raw materials. Even though man was using the products of nature to produce the goods to satisfy his needs, the demand for large quantities of these materials of nature rose only after the growth of manufacturing industries on a large scale. The growth of manufacturing industries accelerated the production of raw materials and led to a rapid development of mineral resources firstly slowly and with a limited range of products, then on a large scale and extended variety.

The world output of coal rose from 12 million tons in 1800 to more than 45 millions in 1840, 500 million tons in 1890 and 1200 million tons in 1913: that of pig-iron from less than 200,000 tons in 1800 to 10 million tons in 1870 and 40 million tons in 1900. The same phenomenon was observed in other raw materials like oilseeds, rubber, etc.

This ever-growing demand for raw materials in large quantities stimulated the greed of industrial nations who cast their eyes around them and scanned the distant horizon for raw materials to supply their gigantic factories. Instead of spreading friendship among different nations, the new opportunity created only friction among them. There began a new era of exploitation. The British overseas possessions which had hitherto been regarded as a source of weakness to the kingdom was no longer regarded as such. The "white man's burden" was transformed into a source of strength. There was a clamour on a vaster scale and for new commodities. Hitherto the chief commodities that had attracted European powers into unsettled and barbarous regions had been gold or other precious metals, spices, ivory or slaves but in the latter quarter of the 19th century the growth of scientific industrialism was creating a new demand for new raw materials like fats and greases of every kind and rubber, etc.

India as the "Agricultural Farm" of Europe supplied the European countries with products in their raw state. She exported spices and opium, oilseeds and fibre which swelled the figures in trade between India and the West during the early years of the industrial growth of western nations. Apart from India there was no great expansion of the European Empire until the railways and steamships were in effective action. The Australian settlements developed slowly until in 1842, the discovery of valuable copper mines and in 1851, of gold gave them a new importance. Australian wool became an important article of commerce. By 1840 British settlements had begun in New Zealand and efforts were made to develop this island. After 1871, Germany and presently France and later Italy began to look for new annexed raw material areas. So there began a free scramble all over the world. Europe pounced upon China to divide her coal and America seized the Philippines to enforce the "open door." The greed for rubber made Africa a victim to European colonists. Thus there developed two different patterns in world economy. The world was divided into two sectors—the producer of raw materials and the consumer of raw materials. It was plain that Britain, Holland and Portugal were reaping a great and growing commercial advantage from their control of tropical and sub-tropical products.

Simultaneously with economic practice, economic theory also paid special attention to the problem of "raw materials." From the middle of the 18th century up to the middle of the 19th century the problems of raw material supply were generally regarded by economists as not only peculiar but crucial. The Physiocrats regarded the raw materials producing industries as the unique source of social net product. While Adam Smith disputed the contention that agriculture and mining were the sole source of wealth of nations, even he was willing to allow that the labour of those engaged in cultivative and extractive industries is certainly more productive than that of merchants, artificers, etc. Though Ricardo and Malthus could agree on few things, they were in agreement with this "that the economic process in which nature plays an important role and displays most clearly her munificence or parsimony are decisive in determining the sale of limits of economic progress."

After the middle of the 19th century economics no longer than economic statesmanship became increasingly concerned with the role of capital in the productive process. Latterly however, the focal point of interest appears to be more to be shifting towards the problem of raw materials. Even before the war there was noticeable a tendency to

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in theory and parctice towards a re-appraisal of, for one thing, the significance of technology and for another, the part played by raw material availability in moulding the economic pattern. After the advent of electric power there is more and more a tendency towards the location of industries near the sources of raw materials.

With the rise and growth of the industrial civilisation, the definition of the term "raw material" also underwent a rapid change. The classical economist regarded as raw materials only the material gifts of nature or the various vegetable, animal or mineral products in their crude form. In this case, the distinction between raw materials and manufactured articles seem to be based on the fact that the articles in the creation of which human energy and skill play no part would be regarded as raw materials while the articles in the manufacturing group owe to a very large extent their properties and form directly to the skill of man.

But the modern conception of 'raw material' is wider and more elastic in its scope. Whether an article is a raw material or not is determined by the "intentions of the consumer and the nature of the part of the article is expected to play in the scheme of manufacture." Any article which is directly used in the manufacture of another article is described by the manufacturer of the latter as a raw material, though it may be a manufactured product from the commercial point of view. Thus, for instance, from the commercial standpoint Oil is a finished product but it is scarcely anything more than a raw material when paint, varnish or soap industries are taken into consideration. Even paints and varnishes can be regarded as raw materials when various other dependent industries are taken into consideration. Thus the chain goes on and on indefinitely. With every step towards widening the industrial structure of a country and with every step towards advancement in scientific and technical knowledge, the raw material base is bound to widen. The modern industrial world rests on a raw material structure that is international in its scope.

A modern industrial country uses more than ten thousand different raw materials but not all these are essential for the industrial advancement of any one country. Apart from certain 'basic' raw materials which are essential to every country, especially in times of war, the industrial structure of the different countries rests on 'primary' raw materials of vegetable (sub-divided into agricultural and forest), mineral and animal origin. The ultimate basis of all kinds of industries are these 'primary' raw materials. The different categories of minerals like iron, steel, lead, copper, zinc, manganese, mica, tin, bauxite, etc.; the textile raw materials like cotton, wool, silk, jute and other fibres; food materials like cotton seeds, castor seed, groundnuts, etc.; forest materials like timber, wood, wood-pulp, etc.; rubber; hides and skins; these are some of the raw materials which figure prominently in world trade and for the supply of which highly industrialised nations exploit the industrially undeveloped regions for their own benefit.

But the 19th century pattern of world economy which divided the world into two distinct sectors—producers of raw materials and consumers of raw materials—could not remain undisturbed for long. One part of the world would not perennially remain agricultural, producing materials for the gigantic factories of the other part and serving as markets for the finished products of those factories. With the awakening of their consciousness politically, there was a protest against this annual drain of their raw materials to foreign lands and there was more and more a tendency towards restriction of exports and their utilisation for indigenous industries. This made the problem of raw material supply all the more acute and the different nations of the world began to feel the necessity for an enquiry into the question of equal commercial access for all nations to certain essential raw materials.

With the appearance of an independent India on the industrial map of the world, the world economic structure is bound to undergo considerable changes. India will no longer be an exporter of raw materials but a consumer. Her natural resouces actual and potential, will be utilised for the industrial development of the nation. This will call for a comprehensive survey of her raw material resources, which have hitherto been left unexplored or exploited indiscriminately. While the future industrial structure of India will depend on the full and economic utilisation of her natural wealth that of other highly industrialised nations like U. S. A. will be determined by the way in which they re-act to the fact that their resources are dwindling. A recent report on America's natural resources reveals that the war has severely depleted her known commercial reserves of metals. High grade iron ore, it is estimated, will cover at best seventeen more years, while the output of lead mines is only half of what it was twenty years back, other metals like copper and zinc might last for a decade more but manganese, tungsten, etc., are near exhaustion. Her timber resources are only 50 per cent of what was available in 1910 and annual growth covers only two-thirds of yearly needs. In future America's industrial requirements of raw materials will have to be met by "large imports, by digging deeper into the earth, by using lower grade ores and by developing substitutes.'

This brings us to the question of synthetic raw materials and their economic implications. So long as raw materials are cheap and plentiful, there is little spur towards devising man-made substitutes for them. But as soon as the pinch of scarcity is felt and the cost of raw material goes up, wits are put to work to offset the limitation. Either by exact synthetic imitation of natural products or by substitutes for natural products or by bringing into existence entirely new substances, the chemist reduces the dependence on natural raw materials. The 20th century has been called the 'century of synthetics,' yet not many of us are aware of its full implcations or the nature of their possible impact on industrial and economic structure. Synthesising enables a country to make the most economic use of scarce materials which it possess and thus raise its industrial potentiality. The new technique of synthetics will enable a country to make the most economic use of its mineral resources (which are "shrinking assets") and to rely more than ever on renewable natural resources like

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agriculture and forestry. Finally, the use of synthetic materials will powerfully affect the "localisation" of industry. We are told that in the new age of synthetics cheap power and availability of coal and petroleum and also labour will constitute the chief locational factors for industries. During the war it was thought that the German economic machine would break down for want of this material or that, but synthetic materials came to the rescue and kept the machinery going.

But until such time as when synthetic products invading the entire industrial structure of the world, bring about a more equal distribution of industrial opportunities among nations, the fact of the uneven distribution of raw materials will, by creating the problem of raw material supply, maintain the present rivalry and exploitation among the different countries. Until such time as when the new technique of synthetics diminishes the importance of raw material availability in moulding the economic pattern of different countries, the problem of raw material supply will persist.

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STAGGERED WORKING IN BRITAIN

By GORDON CUMMINGS

Among the expedients now being used by British industry to speed production is the staggering of working hours. The primary objective of this is to avoid a repetition of last winter's heavy load shedding of electricity, which was caused by the inability of generating plants to cope with peak loads and demands often far beyond their capacity. This scheme, judging by facts just issued, is a success. Staggering has reduced the industrial electricity peak by one quarter and has transferred about 750,000 kilowatts from peak hours to less busy periods of the day.

Staggering has been arranged in four main ways, all by voluntary arrangement. Transfer to night work of processes with a heavy electrical load, but involving comparatively few workers, is one method. A second one is the staggering of daytime and evening shifts, while a third is what is known as the power-less day scheme, whereby each firm in an area has one day without power and makes up the working time by longer hours on other days or at the week-end. The fourth method is the use of private generators, mostly driven by oil.

In addition to the considerable conservation of fuel and the prevention of production hold-ups, staggering, by reason of its spreading of working hours over a longer day, has also eased transport problems in many areas. In fact, in the case of the workers, staggering was first adopted in the early years of the war for the purpose of reducing peak loads on transport. Schemes then evolved showed that a difference of as little as 15 minutes in the starting and finishing times of different factories in one locality could save a high proportion of transport and get workers from and to their homes in much less time. Transport staggering is now a settled feature in many industrial areas of Britain and also in big business areas such as the City of London.

The electricity staggering scheme, incidentally, is an example of the way in which British workers are adjusting themselves to the present call for greater production. They are convinced that hard work plus, in most cases, temporary inconvenience, is the essential prelude to the return of more prosperous and plentiful times. This is coupled with the realisation that, although production in many industries is going ahead, there are still big demands to meet.

Coal is an instance of this need for still further efforts. On the basis of recent production figures there will be no coal hold-up this winter. Avoiding a hold-up will not, however, be enough. Britain has recently resumed coal exports in a small way and plans to increase them substantially. For this purpose, therefore, this year's production target has been raised by 14,000,000 tons to 214,000,000 tons which, without allowing for holidays, will mean an average of 4,125,000 tons a week compared with recent averages of about 4,250,000 tons. It is advisable to point out here, however, that fluctuations in weekly production must be expected during the next two to three months, which will cover the severest winter weather.

Open-cast coal-mining, which has been providing something approaching 250,000 tons weekly, is almost entirely at the mercy of the weather and a freeze-up might easily reduce this source of supply to nothing. The British authorities, fully alive to all the adverse possibilities, have therefore based their calculations on average production over a lengthy period. Any falling off in weekly production from the recent high levels of more than 4,250,000 tons will consequently not indicate that objectives are going adrift or that export plans will have to be trimmed. What will be lost in the cold weather will be made up later in the year. And on this question of catching up on lost production it must be remembered that mechanisation of the British coal-mines is going ahead at a good pace. As more machines are installed so will the output per man-shift increase.

Summing up, therefore, it seems safe to say that coal while it will still play a vital part in the British economy will not be of the same paramount importance in 1948 as it was last year. Steel is likely to take its place in the order of demand. British steel production has been set a target of 14,000,000 tons for 1948. It should manage to achieve that, particularly as recent monthly output has been in excess of this figure. Here again, however, any temporary recessions in the winter months are likely to be made good later in 1948.

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WHITHER PAKISTAN ?—WHAT NEXT ?

By QAZI MUKHTAR AHMAD, M.A.

Time has only shown that the establishment of Pakistan has been the greatest catastrophe for the Muslim masses. The havoc it has wrought, the situation it has created is almost unparalleled in the history of the homo-sapiens. Innumerable human beings, both Hindus and Mussalmans, were massacred in cold blood. Those who escaped death have become homeless. It is all Pakistan's doing. The human history does not record a greater blunder than Pakistan which has proved to be more devastating than Chengiz Khan's invasion where only 23,000 people were massacred, more abhorrent than the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre where 30,000 men were killed, more impolitic than Shah Jahan's invasion of Central Asia where the Indian soldiers suffered a defeat worse than death. Pakistan's success might be gigantic, its failure is bound to be so. The establishment of this so-called Muslim state has proved to be the greatest misfortune of those whose state it is unfortunately called. Why this? Only because it was not established with honest intentions. Now it is clear beyond any shadow of doubt that it is, in fine, the resultant of power politics, its foundation is therefore bound to be shaky. It is a state which can scarcely be labelled politically. It professes to be a democracy, but it acts otherwise; it calls itself a Muslim state, but it continues to be a dictatorship; it pretends to safeguard the minorities, but its leaders are busy in something else in levelling charges against Hindustan. Lies are heaped upon lies, one blunder is followed by another greater in magnitude. Completely oblivious of the interests of the Indian Muslims on whose support its structure was laid up, Pakistan stands for fighting with all the world. "Its ideal is Machiavelli and not the U.N.O. Charter." To call it the custodian of the Muslim interest is a grotesque reversal of truth.

An honest Muslim feels, as he felt before, that Pakistan is not the result of the true general will of the Muslims, because it was achieved with the employment of Fascist technique. The Muslim League was not a political organization, it was a communal body. It exploited religion, it consecrated sacrilege, it entrapped the poor Muslim masses. The false cry of Islam in danger completely upset a common Muslim, who was too honest, too simple-minded to understand the trickery of the League leaders. They literally acted upon the technique followed by Hitler in Germany, by Mussolini in Italy. They had an object in view, the safeguard of the Muslim upper classes. They were absolutely clear in their minds about the object in view, and I must confess that they played their game with consummate adroitness. Most of them coming from upper classes knew fully well that the uncontrolable democratizing spirit of the time will cut at the very root of their power, and the reactionary institutions like Aristocracy, Landlordism, Capitalism will be liquidated. They joined the Muslim League, not for the amelioration of the Muslim masses, but for the realization of their own ambitions. To them politics was a mere gamble, and the Muslim League only a face-saving device. They had an axe to grind, the Muslim masses were made a scape-goat. For the realization of their unsacred ambitions they resorted to communal propaganda. In this technique they were adepts, no less than Dr. Goebbles. Harping upon the religious tune always, they sought to win the Muslim masses. Their colossal propaganda, their hate-propagating sermons, their bellicose slogans had the desired reaction. The Muslims gradually lost the political sense and ultimately they were *en masse* betrayed. None was allowed to examine the League politics, lest its loopholes might be exposed. The command of the Fuehrer was to follow him blindly. Mr. Jinnah, now the Qaid-e-Azam, once said, "Vote for the League candidate, be it a lamp post." Jinnah undoubtedly made the Muslim politics aristocratic, he made it an ass's bridge by his word-jugglery.

Further, for achieving the Eldorado, devastating and absurd tactics were followed. Ignoring completely the historical and geographical factors, Jinnah propounded the fantastic two-nation theory for widening the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. Muslims were supposed to have one culture, the Hindus quite the other when 99 per cent of the Indian Muslims were converts from Hinduism and when all of them belonged to one race, the Aryan race. It is needless to discuss the absurdity of this theory which divided cultures on the basis of religion. Were it so, all the Muslims of the world would have been one nation. The enunciation of this theory has proved to be more suicidal than Pakistan itself. Jinnah tried to dismember the Indian nation. If the Hindu masses detest today with their whole soul the pro-Pakistan Muslim, they are justified in doing so. Jinnah wanted to crush the Indian nation, but the time will tell him that he was weaving the rope of sand, he was trying for the impossible. It is a tragedy of history that he temporarily succeeded in befooling the Muslim masses.

This seems to be the correct analysis of the position. Now when the mischief is done, I think that an average Muslim understands what Pakistan means. He seems to realise that it is the symbol of tyranny, the result of Mr. Jinnah's ego. This I am talking about the average Muslim, not about the remnants of Jinnahism, who still abound in India. Now, a pertinent question

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rises, were the Muslims so childlike as not to know the dire consequences of Pakistan. I, in my heart of heart, feel that the Muslim rank and file were really so. They supported Pakistan without understanding the implications of this diabolical move. They became powerless before the psychological methods of Mr. Jinnah, they surrendered in an unconscious emotional state of mind. Such parallels are not far to seek in history. The Nazi creed, in spite of its inherent inconsistencies and dangers, was once the dominant creed of Germany. If anybody is to be blamed, it is Hitler and his satellites, and not the German people. Mussolini did likewise in Italy, Metternich in Austria, Randolph Churchill and latterly of the same species Winston Churchill in Great Britain. The leaders had always been responsible, the masses had always been like sheep.

If anybody is to blame today, it is the League leadership and a certain section of the Muslim educated class. The conciliatory attitude of the Congress leaders turned their brains, and the Muslim League leaders developed a peculiar complex. Always intransigent and irreconcilable, puffed up with pride, they were always in alt. They developed a peculiar code of courtesy. Every Muslim League leader followed the example set by Jinnah Saheb. I very well remember that in 1945 when I criticized, through the columns of the *Leader* and *Patrika*, a speech of Raja of Mahmudabad, I got an unhealthy rebuff. I received various letters, full of abuses and foul expressions and which I still preserve as a monument of their folly.

It is in this background that the present problem of the Indian Muslims should be understood. An average Muslim seems to be sorry for what he has done, although I quite realise that the Muslim League stalwarts are still as irreconcilable as they were before. Now the task of the Machiavellian diplomatists has ended, that of the common Muslim begun. He must realise, fully well, that there has been tremendous change in the political firmament of India. He has to fit himself in the new set-up. The Indian Muslims should, once and for all, drive away the delusion that Jinnah can be of any help to them any more. Jinnah's tactics have now been exposed, he has undoubtedly proved himself to be the Dutchman of Indian politics. Those who will still continue to follow his path, I warn them that they will be playing with edge tools. Jinnah has completely forgotten the Indian Muslims on whose support the structure of Pakistan was laid up. He did not say a single word of sympathy for them, all that he has said so far is plundering and blundering. It is meant to delude us.

Jinnah's clap-traps should no more be heard. The Indian Muslims are Indians and not Pakistanis. They have thrown their lot, and I am happy they have done so, with the Hindus, their countrymen, who can ill afford to ignore them.

I am personally opposed to the giving of any pledge to loyalty. They should prove by their actions that they are loyal to India. If they stand the [illegible] I am sure, the suspicion will vanish like snow [illegible] sun-shine. Having faith in democracy, in the [illegible] rosity and broad-mindedness of the majority [illegible] munity, Muslims should proceed on with courage [illegible] determination. They have to undo what they [illegible] done, they have to follow a new lead. In short [illegible] have a tremendous task before them. If they do [illegible] learn by experience even now, if they persist in [illegible] folly, they have no right to exist, either in India [illegible] anywhere else.

Further, they should follow with single-mind[illegible] devotion the following line of action. It is, in [illegible] a device for self-preservation:

Muslims should now ungrudgingly follow the [illegible] of Maulana Azad, the apostle of patriotism. Had [illegible] only followed him earlier, the worst would not [illegible] happened. Even the belated adherence will solve [illegible] problem. If the Muslims of India fail to unite [illegible] come on a single platform, I am afraid, their fate [illegible] be worse than that of the Jews in Palestine, [illegible] Negroes in Latin America, the Indians in South Afr[illegible]

The Muslim League should be demolished root [illegible] branch. An organisation whose mischief has been [illegible] far-extending does not deserve to exist. Hindus [illegible] not keen to see its funeral for they have nothing [illegible] fear against it; Muslims should in their own interest [illegible] bury it deep. We have had enough of communal[illegible] Now no more of it. In the future India it is bound [illegible] to be a drug in the market. The Muslim League [illegible] leaders should take to solitary cells, they should [illegible] retire from politics otherwise they will do tremendous [illegible] harm to the Muslim community. They are no more [illegible] wanted, Pakistan has proved to be their death warrant.

I agree, the Muslims should join the Congress [illegible] only if they sincerely resign to its creed. If their [illegible] adherence to it is only out of expediency and it [illegible] not based on intellectual conviction, I shall advise [illegible] them not to join the Congress. They should know full [illegible] well that in the code of international politics, turn[illegible] coats are called Quislings and their punishment [illegible] death. They should be unequivocally loyal to the [illegible] state and should be prepared to fight against [illegible] power, be it Pakistan or any other state. Mere [illegible] profession will not do, let them translate it [illegible] action.

Next, they have to undo with enthusiasm [illegible] push what they once did so foolishly. Pakistan [illegible] has got to be liquidated in the lifetime of Mr. Jinnah [illegible] Muslims should be able to tell in his face that [illegible] hoodwinked them, he did them harm by dividing [illegible] India which was designed to be one country. [illegible] is not a long-term programme. I am confident [illegible] if they whole-heartedly try for it, India will again [illegible] united. The infant state of Pakistan can be liquidated [illegible] soon. Mr. Jinnah seems to bank upon the help of [illegible] Muslim countries. The clear-sighted know that he [illegible] suffering from intellectual squint, he is labouring under [illegible] a delusion, because the Islamic countries are nation[illegible]

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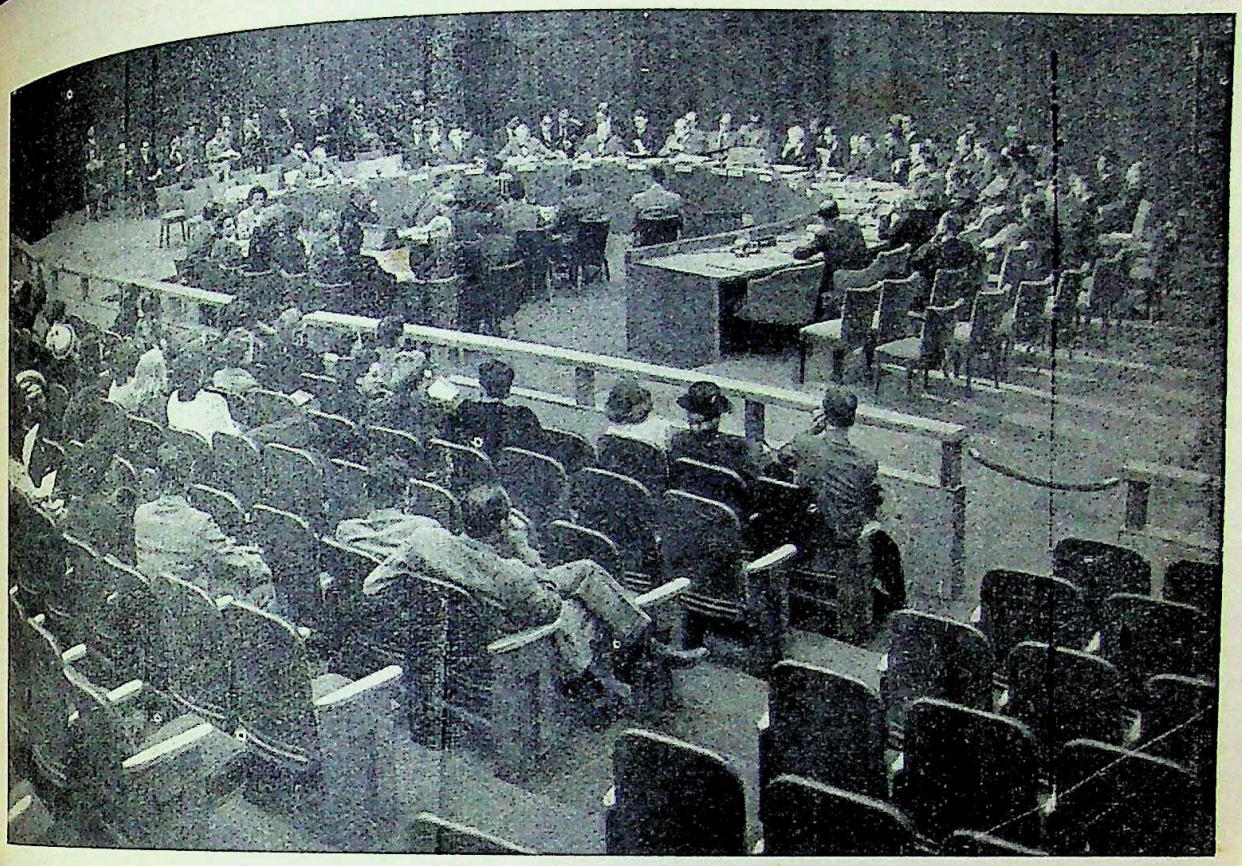
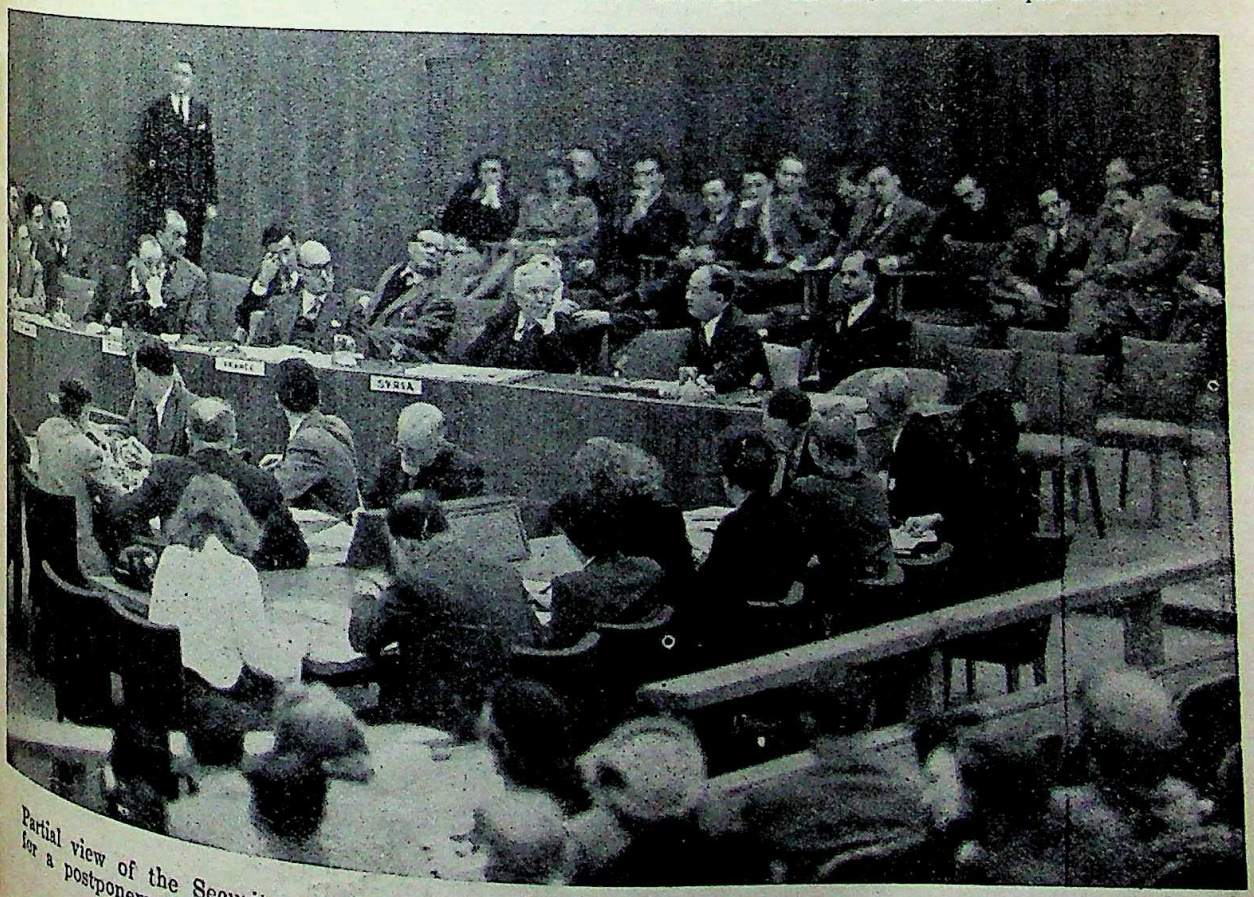


General view of the 226th meeting of the United Nations Security Council, as Dr. Padmanabha P. Pillai of India, left, at table, addresses the members on the Kashmir question



Partial view of the Security Council, as the Pakistan Ambassador M. A. Hasan Ispahani requests for a postponement of the consideration of the Indian complaint on the situation in Kashmir

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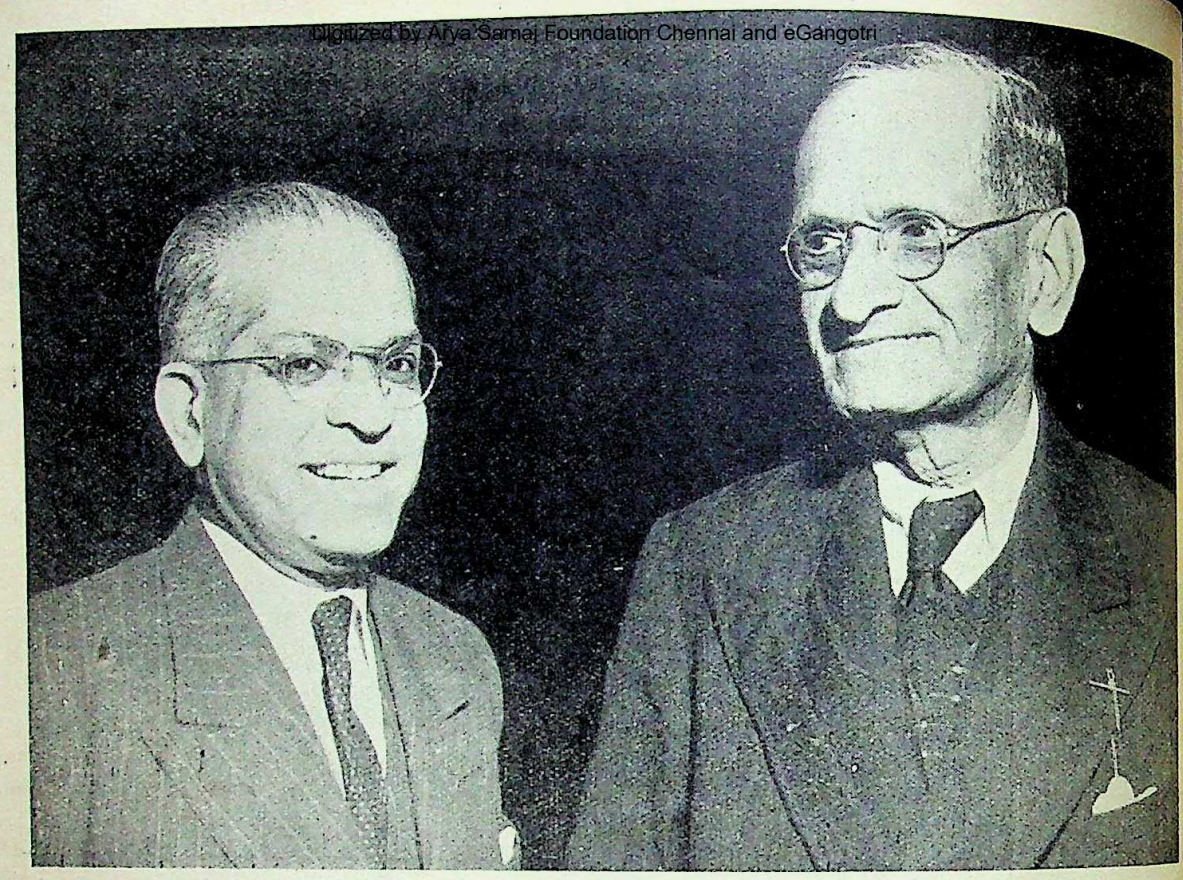

N. Gopalaswami Ayyanger, right, India's Minister without Portfolio, talks with Dr. Padmanabha P. Pillai, India's representative to the United Nations, before the 227th meeting of the Security Council

Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, left, representative of Pakistan, talks with Sir Philip Noel-Baker, U. K. Minister without Portfolio

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states, they do not thrive on communalism as Pakistan does. The Muslims of India who made Pakistan can as well undo it. If the reactionary Sunderbund could be liquidated in Switzerland, why not Pakistan in India?

Lastly, the Muslims should learn to be good neighbours. They have got to adjust themselves in the new settings or else they are likely to be persecuted. Now they should attach no importance to the old controversies like cow-slaughter and music before mosque. They are the bogies of British Imperialism and have no substance in them. Moreover, if cow-slaughter injures his neighbour, it is his duty as a good citizen to refrain from it. Muslims should also give up emphasizing the importance of Urdu, it has no religious sanctity whatsoever. If they do not learn Hindi, they will do it at the cost of their interests. It is in these little things that they can show their willingness to be good and loyal citizens of India.

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INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD CIVILISATION

By Prof. SANTOSH KUMAR RAY, M.A. (Econ. & Hist.), B.T., B.L.

One is amazed at the grandeur and majesty of India's mountains—the Himalayas. Far more marvellous is the story of India's contribution to world civilization. The subject is a vast one. It would fill volumes. All that we can do in the course of a short article is to refer to some historical facts, by way of illustration.

The ancient Greeks owed not a little to Indian philosophy. Pythagoras in the 5th century, and later Plotinus were the chief exponents of Indian philosophy. Indian philosophers maintain that the Absolute, which is also the Infinite, cannot be apprehended by the finite human mind nor expressed in the limited human speech. That is also the central idea in the philosophy of Plotinus. The following quotation from Plotinus reminds one of the famous expression of Indian philosophy, *na iti* ('He is not this'). Plotinus says, "We say what He is not, we cannot say what He is."

Sir Flinders Petrie of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology discovered at Memphis (the ancient capital of Egypt) some statues of Indian types. Such discoveries prove the existence of an Indian colony in ancient Egypt about 500 B.C.

One of the statues represents an Indian Yogi, sitting cross-legged in deep meditation. Ideas of asceticism which appeared in Egypt about this time must have been due to contact with the Indians.

Sir Aurel Stein, a former principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, discovered that ancient India established colonies in Central Asia and ruled there for several centuries. They also introduced there their own language—a kind of Prakrita. The study of the materials collected by the British, the French, the German, the Russian and the Japanese governments shows among other things that the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were translated into languages of Central Asia—Khotanese, Manichian, Kuchian, etc.

Numerous Sanskrit works were translated into Tibetan and Chinese. The two Tibetan Encyclopaedias consist mainly of translations of Sanskrit works. Many thousand Indian nuns went to China and founded schools and colleges.

Indian philosophy, Indian art, Indian architecture, Indian literature, Indian games, Indian medicine, Indian music, etc., followed Buddhism into Tibet, China, Korea, Annam, Siam and other parts of Central and Eastern Asia, and have left indelible impression on those countries.

It is well-known that ancient India engaged in remarkable maritime activities and set up powerful kingdoms in Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Indonesia and other places.

The Sanskrit work *Panchatantra* was translated into several languages, *e.g.*, Arabic, Persian, Latin, Greek, French, German, English, etc. The Indian method of telling a tale within a tale was widely imitated, *e.g.*, in *One Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf-Lela*) in Arabic and in the *Pentameron* and *Decameron* in Italian. Many Indian tales are found in La Fontaine's famous work in French. Sir Thomas North adopted them in English and they were utilised by Shakespeare in a modified form in his plays. Goethe, one of the greatest of modern European poets and playwrights, was deeply impressed with *Sakuntala*. He modelled the prologue of his master-piece *Faust* on that of *Sakuntala*. Schopenhauer read the Latin translations of the Upanishads and exclaimed, "This is the solace of my life; this will be the solace of my death." Bhagavadgita deeply impressed Von Humboldt, the Rabindranath Tagore of Germany. The influence of the Gita on Carlyle and Emerson is now generally recognised. The German translations of Sanskrit works produced a very powerful movement ("storm and stress") in German literature.

Mathematics and other sciences travelled from India to Europe *via* Arabia. The world owes much to Aryabhatta, Varahamihira, Khana, Lilavati and to a galaxy of Indian astronomers and scientists. The Indian system of medicine deserves special mention. Sir P. C. Ray has done a great service in writing a treatise on the origin and history of Indian chemistry.

The Ajanta school of painting and the Gandhara and the Mathura schools of sculpture still bear testimony to India's remarkable contribution in the field of fine arts. The dancing figure of the god Siva as Nataraja, dancing the cosmic dance, is indeed a master-piece of the world.

Empires have come and gone. But from the palmy days of Harappa and Mahenjo-Daro down to this Gandhian era, India's unique contribution continues almost unbroken.

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LONG STAPLE COTTON CULTIVATION IN BENGAL

Its Present Condition

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

PERSONS interested in cotton cultivation are aware that the general impression among people and also of the Government Agricultural Department had been that Bengal was unfit for long-stapled cotton cultivation. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills by a series of experiments for several years succeeded in removing this wrong impression, when the Director, Technological Laboratory, Bombay, found the cotton produced by the D. C. Mills, superior to similar cotton produced in other provinces in India. This encouraged the Mill Owners' Association, Bengal, and the Government to try its cultivation in different parts of Bengal. A scheme of work for 5 years at a cost of Rs. 20,000 financed half and half by the above two organisations, was adopted and the work began from 1938. The result was all along successful and this was confirmed by the Secretary, Indian Central Cotton Committee, who visited some cotton centres in 1940. The Committee further helped the working of the scheme, by maintaining a cotton supervising officer for the last two years of the working of the scheme. He further undertook to work a full-fledged cotton botanical scheme in Bengal, as is done in other cotton-growing provinces in India.

The cotton scheme was extended for another 3 years in a modified form. Due to war conditions the Indian Central Cotton Committee did not do anything to help the cause. It may be said that Bengal pays a vast amount every year. in the maintenance of the Committee in the form of cotton-cess paid by Mills in Bengal. The Committee, however, spends by lacs for other provinces in India. The matter was represented to the Committee several times by the Managing Agent of the D. C. Mills, Mr. S. K. Basu, as Member of that Committee, but the matter was not taken up by them, mainly on the excuse that the working of the scheme did not appreciably increase the acreage in the province.

The working of the scheme has proved that cotton can grow in Bengal and that with profit, but there are many difficulties to overcome.

(1) The growers received their prices very late, sometimes after two years. The Mills do not purchase seed-cotton. Due to labour, staff, transport and ginning difficulties, the Agricultural Department through whom cotton is collected, ginned and sold, could not expedite matters. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, the main purchaser of all cotton produced under cotton scheme, began to purchase seed cotton in small quantity even by fractions of a maund, and arranged for ginning in their Mills and further paid premium over ordinary (current) prices of cotton. The Government could not help in despatching the cotton to the Mills immediately after harvesting, so the difficulties in receiving prompt payment continued.

(2) During war, growers like Bengal Farms and Industries Ltd., Badkulla (Nadia), Kumar S. C. Roy of Bardhankuti (Dinajpur), etc., though realised 200% profit by cotton growing, abandoned the same, as they found vegetable growing for the army more profitable.

(3) The Agricultural Department selected sites for cultivation very late in the season, so also they are late in supplying seeds. Earnest growers like Khadi Pratishthan, All-India Spinners Association, Bengal, and other Farms and Organisations wanting to grow cotton outside the scheme had scarcely been supplied with seeds. In most such cases they had to depend on the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills for seeds.

(4) It may be mentioned that the Commercial Museum, Calcutta Corporation, helped the cause, by wide circulation of reprints they made from *The Modern Review* (June, 1941) of an article contributed by the Agriculture Officer of the D. C. Mills, Ltd., on "Long Stapled Cotton Cultivation" and also of the paper read by him in the meeting, dated, 28-1-38, where the scheme for cotton work was accepted by the Government and the Mill Owners' Association, Bengal. For the success of the work it is necessary that organisations like the above, the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, other mills and organisations should come forward and help the cause.

The three years cotton scheme which had been working from 1943 was given up abruptly on 30-9-45 before expiry of the stipulated period of work *i.e.*, up to March, 1946. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills strongly protested against this measure. It was however revived and a three years cotton extension scheme at a cost of Rs. 75,000 contributed by the Government of Bengal, has been working from 1946. With the working of this scheme, the management was transferred to new inexperienced hands. They did not this time take the help of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills in time, which had always helped them with selection of sites and growers. First year's work under the scheme 1946-47 was not satisfactory. In the second year of its work 1947-48, the management had much improved and there was appreciable increase in acreage, when partition of Bengal hampered the work. The area grown with cotton under the scheme with the help of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills at Bamangarh, near Fulbari railway station in P.S. Nawabgunj, Dist. East Dinajpur, though working under cotton scheme is not receiving supply of manures and cash money, provided in the scheme. The year 1947-48 is bad for cotton, as with other crops in Bengal. It is most regretable that the West Bengal Agricultural Department, this year also, gave up the scheme abruptly from January 16, 1948. Under the cotton scheme they gave an undertaking to the growers to gin their cotton free and help them in the sale. By giving up the scheme before its stipulated working period up to March, 1948, they not only avoided their obligations to growers, but positively injured the cause possibilities work by ceasing to collect seeds, so essential for future multiplication purpose. To get seeds from other

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provinces in India is very difficult and no grower in Bengal is expected to supply cotton to Government, without receiving the above facilities provided in the scheme. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills have given an undertaking to growers to purchase seed-cotton in small quantities.

The Calcutta University at the instance of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills took up research work on cotton. Subsequently, they began working under a scheme financed by the Mill Owners Association, Bengal, at a cost of Rs. 12,000. Since inception of this work the University depend for cultivation solely on the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills and also for supply of seeds for their research work. The Bose Institute also has been carrying on "Breeding Investigations in long-stapled cotton" under a three years' scheme at a cost of Rs. 15,000 financed by the Government which expires this season 1947-48. By selfing and crossing they have evolved some useful types suitable for Bengal. The scheme of work unless extended for another few years, will leave the work unfinished. The results so far achieved are not serving any useful purpose for want of any co-ordinated action between the Institute and growers under the Cotton Scheme. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills have, however, given them an undertaking to grow their promising hybrids and keep them informed of their performance under various field conditions. With this object in view, the Mills have selected for their working, a plot of land, near Fulea Station (Santipur), which is within easy reach from Calcutta and can often be supervised by the above two Institutions.

The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills for the last 15 years have been doing what is possible for a private organisation to help the cotton possibilities work in Bengal. The Government also by working under different schemes for the last ten years are convinced of its possibilities as will be evident from its different working reports. The Central Cotton Committee of India during their inspection in 1940 confirmed of this possibilities work.

It is a mystery why the above bodies are not taking up the work in all earnestness, without which improvement will be very late. With the division of Bengal, under two Governments, there is no knowing whether they will work on cotton next year.

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POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE INDIAN MUTINEERS
A Study in the History of Political Institutions

By SATINDRA SINGH, M.A.
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The Indian Mutiny[1] has been a popular subject with the historian, British and Indian. But so far he has essentially confined himself to the analysis of the causes or to the narration of the events of this "war of barbarsim against barbarism."[2] If a Kaye or a Malleson portrayed the atrocities of the Mutineers, an Edward Thompson or a Savarkar emphasised the "other side of the medal." One aspect of the subject has, however, been completely ignored. Not a word has been said about the Political Organisation of the Mutineers. The subject is important and deserves serious consideration. For, though the Mutineers failed to capture state-power, their scheme, crude and sketchy as it was, still remains the first plan for the political reconstruction of modern India.

We know very little about the organisation of the Mutineers, specially in the early period when the plans were being hatched. The reason for this "unknowableness" is quite obvious. The Mutineers, at first, worked under illegal conditions and therefore kept no records about the nature, function and the structure of their secret organisation. History abounds with accounts of itinerant *Moulvis* and *Fakirs*, *Pandits* and *Sanyasis*, the volunteer begging parties and the *Madaris*; and of the red lotuses and *chapatees* passed from village to village. Such accounts are often conjectural, seldom based on facts, and in no case do they present an adequate picture of the organisation. But there is no doubt that there existed such an organisation.[3]

1 I use the word "Mutiny" because of the currency it has gained. I do not characterise this event as Mutiny. It was, in fact, a Peasant War both against indigenous landlordism and foreign capitalism. See my article, "Sociological Interpretation of Indian Mutiny" in the Calcutta Review, November, 1946.

2 Frank Bright: *History of England*, Period IV, page 328; quoted by R. C. Dutt: *India in the Victorian Age*: p. 224.

3 V. D. Savarkar in his *Indian War of Independence* 1857, describes: "The Sepoys used to call together meetings secretly at night. All resolutions were passed in the general meetings, and all decisions passed in the inner circles were obeyed strictly and by all. When they used to come to the secret societies, they used to conceal their identity by covering their faces completely, leaving only their eyes uncovered, and then speak about the thousand and one oppressions committed in the country by the English. If any one of the members was suspected of telling the name of the conspirators to the enemy, he was immediately put to death. In order that common deliberations should take place between the various regiments, it was arranged that on festive occasions one regiment should invite another to a feast and, on this pretext, united gatherings were carried on successfully. Meetings of select Sepoys were held in the houses of the *Subahdars*. . . . The work of deciding all these things was left to the officers, and every one was made to swear . . . that each one would do what the regiment would undertake to do. When one regiment was bound together, the chief committee of that regiment began negotiations with the chief committee of another and they worked together. The mutual oath of the regiments, like the mutual oaths of the Sepoys were determined and decisive. Every regiment was a unit in the higher organisation." (Pp. 90-91). Mr. Wilson in his *The Defence of*

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The Mutineers' Organisation was, in fact, a new growth, almost spontaneous. At any rate, it came into being through the efforts of the leaders of the struggle, most of whom came from the lower strata of life. The princes and the landlords who associated with the Mutineers, actively or passively, in the beginning, and betrayed the struggle in the middle, hardly constituted a factor in the making of this organisation.[4]

After the capture of Delhi the Mutineers issued a *Parwanah*[5] outlining the political structure of the new State. Bahadur Shah was formally proclaimed the Emperor of India. A Court of Administration[6] was to be the chief organ of the State. It was to consist of ten members. Six from the Army and four from the Civilian departments. The representation of the Army was again equally distributed among its three branches —the Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery. Members were elected by a majority vote from amongst "intelligent, wise, capable, experienced men who had also to their credit a record of past faithful services." The last condition is not wholly intelligible in view of the fact that few of the Mutineers had any past history to lay claims on past services. Perhaps, and one cannot be absolutely certain about this, it was exactly for this reason, that this condition was not made absolute. For it was specifically provided that the condition could be waved in case of really capable and intelligent persons.

Four members from the Civil side were also to be elected in the same manner by their respective (?) departments.[7]

One out of the ten members of the Court was to be elected President[8] (*Sadr-i-Jalsa*) and another as Vice-President[9] (*Naib Sadr-i-Jalsa*) by a majority vote. The President of the Court had two votes. Each of the remaining members was in charge of the department of the State he represented. He was assisted by a Committee of Four, elected in the same manner as the members of the Court. Each Committee had as many secretaries as it required. Proposals passed by a majority vote in a Committee were forwarded to the Court through the member-in-charge.[10] No specific mention was made as to the headship of the departments which representatives on the Court were eleted President and Vice-President. Presumably the President and the Vice-President were to be the heads of their departments in addition to their duties.

The King Bahadur Shah had the right to attend the sessions of the Court.[11] But this right was inoperative as he did not attend any such session.[12] No decision of the Court was enforceable in the realm without the signification of the King. A resolution of the Court disapproved by the King had to be re-considered by the Court.[13] Legally, the final authority rested with the King. In actual practice, however, the Court resolved as they chose[14] and compelled the King to affix his seal thereon. Bahadur Shah admitted in his defence statement[15] :

> "As regards the orders under my seal and under my signatures, the facts are that from the ... soldiery came and killed the European officers, and made me a prisoner, I remained so thereafter. They caused to be prepared all papers they thought fit, brought them to me and compelled me to affix my seal. Sometimes they brought the rough drafts of orders and had fair copies made by my secretary. While at others, they brought letters in original intended for despatch, and left their copies in the office. Hence several rough drafts in many different hands have been filed in the proceedings. Frequently they had my seal fixed on empty unaddressed envelopes. I neither knew the contents of the letters nor as to whom they were being sent . . . My life . . . being in danger, I could not do anything in the matter . . . They accused my servants ... and Queen Zinet Mahall of being in league with the British. They even threatened to kill them and wanted me to hand over the Queen to them as hostage."

At one occasion the King felt so "wearied and helpless that he resolved to relinquish the title of the Emperor (*Shahhenshah*) fraught with cares and troubles" and "to pass the remaining days in service acceptable to God."[16] Once he even threatened to commit suicide by swallowing a diamond.[17]

Undoubtedly, the Mutineers' concept of the state was derived from their inspiration of

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Lucknow, wrote : "From the available evidence I am quite convinced that . . . every regiment had a Committee of three ; and this committee used to do everything connected with the Mutiny . . . The committee had to decide on all important schemes, to do all the correspondence, and several other things . . . The mutual agreements between the various regiments simply amounted to do what the other regiment would do." Also see Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. I, p. 365; *Narrative of the Indian Mutiny*, p. 5.

4 General McLeod Innes : *Lucknow and Oudh in Mutiny*, pp. 42, 291, 293; *Calcutta Review* (1858) p. 64; Holmes : *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, pp. 143, 458; Gubbins : *The Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 40 ; *General Orders, Despatches and Correspondence*, p. 297 ; also my article cited above.

5 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 539-41 (Urdu) D| nil. *Vide* Press-list of Mutiny papers published by the Imperial Record Department, Government of India.

6 Their own words.

7 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 539-41 (Urdu) D| nil, Rule No. 5.

8 Their own words.

9 Their own words.

10 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 539-41 (Urdu) D| nil, Rules ... and 11.

11 *Opp. Cited.*

12 *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, pp. 137-141. In his defence statement submitted to the Military Commission specially set up to try him, 1858, he said, "The Mutineers had established a Court in which matters were deliberated upon, decisions taken. But I never took part in their conferences."

13 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 539-41 (Urdu) D| nil, Rule No. ...

14 Prince Zaheer-Ud-Din *alias* Mirza Moghul wrote to the ... that he had a talk with General Bakht Khan and other members of the Court, but they refused to accept His Majesty's proposals. Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 155 (Persian) D| nil.

15 *Vide* his defence statement : *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, pp. ...

16 *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, Vol. 19, No. 21, dated May 26, ... also *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, pp. 134-35; quoted in full letter from King to Mirza Moghul, dated nil.

17 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 260 (Persian), D| 9-8-1858.

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Panchayats of the days gone by. In fact, that was the only political tradition they had inherited. They kept up the facades of the monarchy. But they were not prepared to allow the Emperor to wield any political power. The constitution was, therefore, made broad-based. Not that the masses were associated with political sovereignty, yet, it is evident that the authority was vested in the class—of peasant proprietors—which was becoming politically conscious. It is also true that the village *Panchayat* could not be revived, for, its socio-economic basis had been irreparably shaken. Nor to the revolutionaries was democracy anything more than the destruction of "privilege," and freedom of opportunity for their own class.

The Court held two kinds of sessions.[18] The ordinary sessions were held for five hours each day in the Red Fort. Special sessions were held for the transaction of any urgent business.[19]

The Mutineers must have recognised the necessity of unanimity and expedition ; and therefore, they provided the process of guillotine to safeguard against frivolous proposals. Thus an amendment to a proposal could not be moved without being supported by four out of ten members and the Court could always apply the guillotine after three speeches on the plea of urgency. As *Panchayat* spirit implied joint responsibility, the decisions taken in the absence of a minister were also applicable to his Department.[20]

In all matters majority vote of the Court was absolutely essential.[21]

To maintain secrecy, the *Parwanah*[22] ordained that none except the members of the Court could attend its meetings. Any disclosure, implicit or explicit, by any member without the authority of the President, was punishable by removal from the Court. The same punishment was prescribed for any act of cheating the State, or showing partiality towards a person or a body of persons.[23]

The procedure formulated was neither comprehensive nor conformable to the parliamentary rules in any modern state. The Mutineers had no experience of parliamentary government, much less of drafting of procedural rules. All the same the underlying basis of the procedure seems to be the *Panchayat* spirit. It appears, as if it was devised primarily to satisfy the democratic instinct of the peasant-soldiers by establishing the supremacy of their own class whose socio-political organisation had always been the traditional *Panchayat*.

The Court of Administration enjoyed enormous Powers, conferred upon it by a Royal *Fireman*.[24] It was to administer the State, maintain peace and order, collect revenues from the sub-divisions, raise loans from the *Mahajans*,[25] defend the realm and prosecute the war. The Emperor had promised the Court :

> "In reference to you no representation of any party whatever will be heeded ; and in all such orders as may emanate from your Court, none of the servants of the State, nor the Princes Royal will in any way interfere."

A *Parwanah*[26] dated the 8th August, 1857, the only one of its kind available, gives us a clue to the nature of business transacted by the Court. This *Parwanah* convened a special meeting of the Court the agenda for which included the problem of proper administration of the City of Delhi, better administration of supplies, more efficient upkeep of the army, better distribution of post and of raising loans from the *Mahajans*. The Court issued frequent orders and circulars to regulate the discipline of the Army, to suppress corruption, abuse of authority and rapacity.[27]

Not only was the nature and extent of authority exercised by it wide and comprehensive, the Court was not prepared to tolerate any extraneous influences. In military matters, for instance, neither the King nor the Princes had any effective voice. In a letter, dated 26th June, 1857,[28] the King complained to his son, Mirza Moghal :

> "Orders have been issued day after day to the officers of the cavalry to vacate the garden (?) but they have till now done nothing except make excuses and promises."

Again, in another letter[29]:

> "Formerly some troopers took up quarters in the Hayat Bakhsh and Mehtab gardens. Owing to the injury caused to these gardens through their stay, the troopers were made to quit on *our orders*. But now again nearly two hundred soldiers . . . are staying there . . . you are therefore, directed to *speak to the members of the Court* and have them removed."

On another occasion, he deplored that

> his military officers had a "practice of coming into the Court carelessly dressed and in utter disregard to the forms of respect due to the Royalty. . . . They come galloping on their horses to places . . . which not even Nadir Shah nor Ahmed Shah nor any of the British Governor-Generals of India ever entered on horseback."

He cried in despair :

> "Do the Army have the welfare of the State (Feudal-Moghal) at heart ?"[30]

The plight of the Princes was still worse. They could not wield any influence at all. In fact, the hopes of the princely order were being frustrated at every step by the "headstrong" and "insolent" soldiery.

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18 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 539-41, Rule No. 3 (Urdu), D| nil.
19 Op. Cit. Rule No. 3.
20 Op. Cit. Rule Nos. 8, 9 and 10.
21 Op. Cit. Rule No. 6.
22 Op. Cit. Rule Nos. 4 and 8.
23 Op. Cit. Rule Nos. 4 and 6.

24 Bundle No. 153, Foll. No. 12 (Persian), D| 19-8-57.
25 Indigenous banker, moneylender or broker.
26 Bundle No. 57, Foll. No. 285 (Urdu), D| 8-8-57.
27 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 9, 120 and 276 (Urdu), D| 13, 14 July and 8th August, 1857; also Bundle No. 57, Foll. No. 56 (Urdu), D| 3-7-57.
28 *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, p. 9.
29 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 195 (Persian), dated 23-7-1857.
30 *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, pp. 134-35; copy of an order from the King to Mirza Moghal, dated nil.

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Mirza Moghal, the Commander-in-Chief of the Mutineers' Army for the first few weeks, wrote to Bahadur Shah[31]:

> "Your Majesty is aware that before (General) Bakht Khan[32] came, active operations of war were carried on daily and without interference. Your Majesty also knows that since his arrival several engagements have been fought. Today when I went outside the city with my army to attack the enemy, the General interposed and kept for a long time the whole force standing inactive. He wanted to know under whose orders it had come out and commanded that it was not to proceed without his permission. He forced it to return."

The tussle which ensued between Mirza Moghal and General Bakht Khan[33] was not a case of personal bickerings. In fact, princely order could no longer place any confidence on the infantry.[34] The jealousy, strife and contest between the Prince and the revolutionary General was in fact a conflict between the dying aristocracy and the new forces of peasant-proprietor democracy. It was not surprising, therefore, that the feudal aristocracy very soon began to groan under the levelling influence of the revolutionaries and faltered in the midst of the struggle. "The *Shahzadas* . . . began to feel their condition perilous and tried to open negotiations (with the British)."[35]

The Court maintained law and order.[36] It was the highest Judicial authority. It created Courts, appointed judges, and regulated judicial procedure for civil and criminal cases. The police as well as civil administration was appointed by the Court and was responsible to it.[37] It put down bribery and corruption amongst its officials.[38] The man in the street had the additional guarantee of being able to appeal to the Court in all cases of abuse of authority and oppression.[39]

In the sphere of finance, too, the Court was supreme. Revenue officials were appointed by the Court and were responsible to it.[40] It alone had the authority to collect revenue.[41] To liquidate *zemindari* system it gave proprietary rights to the tillers of land.[42] From the Court orders, it is evident, that it had intended to overhaul the system of revenue assessment, but its authority was too short-lived to accomplish the task.

Dire necessity made the Court tax heavily. But one cannot lose sight of the fact that the incidence of taxation fell almost entirely on the classes w could pay.[43] The law left the man in the s absolutely untouched.

None except the Court could raise loans on b of the new State. Officials were required to i diately forward to the Court any *Parwanah* re by them from any other quarters regarding raisi funds. They were also instructed not to arrest a p refusing to lend money without the summons o Court.[44] Once when Mirza Sultan Khizr, a son o Emperor, tried to raise funds on his own, the C strongly protested and asked the King to warn Princes.[45]

As is well-known the Mutineers suffered consi from financial bankruptcy and the consequent content among their ranks and the civil popula Even General Bakht Khan admitted in a letter to King that owing to the irregular and insufficient p ment, the army lived by loot and plunder which feared, might result in a civil war.[46] But when M Moghal suggested to the Emperor that plenty of fu would be forthcoming if he were to allow his R officials instead of the agents of the Court to co the money,[47] the Emperor refused to give his s saying that the Court was the final authority.[48]

It cannot, however, be denied that the Court a miserable failure in the matter of raising loans. the one hand, the propertied classes were frightened the demands of the revolutionaries for the abolit of landlordism and on the other, the peasant-sol were unable to entertain any idea of nationalisation land due to the nature of their class-origin. T *Mahajan* refused to lend money except under du He could not have any sense of security in a re where the army lived by loot. Nor could he sympa with the ideology of the soldiery. So, too, with grocer who refused to sell his goods on credit to new State which he knew was bankrupt.[49]

Hoarding, profiteering and black-marketing re the poeple to miserable existence. Indeed, the C made a heroic effort to save the State from an econ collapse. It fixed and controlled prices.[50] But in absence of rationing, price control could never successful.

The revolutionary State was very short-l Economic sabotage coupled with the conflict of pub ideologies and economic interests between the la

31 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 185 'Persian), D| 7-8-57.

32 General Bakht Khan was "Lord Governor Bahadur, Controller of all matters, civil and military." *Vide* King's order Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 25 (Persian), D| 7-8-57.

33 *Trial of Bahadur Shah* : Deputy-Judge, Advocate General and Government Prosecutor's address to the Military Commission, p. 149.

34 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 49 (Persian), D| 9-6-57.

35 J. Cave-Brown : *The Punjab and Delhi in* 1857, (1861), Vol. I, p. 140.

36 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 137 (Urdu), D| 10-7-57. Petition of the Members of the Court to the King.

37 *Op. Cit.*

38 *Op. Cit.*

39 *Op. Cit.*

40 Bundle No. 129, Foll. No. 6 (Urdu), D| 18-8-57.

41 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 137 (Urdu), D| 10-7-57.

42 *Op. Cit.*

43 Bundle No. 153, Foll. No. 6 (Persian), D| 28-7-57.

44 Bundle No. 129, Foll. No. 61 (Urdu), D| 18-8-1857.

45 Bundle No. 153, Foll. No. 17 (Persian), D| nil; Bundle No. Foll. No. 532 (Persian), D| 19-8-1857.

46 Bundle No. 40, Foll. No. 297 (Urdu), D| 9-8-1857.

47 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 248 (Persian), D| 6-8-1857.

48 Bundle No. 153, Foll. No. 16 (Persian), D| nil.

49 Bundle No. 106, Foll. No. 20 (Urdu), D| 15-6-1857; Bu No. 126, Foll. No. 20 (Urdu), D| 1-6-1857.

50 Bundle No. 129, Foll. Nos. 42, 49, 57, 79, 85, 100, 10 102 of various dates. Bundle No. 130, Foll. Nos. 5, 9, 14, 2 35, 51, 61, 67, 86, 90, 120, 121, 125, 150, 158, 171, 183, 18 and 202 of various dates.

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aristocracy and the peasant-soldiery, could not allow it to live longer than a year and a half.

Without an organised party bound together by ideological threads and having its roots among the people, such a struggle could never succeed. The leaders of the struggle visualised a state which was a magnified form of the old tribal *Panchayat*. Its social content was the institution of peasant-proprietorship instead of the old village commune. It failed because the peasant-soldiers-in-uniform did not (from the nature of their class origin could not) nationalise the means of production and distribution. The betrayal by the propertied classes which contributed no less to the defeat of the Mutineers was born out of the different notions about the formation of a new State and a new society. Only if there had been a common and clear ideal about the future social reconstruction of India before the people and a unified party to lead them for its realisation, we would have a different story to tell about the great Peasant War of 1857.

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ABOLITION OF ZAMINDARIS
Chief Implications

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Introduction

The future of the Zamindaris is almost sealed. Their existence is incompatible under the present conditions, both politically and socially. That the very motives, economic and political, which were perhaps at the back of the minds of the promoters of the Zamindari system of the Permanent Settlement under Lord Cornwallis were not realised or utterly defeated, is by itself a sufficient argument for their abolition long ago. But the question arises how to expedite their liquidation even at this stage in an orderly way.

Chief Implications of Abolition of Zamindaris

The task of abolition of the estates is not so simple. For it is not merely a political question of scrapping the Zamindars or 'Feudalism' of the middle ages but it is essentially an economic and a social question. In the moral and the spiritual plane, it means a reassessment of values under altered conditions. It is not possible to build up a twentieth century economy on a eighteenth century land structure and therefore it is to be reckoned as the *raison d'être* of the reconstruction and regeneration consequent on a planned development of the country. Some of the important issues involved in the abolition of the estates are briefly outlined under the following headings: (a) implications in the process of acquisition or abolition and (b) implications after abolition. They are taken up in detail.

(a) *Implications in the Process of Acquisition or Abolition*: First, at the outset it is necessary to have a clear conception of the shibboleth of "Abolition of Zamindaris." Broadly speaking it means the liquidation of not merely the permanently settled or the temporarily settled estates but in essence the compulsory displacement of all non-ryotwari tenurial patterns in whichever form they exist at present in different parts and provinces. In a way its implementation may also be extended so as to include the abolition of the big estates in the ryotwari areas making some reasonable exception against acquisition of certain urban lands and properties. To begin with, let us restrict its meaning to the former interpretation.

Second, the measure must aim not at mere substitution of ryotwari settlement in place of the non-ryotwari settlements, nor the elimination of a few Zamindars at the top but in effect it must have as its objective the complete removal of all intermediary interests that exist between the State and the actual cultivator of land. Obviously the matter of determination of the respective rights of each out of all grades of tenure-holders and apportioning the sums to be paid as compensation for acquisition of their rights is full of complications, practical and otherwise.

Third, in all recent discussins on abolition of Zamindaris, the problem of indebtedness of Zamindars and encumbrances on the estates is missing or overlooked. By the uneconomic ways of living, wreckless and wasteful expenditure of the Zamindars, many of the estates are run over by heavy encumbrances, external and internal. In the process many were already disintegrated in the past, while a good number would have followed suit but for the Impartible Estates Act. The estates of the Chittoor district (Madras Province) are striking illustrations. The stories of the Karvetnagar Zamindari and the Kalahasti in the Chittoor district as well as that of the Polayavanam estate in the Tanjore district may be referred to in this connection, which have been completely or largely liquidated due to debts. It is gathered that the estate of Siripuram which is under the administration of the Court of Wards in the Madras Presidency is being proposed to be handed over to the Estatedar, for the estate was so heavily encumbered that the income of the estate may not be adequate to repay even the interest charges on the encumbrances of the estate. The inefficiency and at times the bankruptcy of the Zamindari administration are too well known. For instance, when the estate of Vizianagaram was taken over by the Court of Wards some time ago, the liabilities were found very heavy and the balance in the

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estate-treasury had dwindled to small sums, the cash on hand in the Huzur Treasury being Rs. 0-2-9.* It is evident therefore that the acquisition of the encumbered estates and properties of the Zamindars and others by Government will be rendered difficult on legal grounds, unless due account is taken regarding the respective claims of the creditors concerned.

Fourth, under the Zamindari system of administration arrears of rents and their accumulation appear inevitable. The causes of arrears are the high rates of rent, absence of remissions, costly expenses of litigation, the practice of crediting rents paid or payments made for the current year against old arrears or dues, paucity of issuing individual pattas and absence of scaling down arrears effectively when they are found irrecoverable. It is interesting to note that considerable portions of arrears constitute amounts involved in litigation with the Zamindars. It is suggested by the Bengal Land Revenue Commission that all arrears of rents which can be checked by Government officials and are not time-barred may be scaled down to 50 per cent and the sums thus ascertained may be added to the amounts of compensation to be paid to the various grades of Zamindars and tenure-holders. In case of arrears payable by an inferior tenure-holder to his superior landlord, the amounts duly scaled down may be transferred to the superior landlords. All the amounts on account of arrears thus settled are payable to the Government in case of State purchase of the estates. But such a measure must take due note of remissions in estates when they were non-existent, amounts included due to litigation, etc., and cancellation of arrears if the economic condition of the persons concerned demand it before acquisition.

Fifth, acquisition of one set of rights to the total or partial exclusion of others will not yield the desired ends. Therefore, a measure of State acquisition of the estates should also include acquisition of rights in fisheries, mines, quarries, etc. It is a matter of common knowledge that sub-infeudation exists in leasing of fishing rights and a host of middlemen, between the revenue payer and the working company, all contending for royalties. The broad position in respect of mines and fisheries is as follows: Mines are the property of the estate in almost all the provinces except in the province of Bengal and Bihar. In Bengal in a few permanently settled estates coal belongs to the Zamindars and judicial decisions in the past confirmed the mineral rights to the Zamindar. As for fisheries, the rights in small rivers or in fisheries situated within the permanently settled estates belong to Zamindars or tenure-holders. But, however, the rights in the navigable rivers in some cases belong to Government and in others to the estatedars.

Sixth is the question relating to financial considerations about State purchase of estates. Various estimates have been made by the Provincial Governments concerned regarding the costs of acquisition of the estates. According to the Floud Commission all estates in Bengal can be liquidated at a cost of Rs. 78 to Rs. 137 crores over a period of 30 years. This sum is approximately equal to the cost of total capital outlay for construction of all irrigation works in India as a whole up to the year 1932-33. It is obvious that the cost of acquisition in one province alone is huge, though up-to date estimates are to be made consistent with the position after the partition of Bengal. The estimated costs in different provinces for acquisition are Rs. 10 crores in Madras, Rs. 60 to 70 crores in Bihar, while in the U. P. it is about Rs. 1[illegible] crores.

The huge sums payable towards cost of acquisition necessarily puts one to think seriously whether the provinces involved can afford to pay such amounts financially especially when there are many schemes by which measures harnessed to improve the conditions of agriculture as well as other activities with regard to national reconstruction are to be attended to for which the floating of loans is a matter more pressing than the expensive schemes of floating loans to buy up Zamindaris. Then again, supposing it is financially feasible, there is every possibility of its resulting as a cause for raising rents the actual peasant by fresh taxation or for paying up the bloated sums of compensation amounts for the liquidation of loans to be raised for State acquisition. For instance, the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee observed regarding State purchase as follows (*vide* page 99 of the Report):

> "These schemes must fail, if for no other reason by reason of the enormous financial operations involved . . . It would be impossible to recover even the interest charge on this loan without levying from the actual cultivators who would be left face to face with Government, something in the nature of a full rack-rent, so that as a result, neither the Government nor the actual cultivator would be better off than at present."

Hence the cost of acquisition must be the minimum possible consistent with the principle of equity to the estatedars. All the possibilities to achieve this end have to be fully explored and applied. In view of the existing high rents in Zamindaris, if a measure is enforced to reduce them to the level of rents obtained in the ryotwari areas, it will go a long way to reduce the amounts payable to estatedars towards compensation. But it must be noted that if any reduction in the level of rents is contemplated it is important it must be made before acquisition of the estates, otherwise any reduction after State acquisition will result in financial loss unless the reduction in assets is balanced by enhancements of rent which are unlikely. From this viewpoint, the proposed measure in the Madras Province for reduction of rents on agricultural land in the estates is desirable.

(b) *Implications after Acquisition or Abolition*: The problems arising out of abolition of the estates are in far more important than those involved in their liquidation. Unless these issues are properly tackled and adequately solved the energies and attention devoted in this direction will not yield desired ends. In spite of the displacement

* Memorandum submitted by the Collector, Vizianagarm Estate, *vide Land Holders' Statement*, Part I of the Prakasam Committee Report, 1938.

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of estatedars things may not lead to a rise in agricultural production and improvement in the economic conditions of the agrarian masses. Further, the new problems that will arise may render some of the existing ones still more complicated. The following, for example, are some of the questions that are to be faced immediately after abolition relating to the system of land tenure, distribution of land, the size of holdings, method of farming, system of inheritance or succession, unemployment, etc. If Zamindaris are to be abolished, by what sort of land settlement they are to be replaced—by ryotwari system with individual ownership of patta lands, or by the joint village community system or by a sort of omnipotent village co-operatives as suggested by Mr. B. N. Sirkar, in his Memorandum on "Food Problem" or by State farms ? Are the present tenants of the estatedars to be given immediately pattas of the lands in full or in part they cultivate, or the issue of pattas is to be subjected to confirmation (of, the suggestion of Probationary Tenure) after a lapse of a short period during which the competence of the persons as good farmers can be tested ? What shall be the scales of preferences and priorities to be adopted in conferring patta lands to different grades and classes of agriculturists? The matter of the determination of the minimum sizes of holdings in different regions in accordance with soil fertility, nature of crops grown, other factors and local conditions as well as the consolidation of fragments found short of the prescribed minimum must be reckoned as equally important and difficult as the question of distribution of land. Above all these considerations, measures to raise output from land, reduce costs of production and make the work on the farm less strenuous as the head of the family characteristic of an improved system of agriculture have to be harnessed to bring about a marked improvement in the wealth and welfare of the farmers. To achieve this end, the principle of co-operative action in all the chief agricultural operations, credit, marketing as well as in actual operation of land has to be clearly recognised and enforced. In this respect it is necessary to adopt not only some system of joint farming or co-operative farming according to the suitability of each in different areas but even collectivist and State farming have to be tried to appraise their results in an unbiased way before brushing them aside *a priori* as unsuitable to Indian conditions.

Finally, what provision has to be made about those who are directly dependent on the estatedars or who are employed as servants, or in some capacity or other, who shall be naturally thrown out of sustenance when the estates are to be done away with ? Similarly, what course is to be adopted in case of institutions or individuals of art, literature or religion who have been wholly or partly supported or rewarded by some of the well-known houses of the Rajahs and Maharajahs since very ancient times ? Last but not least is the all important question of the agricultural labourer, whether he be a casual day labourer or farm servant, which is evidently out of the picture in all the above discussions. It is true that the question of agricultural labourer is by itself a sufficiently big and knotty one and it may be therefore argued in some quarters that it should not be mixed up here with the question of abolition of Zamindaris. There is no doubt some force in this contention but to maintain that nothing is possible in this context to alleviate the condition of the much important and the much neglected agricultural labour is an 'escapist-philosophy', if not absurd.

These are some of the weighty problems which cannot be discussed at length in a short space. They have to be carefully considered to find out appropriate solutions in a highly practical and constructive spirit rather than being led away by one's impulses and the heat and fervour of one's ideologies, if at all things are to take their shape in a peaceful and non-violent way.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

DIVIDED INDIA: *By Robert Aura Smith. McGraw Hill Company, New York, 1946. Price 3 Dollars.*

Topical, frank and charming—this is a typically American publication. The author, a young American political journalist, outlines and to some extent summarises the broad features of the Indian political situation during the last decade and brings out the struggles of nationalism in India particularly since the beginning of the world war. Professedly pro-British, the author believes that a balanced and objective analysis of the subject would form a valuable contribution to better understanding between Britons and Americans.

The plan of the analysis is striking and logical. The author discusses, first, what he calls the fixed elements of the Indian situation, the demand of the Indians for political changes, the British commitment to withdrawal and insistence upon orderly processes, and the mutual distrust of the Indian communities. He then proceeds to analyse the various elements of division, between Moderates and Extremists, between

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States and Provinces, and between Hindus and Muslims. His emphasis is placed in this analysis on the dominant role that religion plays in the life of the people in India and on the great obstacles to constitutional growth that lie in the differing social structures and political philosophies of the Hindus and the Muslims. He deals at length with the question of Pakistan from the viewpoints of the Muslim demand for a separate state, the Hindu hostility and the British reaction. He discusses in one separate chapter the question of a possible civil war, in the course of which he makes observations which are both interesting and thought-provoking. In the last section he discusses the constitutional proposals made by the Cabinet Mission in May 1946 and the problem of forming an interim government, rounding off the whole discussion with a dramatic, one might say prophetic, remark, "This was the situation as India moved towards the drafting of a constitution for her independent statehood. The very proximity of the great changes had sharpened rather than assuaged animosities. India had reason to hope for the future. But it was a divided India that approached it".

There is a lot in the book with which it would be easy and quite justified to disagree. But the author's argument in the book is fundamentally sound. Even his assessment of the major influences at work upon the situation, is quite accurate. He says, "As the Muslim League has gained in strength, its position has become progressively more intransigent. But this is, in fact, a vicious circle. It was the popular appeal of the prejudicial slogans embodied in the Pakistan idea that had given the Muslim League its strength. From that strength came forth, in turn, stronger and stronger demands. Any refusal to grant them could be turned into more slogans. In a sense the League was caught in the momentum of its own success and took progressively more and more advanced positions from which retreat became more and more difficult."

The author argues that the usual Liberal observations on the division of Hindus and Muslims are a case of over-simplified rationalism. "It has often been presumed that the difference is solely one of religion and that if there were any reasonable degree of religious tolerance in the two communities the differences could be readily resolved. This does not correspond to the facts in the case. The religious difference between the two communities is important because it serves as a mode of self-identification". In a similar way the Sikhs developed a consciousness of their own identity to a very high degree, and thus added a further complication by, for instance, claiming the Punjab as inalienably their homeland, their holyland.

Analysing the factors of strength on the two sides in the case of a possible civil war, the author concludes that "from the point of view of resources, both in manpower and materials, the Hindu group is essentially stronger.". As the provoker is in the nature of things the Muslim, the author thinks that a civil war may not take place at all. Should, however, a civil war break out, "the ultimate picture that emerges is one of a long, difficult, fratricidal war on a thousand small battle-fronts in which the total superiority of the Hindus would eventually make itself felt."

It is obvious that the book under review is a most stimulating study. Although written and published over a year ago before the partition of the country was decided upon and before the communal riots and the wholesale migration of populations became an accomplished fact, it is nevertheless highly engrossing in its interest.

BOOL CHAND

OUR HERITAGE: *By Humayun Kabir. To National Informations and Publications Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 4.*

"The story of Indian culture is one of continuity, synthesis and enrichment". With these words Mr. Kabir sets himself the task of interpreting Indian culture in the light of the prolonged and rich synthesis which it represents. From time immemorial this ancient land has been the meeting place of various races and peoples with conflicting ideologies, which have rendered Indian pre-history remarkable by their great achievements. Horde after horde of invaders have come to this land, lived and got fused with the existing culture, and ultimately got acclimatised to the soil. What is called Indian culture is a rich amalgam of the contributions of all these people with the existing culture of the country. The synthesising process underlying Indian culture is emphasised by Mr. Kabir. A few other historians are also drawing our attention to this rather neglected aspect of our culture. According to Dr. B. N. Datta, "Indian culture is one" and "India is one and has always been one".

But the difficulty came with the advent of Islam. Here was a culture unique and individual in many respects, militant, democratic and realistic, and in a sense, an antithesis of the other-worldliness of the Hindu culture. It was therefore not easily to be assimilated. But as Mr. Kabir has shown, assimilation it was, to deny which is to deny the very vital urge which constitutes the dynamism of a living culture, to disown the very process of acculturation. Mr. Kabir has very well shown that the medieval warfares in which the Muslims and Hindus were so frequently engaged were fought on political issues, and could not prevent the two peoples from coming near culturally, from meeting, mingling, and becoming children of the soil. Here Mr. Kabir's masterly analysis of the socio-political background is very illuminating.

Civilisation, it must be noted, is a process, becoming. The finest expression of it can be found in art, architecture, music and literature. In this field Mr. Kabir's analysis is very interesting, showing as it does, the valuable record of synthesis achieved in the respect by the two cultures. According to Mr. P. Mukherjee, Indian culture has assimilated more from Islam than from the West. This, at least, is certain, says Mr. Kabir, that Islam has affected Indian culture sufficiently intensively and extensively in spite of political convulsions and revolutions of time. Civilisation, we are told, progresses through the media of imitation, adaptation and invention. This is how Indian culture also has made headway, as Mr. Kabir has shown. He has illustrated his thesis with reference to art, architecture, music, literature, manners and morals, and even religion. Among the many products of synthesis, he points out Samkara philosophy. Vaishnavism may, as he claims, be said to have imbibed something from Islam, but it is doubtful if Samkara has. Samkara's zeal, fervour, astuteness, absolute monism and repudiation of duality, he suggests, might have been imbibed from Islam. Islam, of course, had changed the religious outlook of India in other cases, but there is nothing in Samkara which was not already present in Hindu-Buddhist culture. (*Vide*, in this connection, Samkara and Islam, 1948, Roma Choudhury, *Modern Review*, February, 1948.) The British intervened now with their peculiar

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culture and caused, by its great impact, great revaluations of old values, throwing India once more into a ferment. Conflicting ideologies have made India once more a battlefield and it is through this conflict, concludes the author, will emerge the future India.

Mr. Kabir's interpretation is penetrating and brilliant. His analysis of the modern ferment is highly illuminating, specially, his note on the emergence of the middle class, with its various stratifications, with its discontent, snoberry, aggressiveness and critical spirit. "We are today witnessing a silent revolution taking place before our very eyes", he says, and he has, with a true historical vision, analysed the causes and the character of this revolution. Indian history is apt to be misrepresented and misunderstood. This book is an extremely valuable contribution towards dispelling the confusion which exists in many minds regarding the true character of Indian history. It is the most needful book of the hour, lucid, scholarly, brilliant and revealing.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE.

NATIONALISM AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY : *By Dr. Lanka Sundaram. Rajkamal Publications, Delhi. Pp. 118. Price Rs. 3.*

The author of this book in four chapters examines the meaning of Free Trade in the evolution of modern Imperialism and comes to the conclusion that all propaganda for Free Trade by big nations is for the exploitation of economically weak nations. As soon as Free Trade policy hits the national interest nations take to 'Imperial Preference', 'Trade Agreements', 'Bilateral Trade Treaties', 'Quota System' and such other devices as suit their purpose. The author originally an internationalist, examines thoroughly the theories and practices of Free Trade so far as these relate to and react upon Indian National economy and rightly concludes that India's welfare lies in Protection of her national industries. India has been bled white by two hundred years of British free trade and it is for her very life and existence India shall have to turn to a thoroughly protectionist policy. And this is possible for an independent India. India very soon will be in a position to adjust her economy to the world order outside behind a tariff wall as has been done by all nations including U.S.A. The book is a straight reply to the free traders of this country who repeat the voice of their Western masters and as such deserves wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

DRAMAS OF KALIDASA: (Translated into English): *By Mrs. Bela Bose, B.A. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Price Rs. 5-4.*

POEMS OF KALIDASA: (Rendered into English verse): *By M. C. Dutt. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Price 5-4.*

The Kitabistan of Allahabad which has to its credit the publication of a good number of important and interesting works is to be congratulated for its great feat in bringing within the easy reach of the reading public, through these two handy volumes, the complete works of Kalidasa in an English garb. It is true, different works of this prince of Indian poets have been translated and respected all over the world have been translated and published by different scholars at different times. But few of these are easily accessible. Besides, the contribution of Indian scholars in making the works of this and other poets of ancient India known to the world at large is very small. Herein lies the value and special significance of the work done by Mrs. Bose and Mr. Dutt. The critical eye of a scholar may discern occasional inaccuracies in the translations or in the explanatory notes that followed them, but on the whole the volumes will be delightful reading to the general reader.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

BENGALI

HE VEER PURNO KARO : *By Manmatha Kumar Choudhury. To be had of D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

Sj. Manmatha Kumar Chowdhury, though a new entrant in the domain of Bengali dramatic literature has, by the publication of his dramas, made himself well-known in the literary circle of Bengal, within a very short period. *He Veer Purno Karo* is a drama. The theme of the book is based on our National Movement of the past few years during which Bengal has been passing through the most critical period in her history. The last world war has totally upset the structure of our socio-economic life and has created such abnormal conditions that we are put to crucial test and are confronted with extreme difficulties in every sphere of life. But all these sufferings and agonies have strengthened our determination for the complete liberation of our motherland from foreign yoke. Shankara is the symbol of young Bengal, inspired with revolutionary spirit. He could not, however, fulfil his life's mission and died a premature death due to overwork for the cause of his motherland. But will his seat remain vacant ? Will it not be occupied by some other great hero who won't stop till the goal is reached? This is the central idea around which the story of the drama is interwoven. In near future, the theme of the drama will, perhaps, be a thing of the past but its appeal to the human heart will, nevertheless, remain the same. It will, in course of time, lose its propaganda value. But that is simply its outward garb. It has got other qualities which are essential for a successful drama. Manmatha Kumar's greatest skill is in dialogue writing. It is imbued with emotion but free from all exaggerations and melodramatic outbursts.

NALANI KUMAR BHADRA.

NIRJNAN MAN: *By Dr. Nagendra Nath Chattopadhyaya, M.Sc., M.B., B.S. Preface by Dr. Girindra Sekhar Bose. Sanskriti Baithak, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Pp. 165. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Mind is a mysterious thing, if it can be called a thing at all. Immense are its freaks and boundlessly varied its desires. Psychologists say that no action or behaviour of human beings is without a meaning; it has its roots in the mind and is prompted by them though the doer himself may be unaware of this. They have gone deep in their study of mind and found two layers, to use a geological term, beyond the conscious mind. These have been termed 'Sub-conscious' and 'Unconscious'. The title of the present volume means Unconscious Mind. The book contains ten articles on various aspects, peculiarities, diseases, foibles of mind *e.g.*, Fear and Anxiety, Obsessional Neurosis, Day-dreams, Mind of Women, Conjugal Life, Anguish, Death, etc.—all written in a crystal clear style and with irresistible attraction for the curious reader who is often joyously inclined to peep into his own mind and gauge its workings. Associated with the Mental Hospital—'Lumbini Kanan'—as a physician the author has had the unique opportunity of studying mentally

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deranged patients at close quarters. His articles are consequently enlivened with touches of reality.

Books on psycho-analysis and mind are not many in number in Bengali. But a language to meet the demand of a cultured society of the modern world must be varied and rich in all branches of knowledge. Hence the need of books from the author who is fortunate to have a facile pen which makes his writings, even on abstract subjects, pieces of literature. The book, we are sure, will be much appreciated by Bengali intelligentsia.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA.

CYCLEY PASCHIM ASIA : *By Mr. Kshitish Chandra Banerjee (Globe-trotter). Published by the author from Garia, 24-Parganas. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This volume covers the author's travels in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanan, Palestine and Turkey—all Muslim countries of Western Asia. The author in his fascinating style depicts the new life that is vibrating all through the Near East. Another feature of this change is that in all these countries religion is being treated as something which has nothing to do with the State. These Muslim States so long considered to be strongholds of conservatism are now imitating Europe almost blindly and the old order is breaking down everywhere. Turkey has abolished the Khilafat, the borkha, the fez and the Arabic script and has secularized the State completely. The other countries are following suit slowly but surely. Indian Muslims have to learn much from these countries, who are no less Muslims.

This book of travel is recommended to the Bengali Muslims who consider themselves Muslims first and Indians afterwards. The book will serve as an eye-opener to our Muslim brothers who look upon these countries as their own in preference to their Hindu neighbours.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

RAS SAGAR : *By Sagar Nizami. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 6.*

The book under review is a collection of some sweet and inspiring lyrical poems by the leading Urdu poet of the new generation, Sj. Sagar Nizami. Rich in thought and delicacy, Sagar has endeared himself to the lovers of poetry. His poetry is delightful because of its wealth of music and sweetness. He has hunted romance in huts, streets, bazars, temples and mosques and put the tales of the commoner into lasting songs—songs, which are emotional flushes from his singing heart. Music of today and dreams of tomorrow are the enchanting notes of Sagar's poetry. We heartily welcome Sagar in the fold of Hindi and congratulate the publishers for bringing out such a beautiful collection in Nagri script.

M. S. SENGAR

RAHMAN KA BETA: *By Vishnu Prabhakar. Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore. Pp. 209. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Shri Prabhakar is a pre-eminent short-story writer in present-day Hindi literature. His outlook on life is intensely human, while his attitude to his country is akin to that of Cowper: "With all thy faults I love thee still." His pen has a camera-like quality on the one hand, as it is a pointer to the significance and spirit of men and mice, so to speak, on the other. The present collection of his nineteen patriotic stories is contemporary Indian life writ in characters warm and vigorous with life. The language is free from the smell of cloistered study. Shri Prabhakar richly deserves to be better and more widely known through a translation of a selection of his best stories in different languages.

DHRUVA-CHARITA: *By Suryadeva Mishra. Dhalla Publishing House, Benares. Pp. 167. Price Rs. 3.*

A miniature epic of the epic character of Dhruva in twelve cantos, composed in the strain and severity of Sanskrit metre in all its variety. As one reads it aloud—and all poetry must be read aloud to be adequately appreciated—one seems to hear an echo of an ancient song sung in the sylvan shade of an *ashrama*; and as one lays down the book one feels like Amal in Rabindranath Tagore's *Post-office*. "I shall ask the king when he comes to show me the Pole Star." *Dhruva-Charita* is a character-building tonic, indeed. Shri Laldhar Tripathi Pramil has contributed a critical appreciation of the poem.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ITIHASNI KEDI : *By Bhogilal J. Sandesara. Published by Padmaja Prakashan, Baroda, 1946. Thick cardboard. Pp. 290 + 8. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The 'Foot-track of History' is a collection of selected writings of the noted Gujarati scholar of research in the medieval history and literature of Gujarat. They treat of aeroplanes in ancient India, and of the famous Library (Jain) Bhandars of Patan and of Patan itself and other similar matters. Each contribution is implemented by documentary evidence. Altogether it furnishes an important link in the chain of the history of medieval Gujarat.

SAHITYA PARAMARSHA : *Edited by Durga Shankar K. Shastri and others. Published by the Vile Parle Sahitya Sabha, Bombay Suburban District, 1946. Thick Card-Board . Pp. 195. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The Vile Parle Sahitya Sabha celebrated its Silver Jubilee in 1945 with great eclat. Noted literary writers helped in celebrating the happy occasion, and literary contributions on various important subects by about fifty authors forms one part of this useful compilation. The other part, called "Majal", gives in a succinct form the activiies of the Sabha during the twenty-seven years of its existence, and is ably written by Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt. Altogether it is a creditable contribution to the present literature of Gujarat.

AKSHARANE SHABDA : *By Keshavram Kashiram Shastri. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1945. Card-board Cover. Pp. 416. Price Rs. 4.*

The Gujarat Sahitya Sabha has done well in publishing the writings of Mr. K. K. Shastri in book form. In 25 sections he treats this technical subject in all its aspects, dividing it into three main topics: *Bhashakaran, Lipi Vichar, Jodani* (spelling) *Vichar*. For every statement made, he has quoted chapter and verse. He shows an amount of research, study and assiduity.

K. M. J.

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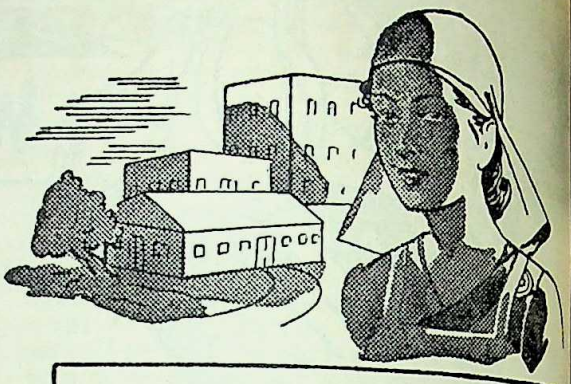

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Eternal India

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially :

India today is vital, awake, and free. In spite of her poverty and degradation, in spite of the blood and shame which cover her face, in spite of her political bisection and communal wrangles, she is dynamic and full of promise. If after a passivity of centuries India is again creative and going to assert her rightful place in the vanguard of nations, it is principally due to the fundamental unity of her progress and not to anything that she might have borrowed from other countries. Let not India mistake this vitality to be just an expression of her political revival. It springs from a deeper well. Even the assertion of her political nationhood is an expression of her cultural resurgence.

The national ideals of India are Renunciation and Service.

The vedic *rishis*, fathers of our culture, who realized the divinity of man and spanned all diversity by their vision of unity, also pointed out the way to the goal. It is by service alone that we can claim the right to be served, and it is renunciation which confers immortality upon us. Matter must be employed in the service of Spirit. Even enjoyment cannot be had without renunciation. *Tena tyaktena bhunjitha ma gridha kasyasiddhanam* : Enjoy through renunciation and do not covet anybody's possessions. The sleeping leviathan is awake from her age-long slumber. India is out to conquer the world and deluge it with her ideas. Despite political bisection, trisection, and even multisection, India is one and will be one. She will heal the discords that trouble her, many of which are the legacy of an alien rule. More than that, she will provide the spiritual mortar for holding together the elements of a global civilization in a sound harmony. Has she not taught always that it is one world, one life, one mind and above all, one soul?

Two ideas which have dominated the political thought of our times since the beginning of the nineteenth century are the ideas of nationalism (including political democracy) and socialism.

Of these two, the first idea was all powerful for almost a century, so much so that historians and even philosophers thought that the establishment of a sovereign national state was the one and final goal of all peoples and races. The more powerful and modern idea in the political field today is that of socialism which looks beyond national frontiers and aims at an economic goal. The vital element in the idea of nationalism was the desire of different peoples to develop and express themselves in their own way. This historical necessity made it all-conquering against all its opponents. But when nations utilized the strength of their political organizations not for self-expression but for plunder, the idea came up against its antithesis. That is the real cause of its fading out. Economic justice for all, especially for the masses, is the root-idea of socialism. Economic democracy is its goal. But if it does not strictly confine itself to the field specially its own and seeks to achieve its aim by the denial of liberty and the spiritual goal of man, it will simply be buried by those whom it undertook to bury. An idea pursued beyond the point of its significance becomes a delusion.

At this critical hour when India is free to choose her line of action in the national as well as the international field and when conflicting ideologies claim exclusive allegiance of the mind, a tremendous responsibility rests upon the shoulders of her leaders.

India : From Subjection to Freedom

Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

A new era in British Indian history is opened as the fruit of a century of effort and struggle and it will go down as the most outstanding event in living memory.

There is, however, a shadow over our rejoicings, a sadness in our hearts, for the independence we dreamt of and fought for has not come to us. Such is the perversity of things that the Swaraj of our dreams at the moment of its attainment has slipped through our fingers. A divided India will continue to be dependent, unless the two Dominions establish friendly relations and work for common interests. The extent of our disappointment is reflected in the satisfaction of the diehard Tories in England. While Churchill characterised the Cabinet Mission report as a 'melancholy document' and the declaration to quit as a 'scuttle' from India, he gave enthusiastic support to the present plan, thus indicating that it implements the Conservative policy for India.

At a time when the States of the world are moving towards large groups we are throwing away the one advantage of political and economic unity which British rule brought to this country. When the new conditions demand economic planning on a continental scale, we are reverting to a divided India. Whether India will be safer with two armies than with one remains to be seen.

If our leaders graciously took up the responsibility for the decision to divide the country, it is because they found no alternative acceptable to the different parties.

By a succession of acts of surrender we found ourselves in a position from which division was the only way out.

We have had Englishmen of different varieties, Englishmen who came here for a hundred different reasons—priests and nuns, merchants and adventurers, soldiers and diplomats, statesmen and idealists. They marched and fought in it, bought and sold in it, plotted and profited in it. But the greatest of them wished to raise India's social and economic standards

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and political status The small-minded among them worked with sinister objectives. When separate communal electorates were conceded, Lady Minto referred to a letter received from an important official, "I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very very big thing has happened today, a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition." These electorates intensified communal consciousness and created such an atmosphere of mistrust and hostility as to rouse the demand for Pakistan. Cripps' proposals made Pakistan possible and the Muslims naturally inferred that the British would support their proposal. While the Cabinet Mission rejected the demand for Pakistan it made extensive concession to it by limiting the powers of the Centre and proposing sections and groups. The Congress declaration that they will not force a constitution on any unwilling part of the country encouraged the League in its determination to demand a division of the country into Muslim and non-Muslim zones. There has never been a government known to history which did not at times use compulsion to ensure the co-operation of the recalcitrant. When the southern American States demanded independence, the right to govern themselves, Abraham Lincoln at the cost of one of the bloodiest wars known to history denied that right on the ground that, if it were granted, democracy in the new world would be too divided to defend itself. But the Congress, pledged to the principle of non-violence, cannot use force in evolving national solidarity. The statement of 20th February, 1947, suggested that the British Government would transfer power to some form of Central Government or in certain areas to the existing provincial Governments or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people. The present plan is the natural outcome of these developments. Past encouragement by the British and weakness of our leaders proved too strong for friendly agreements.

Educating India

The New Review observes :

At the Delhi session of the Central Advisory Board of Education, the future of our schools was adumbrated. Pandit Nehru wanted the whole basis to be revolutionised, but he left to educators and educationists the care of planning a revolutionary and effective system. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the minister for education, stressed two leading points. The first was that English cannot remain the medium of instruction; the change, however, should be gradual, and could not well be imposed within five years though universities should provide for the change. The second point referred to religious education. Two committees of the Board had already tackled the problem but had failed to come to a unanimous solution. Yet a solution must be found.

"If national education was devoid of this element (religion), there would be no appreciation of moral values or moulding of character in human lives...It is obvious that millions of Indians are not prepared to see that their children are brought up in an irreligious atmosphere. What will happen if the Government undertake to impart purely secular education? Naturally people will try to provide religious education through private sources. But these private sources are working to-day or are likely to work in future is already known to you...Not only in the villages but in cities the imparting of religious education is entrusted to teachers who though literate are not educated. To them religion means nothing but bigotry...It is necessary for us not to leave the imparting of early religious education to private sources. We should rather take it under our direct care and supervision...A national government cannot divest itself of this responsibility. To mould the growing minds of the nation on right lines is its primary duty. In India we cannot have an intellectual mould without religion."

In the pagan atmosphere of the modern world, it is refreshing to hear a minister stressing the importance of spiritual education, and it does great honour to India that the statement was not contradicted by the most revolutionary members of the Board. There are, however, serious obstacles to the implementation of so noble a programme. Undoubtedly lawyers will negotiate the first. According to the draft constitution, India is to be a secular state, without any official or officially recognised religion. The Government will claim no authority in religious matters, except to prevent anybody from endangering public peace and order, even under religious pretext. How could then the state decide what is genuine religion, frame a programme of religious studies and approve text-books? How could the Government accommodate all the religions of India without going beyond its statutory competence, since these religious beliefs are different and occasionally contradictory?

The way out of the difficulty is to go back to fundamentals. The Irish Constitution is the clearest on such fundamentals. In its art. 42, it states:

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"The State acknowledges that the primary and natural educator of the child is the family, and guarantees to respect the inalienable right and duty of parents to provide according to their means the religious and moral, intellectual, physical and social education of their children....Parents shall be free to provide this education in their home or in private schools or in schools recognised or established by the State."

Once this principle of natural law and democratic liberty is admitted, provision must be made in India for various religious types of schools corresponding to the various cultural groups. The schools themselves, and not only the religious courses, should be different since the most modern educationists agree that the educational environment fashions the type of schools, and all know that the 'occasional teaching' is often more decisive than the humdrum syllabus. Ireland as well as Holland have shown the way out; provided schools comply with definite conditions of hygiene, programme, staff-qualifications, private schools are put on the same footing as state-schools for grants-in-aid and examinations. This is certainly the most satisfactory solution; it will suit the many cultural groups in the country, and respect private initiative which has already played so noble a part in Indian education. None other can be thought of unless the Congress Governments enter the way of totalitarianism and don the solemn gown of divinity dictatorship.

Defence

Defence against aggression by foreign enemies and against internal troubles is one of the main functions of the Government of any sovereign country. *Science and Culture* writes editorially:

It is well to remember that hitherto defence of India was only part of the defence of the farflung British Empire, and with the attainment of independence, India is thrown severely on her own legs. Let us see how far we are able to organize defence under present conditions. What do we require for defence in a modern world? We require army, navy, and airforce. But only experienced generals, trained officers and well-drilled soldiers would not do; we must arm them with weapons and equipments in all the three arms of defence, including not only guns, and rifles, explosives, warships, army telephones, but also since the first World War, tanks and aeroplanes, and as the last war has shown, wireless equipments, radars, and dozens of other items.

Have we the means of producing these equipments in our own country, and getting the trained man-power for handling these arms and scientific equipments?

As far as our knowledge of Ordnance Factories in this country goes, India can produce guns up to a certain bore, small arms like rifles, certain amount of explosives but the production figures and expenditure are under veils of secrecy. It is well known and therefore we are betraying no secret when we say that we do not produce a single tank, aeroplane, wireless set, automobile, armoured or civil, and we have no source worth mentioning of petrol without which no modern war is possible, and many of the chemicals essential for explosive have to be got from abroad. Even in peacetime the U. S. A. has put a ban on the export of radars, and on many essential scientific apparatus, and probably the United Kingdom will also follow suit, and probably in case of war even with small powers they can put effective bans on the export of tanks, aeroplanes, petrol and what not?

It is therefore obvious that we are helpless in case of aggression by a major modern power like U. S. A., U. K., or Russia and will continue to be so until our industrial production rises to a capacity commensurate with the size and natural resources of this country. This may take another 25 to 50 years or we may never attain to this stage at all, according to the capacity, will and efficiency of our Government.

But it is well to remember that not only we are incapable of organizing any but moral defence against any great power; in other words, if these powers want to commit aggression we can only protest; but it is not realized that our powers of defence against trouble-shooters within our own country, or in the areas immediately surrounding us, are not very great, on account of

(*i*) our extremely low industrial capacity, and
(*ii*) the vacuum created in the defence organizations by the departure of the British.

We have before us some material giving us the organization and activity of Indian Ordnance Factories. They are capable, as mentioned before, only of producing small arms like rifles, and guns up to a certain bore, and some explosives. For heavier arms

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and newer arms like tanks, aeroplanes, the defence department has made not the slightest attempt within the last 25 years, as they ought to have done, to start any production centre in India, and has not even cared to start any shops or when started, to maintain such shops to the requisite level of officiency for repair of large quantities of modern war materials, which were stored in India for military purpose during the war-years. This was, of course, a part of the Imperial Policy.

But this is only a part of the picture. We have further to remember that under the old imperial policy, the Indian Ordnance Factories were organized in a very peculiar and inefficient way which is being continued. Take for example, the manufacture of guns, howitzers and mortars. The barrels of these weapons are cast in the Ishapore *Metal and Steel Factory*, they are machined and bored in the Cossipore *Gun and Shell Factory* (both in the suburbs of Calcutta), but for being mounted on carriages, they are sent to the Jubbulpore *Gun and Carriage Factory* on a 700-mile railway journey. After being mounted, they are sent to the office of the Superintendent of Proof and Experiment at Balasore, another six hundred miles of railway journey. When they had passed the test, they were distributed in different armouries. The same is the story with respect to the manufacture of shells, bombs and explosives.

All these round-about arrangements would be regarded as extremely costly, and superfluous in any country, but this is not all. There has not been, as far as our information goes, any design and research section for arms anywhere in India. Drawings of arms to be manufactured used to be supplied from England, and production used to be carried on here, under the supervision of British managers and superintendents, who had served as foremen or mechanics in the British arms factories, by bodies of Indian foremen, mechanics and other skilled labour.

There was a complete dichotomy between the brain and the hand, in conformity to the practices of caste-ridden India, which the British Imperialists have learnt to use to their own advantage.

There is further a complete hush-hush over military expenditure. We do not know if any of the Ministers of the present Indian Government including the Defence Minister and his Indian staff has cared to know about the total budget of these armament factories, and their annual production. Our information is that in spite of huge expenditure, production has gone down dangerously low. Systematic investigation is necessary to find out not only these figures, but also to find out the percentage of rejections which, we are informed, is too high in spite of the fact that during the war, very up-to-date and modern machinery have been installed in all the factories.

We would be failing in our duty if we did not point out that the armaments production factories have been the training grounds for a large number of Indian foremen, mechanics, and other skilled hands and thus we have a reserve of trained labour which, under competent management, can be serviceable not only for manufacture of war materials but for much useful peacetime industries. But the top men are mostly British, and there is not, according to our knowledge and information, much difference in mental calibre and necessary accomplishments between these men, and their subordinate Indian foremen, for except for the Inspectorate Branch, the British Government did not care to send their top men in production factories to this country, as the object was to evolve designs in the U. K., and keep them there. In other words, the production factories are working according to the rule of thumb, but guidance being not unavailable from Britain, the factories are without brain-centres which should be created immediately. Further, the large number of dismissals of temporary hands have created a very bad psychology among the Indian employees which ought to be removed by skilful handling.

These are some of the points which occur to us but others would be found if systematic enquiry is made by a competent committee which we think should be immediately appointed. We suggest the following terms of reference for the Committee.

1. To place Indian Nationals in all positions of trust and responsibility in all the production factories, testing and proof inspectorates.

At present, all responsible heads of armament factories happen to be non-Indian Nationals. For obvious reasons, they should not be continued in these positions. If they are found possessed of proper qualifications, they can be reappointed only as experts under Indian heads.

2. To reclassify and recoordinate all production factories in accordance with the changed political conditions.

3. To advise on the starting of new production factories for manufacture of planes, tanks, large calibre guns, and other weapons and scientific equipments, at present not manufactured in India.

4. To recommend measures for reorganization of the factories on the basis of modern methods of industrial efficiency.

5. To set up a brains-centre for the armament factories in the form of research and development sections, and to recommend measures for bringing into existence new scientific establishments under this section for development of new arms like radar, rocket projectiles, atomic weapons, etc.

6. To recommend new training centres for the training of personnel, and for operational research.

7. To consider the starting of factories for the manufacture of synthetic petrol, other essential metals, chemicals and alloys without which it is not possible to carry on a modern war.

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The Congress Aims

The National Christian Council Review observes:

We print here-below a resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee on the new aims and objectives which the Congress should have in view, now that freedom has been attained.

The All-India Congress Committee welcomes the elimination of foreign rule in India and the establishment of a Free and Independent State and a Government responsible to the people of the country. The achievement of freedom is the culmination of the long struggle of the Indian National Congress and the outcome of the sufferings and tribulations of the people. Freedom brings responsibility and new burdens and problems. The freedom achieved was not the kind that the Congress had envisaged during its long history. It has been accompanied by secession of parts of the country and disasters of unparalleled magnitude. Hardly was Free India born when a grave crisis overtook it and events happened which have besmirched her fair name and brought death and desolation to vast numbers of innocent people in circumstances too tragic for words. There has been arson, loot and murder on a mass scale in West Punjab, N.-W.F. Province, Baluchistan, East Punjab and adjoining areas. The Committee cannot find words strong enough to condemn the inhuman acts by whatever community perpetrated. It extends its sympathy to all those who have been the innocent victims of this colossal tragedy.

At this moment of crisis, it is necessary that the Congress should declare its faith and policy in clear terms and that the people, as well as the Government, should follow that policy unswervingly. Even though the Congress agreed to a division of the country in the hope, which has so far proved vain that thereby internal conflicts might cease, it never accepted the theory that there are two or more nations in India. It has firmly believed in the whole of India as a nation bound together by indissoluble cultural and historical links which have been further strengthened in the course of the national struggle for freedom. It was on the basis of this faith that the Congress grew up as a national institution open to all Indians without difference of creed or religion. India is a land of many religions and many races and must remain so. Nevertheless India has been, and is, a country with fundamental unity and the aim of the Congress has been to develop this great country as a whole as a Democratic Secular State where all citizens enjoy full rights and are equally entitled to the protection of the State irrespective of the religion to which they belong. The Constituent Assembly has accepted this as the basic principle of the constitution. This lays on every Indian the obligation to honour it.

'The Congress wants to assure the minorities in India that it will continue to protect, to the best of its ability, their citizenship rights against aggression. The Central Government, as well as the Provincial Governments must accordingly make every effort to create conditions wherein all minorities and all citizens have security and opportunity for progress. All citizens must also on their part, not only share in the benefits of freedom but shoulder the burdens and responsibility which accompany it, and must, above all, be loyal to India.

'The All-India Congress Committee calls upon all Congressmen and the people of India to adhere strictly to those well-established principles of the Congress and not to allow themselves to be diverted into wrong channels by passion or prejudice or by the tragic events that have happened. The real good and progress of India have yet to be achieved and this can only be done by adhering to the ideals and policy of the Congress and discarding and exposing all false doctrines, which have done so much mischief to India and her people.'

We call attention to one phrase in the above mentioned resolution, and it is 'a Democratic Secular State.' The Congress rightly aims at developing this country of ours into a Democratic Secular State. We are glad that the word 'democratic' has been used, in preference to the world 'republic.' 'A republic' need not necessarily be a democratic state. For example, Soviet Russia though a Republic will be claimed by few as being a Democratic State. We are therefore happy that the ideal of a Democracy appears conspicuously in the resolution of the A.-I.C.C.

Pakistan has been attempting to evolve a fully Islamic State, but we are glad that the Indian Dominion lays down definitely that the India shall be a *secular* state. We appreciate the motives that underlie the deliberate use of this expression. In a land full of so many religions and races, the State cannot but be secular if all its citizens are to enjoy full rights and protection, irrespective of the religion to which they belong.

Nevertheless, there is an implication of the word 'secular' which will not be readily acceptable. The philosophy of a Secular State has been the cause of many a disaster in the world, and it has finally resulted in the use of the Atom Bomb. A Secular State if it is to be one hundred per cent secular, can have no soul. We in India are a religious-minded people, and to us to clear-cut separation of the Church and State cannot have much meaning. We do hope that the Congress will always keep this point in mind, while trying to maintain a secular *state*. Righteousness alone exalteth a nation and a complete divorce between Religion and State will not be in our true interests.

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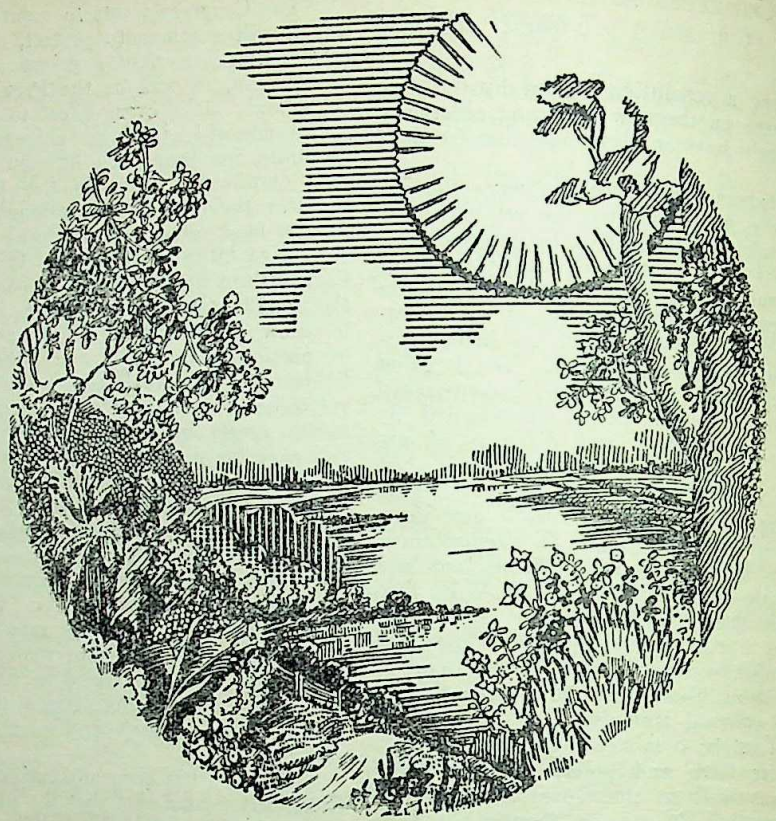

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Theodore Parker and the Socializing of Religion

R. Lester Mondale writes in *Unity* that the world and specially the Americans need a Theodore Parker to-day as they have never needed him before:

Americans in the ranks of liberal religion need Theodore Parker today as they have never needed him before—even when he was alive and in the heat of his battle for the socializing of religion one hundred years ago. We need his help to enable us to see beyond the pathetically superficial social philosophy so many have in mind today when they think of the part religion ought to play in the reforming of the old and the building of the new. This superficial social philosophy is merely a superficial reaction against superficial orthodox religion. In orthodox religion the chief concern of the priest and preacher was the saving of the immortal soul of the individual man, woman, or child from eternal agony in hell. Whether this person was raised in a slum home by drunken parents, whether he was a cotton field slave, whether in early childhood he was chained to a Lancashire loom or made to work in a Newcastle mineshaft, whether he could read and think and enjoy the fireside glow in the chill of the year, whether he died of tuberculosis or was slaughtered on a battle field was relatively unimportant compared to the saving of his soul and his achievement of the bliss of a place where he could spend all eternity gazing on golden paving blocks and hearing the ceaseless blowing of trumpets and chanting of choirs. Rebelling against this inhumane religious philosophy of "pie in the skies" the average emancipated religious liberal, who is far from as emancipated and as liberal as he imagines he is, still thinks in terms of mansions in heaven—he merely transfers the old and naive mansions-in-heaven idea to this life and this world. Giving people heavenly mansions in this life, by reforming society, is the chief concern of liberal religion, he now insists. Churches must line up with Socialism, says one; the capitalistic exploitation of the proletariat has become unbearable and now, that people have nothing but chains to lose, is the time to strike. Churches must line up with the consumers' co-operative movement; co-operation is the only alternative to totalitarianism. Churches must become pacifist societies. Churches must become anti-saloon societies, anti-anti-Semitic societies, anti-Fascist societies, Townsend societies. Certainly a liberal church must be concerned with the question of the rights of women and with the rights of children, with consumer co-operation, with war and with peace and with anti-Semitism; but to just what extent is the liberal church a reform society? And why is it interested in reform?

In Theodore Parker we find one whose liberalism was not merely orthodoxy turned inside out, not merely a revolt against the pie-in-the-skies idea, and not merely a crusade for pie in the here and now.

His liberalism and his religion went back to the summer day in 1814 when he was but a four-year-old child, playing at the edge of that delightful brook which runs between the low-lying hills past the Parker ancentral farm home several miles out of Lexington, Massachusetts. He remembered distinctly putting his eyes on a beautiful spotted turtle, pulled up at the edge of a pool and sunning himself. Immediately he raised his arm to strike the sleeping creature. And then—here are his own words: "But all at once something checked my little arm, and a voice within me said, clear and loud, 'It is wrong'." He hurried home to his grey-haired mother—he was her eleventh child and she was now fifty-one years of age—told her what had happened, and asked her what it was that so distinctly told him that it was wrong to strike the turtle. She took him in her arms tenderly and said:

"Some men call it conscience, but I prefer to call it the voice of God in the soul of man. If you listen and obey it, then it will speak clearer and clearer, and clearer, and always guide you right; but, if you turn a deaf ear or disobey, then it will fade out little by little, and leave you all in the dark, and without a guide. Your life depends upon heeding this little voice."

Here, on the one hand, was the impulse to strike the sleeping turtle, to wantonly annoy, to inflict pain, to destroy—this was wrong. But here, on the other hand, was the opposite, the voice of something that was like the nature of his tender mother and his strong kindly father. Here within was something beautiful and tender, something trying to do for all creatures what the mother and father love was doing for him—smiling on him and on all creatures and causing them to fall in love with life. Thus it was vividly clear to Theodore Parker from his earliest childhood that life, and everything that made life worthwhile, was merely the growth and unfoldment of this tenderness which had restrained his arms and which he came to see not only in his mother and father but in the world about him, singing with the frogs in the spring, flashing in the fluttering of the butterfly, glowing in the wild rose, and shining forth in the sun and the stars. Thus to be alive in the sense of being alive to the inspiration of misty hills, to the cool fresh breath of early morning, to the warmth of a friend, to the profound meanings of a book, yes, and to be alive to the shivering of little children in ragged garments, and to the degradation of humanity in the ignoble cowering and cringing of the slave—this was not only being truly alive, it was being truly religious.

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It was giving expression to the Infinite, to the only God we can really know.

And years later, years which saw him buying his first book, a Latin dictionary, with the proceeds from his blueberry picking, years which saw the death of his mother when he was but fourteen, years which saw the struggle of this rugged Socrates-faced, country lad plowing on his father's farm and at the same time teaching school, and reading, reading, reading all hours of the day and night —years later it was the tenderness, the warmth, the singing, the beauty, the greatness I have been talking about which a dark-eyed, quiet but wonderfully affectionate young woman by the name of Miss Lydia Cabot sensed in the young Parker and fell in love with. Presently he was writing her what to our eyes is, of course, a perfect description of the marvellous expansion of life that goes with the continuous unfoldment of the divine within us: "I love my books the more, my school the more, mankind the more, and even God the more, from loving you." Before they could be married, however, the rustic young Parker had to put in four years of studying, teaching in elementary schools, working as a non-resident student in Harvard, and then candidating here and there in Unitarian churches. He candidated an entire year before he found a church which would take him. They were somewhat afraid of his farmer-boy appearance and almost mortally afraid of his intellectuality—it was possitively over-awing. He was not only versed in the Latin classics by this time, he was also reading in Greek and Hebrew and was devouring whole tomes of the new scholarly enlightment in Germany; and he was also reading in Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Arabic, Persian Coptic and Russian, and was dabbling in some African dialects. Finally after having endeared himself to two small Unitarian congregations he was called to a larger one, West Roxbury, near Boston. And then came the wedding, and the notation made in his Journal: A solemn promise, (which he always kept), "to bear her burdens, to overlook her foibles, to love, cherish, and ever defend her . . ." And thus he wrote to a friend: "I know that two souls made one by love, can laugh at time and space and live united for ever."

Going into the West Roxbury pulpit Theodore Parker went not as one who is merely in revolt against the old-time religion, or as one who would make his church into a reform society to provide everyone on earth with pie—he went there merely to carry on the glorious work of trying to do for others what that tender and beautiful something in his own heart and in his mother and father and in the world about him had done in his own life. But at that time the Unitarians had become fearfully smug, and Channing himself had begun to complain about the appearance of a "Unitarian orthodoxy." Unitarian ministers crammed their sermons with such words as "salvation," "miracles," "revelation," "Christ the Redeemer." What did they mean by these terms? Parker with his first-hand religion was disgusted with these meaningless and pious mouthings. He described the minister who parroted these words: "Annointed dulness, arrayed in canonicals, his lesson duly conned, presses the consecrated cushions of the pulpit and pours forth weekly his impotent drone, to be blest with bland praises so long as he disturbs not respectable iniquity slumbering in his pew, nor touches the actual sign of the time, nor treads an inch beyond the beaten path of the Church."

In 1841 at an ordination ceremony in South Boston, Parker gave full vent to his ideas in his rousing sermon, "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity."

The permanent and real in Christianity, he said with the authority of a prophet, was not the Bible, not the person of Jesus, (Christianity could get along without Jesus), not miracles—the real thing was the moral law within.

Theodore Parker, from the time he had run to the turtle to his mother's arms, had had an ever-increasingly clearer idea of the moral law within—and now he had the writings of the greatest of the German philosophers, Immanuel Kant, to verify his own personal experience. But what did the Unitarians, or any other church people of 1841 know about a moral law within or about Immanuel Kant? They knew only about a God on a throne, dictating his laws to Moses and to Jesus, judging the quick and the dead, and sending them to heaven and hell. Worse than this, Parker had thrown his vast scholarly resources into the defense of that young heretic, who had so disturbed the Harvard Divinity School and Boston in 1838—Ralph Waldo Emerson. Moreover Parker had been seen time and again with Emerson and Thoreau and Alcott at Brook Farm, a communist experiment. Consequently, no Unitarian minister dared to invite him as guest speaker: one had, and he had lost his job. What place was there for Parker in Unitarian ranks when Doctor Frothingham, the high-priest of Unitarianism, now that Channing was dead, held that it was in bad taste even to mention in the pulpit anything as secular as a Beethoven Sonata?

Then came the heresy trial. The Unitarian Ministers Association invited Parker to a tea at which Doctor Frothingham was to preside. The pompous Frothingham opened up on the friendless farmer-boy Parker: he had introduced discord into the Unitarian body; he had written a heretical book, and in the heretical magazine of the Transcendentalists, *The Dial*, had called his fellow ministers "Pharisees." Then Mr. Gannett, now occupying Channing's pulpit, chimed in: "I hope God Almighty will forgive him . . . I can never grasp him by the hand again cordially." And other criticisms: Parker was not a Christian, not a Unitarian; he compromised the Unitarian Association. How about his withdrawing? Completely poised and calm, Parker took up each criticism in turn, put it under his high-powered mental microscope, described its flaws, and gently tore it to pieces as only a great scholar was capable of doing. No. He had not the slightest intention of withdrawing. If the Association wished to expel him that was their privilege. Three hours of this. Then a former Harvard classmate. Cyrus Bartol rose to speak and Bartol spoke warmly of Parker's sincerity and his goodness. Then Mr. Gannett arose and, to the surprise of all, said that he wished to second Bartol's

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remarks about Parker's sincerity and goodness. And then a minister by the name of Chandler Robbins, an arch conservative, rose; he began to enlarge upon the sympathy he felt for Parker on this occasion and to express the affection he had for him. This was too much for Parker. Tears began to stream from his eyes; he jumped to his feet and rushed out, only to be met by Doctor Frothingham who caught his hand and wrung it and assured him of his personal esteem. And that was the ending of our one and only Unitarian heresy trial.

There were Unitarian liberals who objected to the fact that Parker was never invited to speak from a Boston pulpit. Consequently, a number of these liberals met in January of 1845, and passed this resolution, "That the Reverend Theodore Parker shall have a chance to be heard in Boston". After an affectionate parting in Roxbury from his parishioners who were so enamoured with the goodness of his heart that they could not be bothered by the heresies of his mind, Parker went to Boston, where, in what was called the Melodeon, they held the first meeting of this the newly-formed twenty-eighth Congregational Church of Boston, and where before a packed auditorium Theodore Parker preached his own installation sermon.

Parker soon had a library of thousands of volumes, the largest personal library in America,—large sections on the literature and history and philosophy of Greece and Rome and the ancient world generally, the latest philosophical and historical and Bible-criticism tomes from Germany, from France. Anthropology, geology, biology, he handled as a specialist. He was talking and writing and preaching evolution years before Darwin came out with his *Origin of Species* in 1859. Even the best lawyers and judges of the times spoke with the greatest of circumspection in his presence because they knew that they were with one who was practically an authority on law, and not just on American law. After the German revolution of 1848 it was to Parker, the one American scholar they really knew, that the refugee scholars wrote for information and advice. Thus his published sermons are not only scholarly but are packed with information. But it was far more than information that the seven thousand persons who signed the membership register of his church found in them. They found the spirit of that something, so beautiful, so tender, so creative which had commanded the child Parker to withhold hitting the turtle, going out to them, calling them to awaken to a new life, to be alive to the beauty and joy of their own physical bodies, to the beauty of ocean shore and New England hill, to the meanings in books, and to the shivering of little children in thin ragged clothes. This was the voice of God, this was the life of God, and it did not need any Bible or miracle to prove it so.

In Boston, Parker found man's inhumanity to man on every hand, and to remain silent in the face of inhumanity meant destroying the very life-giving principle in him and in the world.

How could he remain alive, mentally alive, emotionally alive, physically alive unless he felt he was giving expression to that something in his mother and in his father and in the grandeur of the world which had meant everything to him? He cried to his vast congregation: "See the unnatural disparity in man's condition, bloated opulence and starving penury in the same street. See the pauperism, want, licentiousness, intemperance, and crime in the midst of us; see the havoc made of woman; see the poor deserted by their elder brother, while it is their sweat which enriches your ground, builds your railroads, and piles up your costly houses."

With their eyes and their hearts opened Parker's hearers began to express the new life he awakened in them in a great wave of humanitarian reform . . . a society to give wayward girls decent employment, prison reform, insane hospital reform, slavery reform.

In 1860 he was dead of tuberculosis, dead at least twenty years before his time (born 1810). But in that comparatively short life he had demonstrated conclusively how truly liberal religion is not just a means of building here on earth substitutes for mansions in the sweet by-and-by, but an expression in our homes, in our friendships, in our cities of that something which commanded the little arm to forbear striking the sleeping turtle, of of that same something in his father and mother which nurtured him, of that same something in the world of nature which constantly inspired him, and which commanded his response: "Gentlemen, this committee can appoint me to no duty which I will not perform." And so the final summons from the infinite order of things brought from him no fear and no regrets, only the words: "When I see the inevitable, I fall in love with it."

Untouchability—General Smuts' Taunts

The Editorial comment of *Pratinidhi*, Nairobi, January 1947, deserves serious attention of the Hindu community:

In defending South Africa's policy of anti-Asiatic legislation General Smuts sarcastically criticised the treatment accorded to untouchables and depressed classes in India. Mahatma Gandhi replied to this in an article in *Harijan*. Mahatmaji rightly pointed out that Indian's statutory laws place no restrictions on the so-called untouchables and that the members of the scheduled classes can rise to the highest position in society. It is, unfortunately, the social and religious customs of the orthodox Hindus, says the Mahatma, that are responsible for untouchability in India, and the day is not far off when untouchability shall have been abolished completely.

The Rising Tide of Reform

We strongly uphold the views expressed by Mahatma Gandhi. Orthodoxy shall have to loosen its hold before the rising tide of reform. How heartening the news is that the forces of reform in Madras, the stronghold of orthodoxy, are already on the move. Legislation purporting to throw open the gates of all temples in Madras is being introduced in the province's Legislature.

No Religious Sanction for it

In fact the reformed Hinduism of modern times is becoming absolutely intolerant of the curse of untouchability. The very idea of human being treated as unworthy of touch and association is repugnant to the higher conception of Hinduism, and carries no religious sanction with it. The Vedas, the sacred books of all Hindus and Aryas, do not sanction it, nor can this inhuman and unmoral institution be maintained on the authority of Hindu Shastras, Upanishadas, Bhagavatgita and Manusmriti etc. In an oft-quoted mantra the Veda proclaims:—

"O men, remember that you are equal. You should have wells, water works and baths in common; you should prepare your food conjointly and sit for dinner together; there should be no reservation in your travelling carriages and cars and other means of conveyance. God ordains that you should remain

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united like spokes of a wheel in the novel, you should perform your yajna conjointly and mutually do good to each other."

BASIS OF SOCIETY

All the old scriptures of the Hindus abound in similar quotations which explicitly ordain that society must be founded on equality for all men, according to their qualifications and attainments. There is in the Vedas and scriptures no such thing as untouchability due to birth. All men are entitled to become the members of a progressive society in accordance with their worth and character.

Rishi Dayananda was deadly against any differential or preferential treatment being given owing to the birth of any person in a high or low Varna (caste or profession). According to him, the Varna-Vyavastha rested on Guna, Karma, and Svabhava (quality, action and temperament) and not on birth.

Sjt. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the greatest scholars of Hindu Shastras, in his learned preface of the Gita, while interpreting the verse :—

चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः (गीता पृ० ४)

has made it quite clear that in Vedic times the constitution of the four Varnas was a sort of division of labour.

The late Dr. Pandya of the training college for men, in his famous book, *Education in the Baroda State*, has stated that beginning from the Vedic times to the advent of Magasthenes there was no sign of untouchability in India.

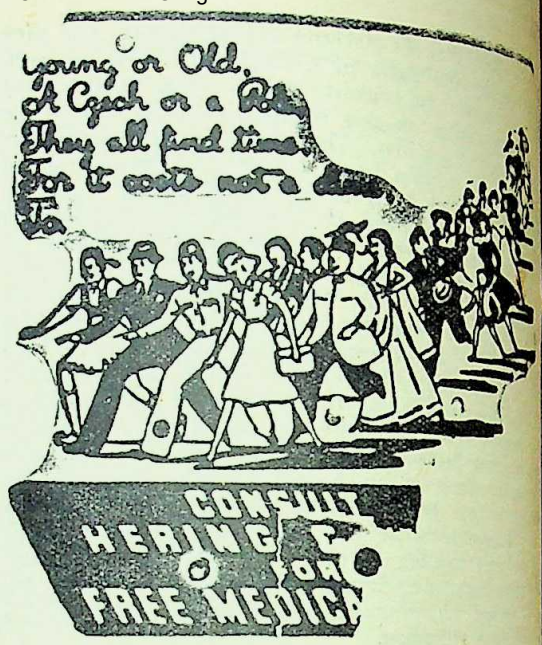
The present state of Hindu society basing Varna Vyavastha on birth and not on merit, is of recent date due to ignorance of the Vedas. The result is the whole machinery of Hindu society has become disorganised. It cannot be organised and made to work out its high ideals unless and until untouchability due to birth is abolished root and branch, and depressed classes are given full rights of social, religious and political equality with caste Hindus.

Arya Samaj Foundation Day

Pratinidhi of Nairobi, March, 1947, thus comments on the message of Arya Samaj to the Hindu nation :

This memorable day falls on the 23rd of March. We pay our homage to Maharshi Dayanand, the illustrious founder of this body.

This is the day when we have to review our achievements of the last year. Arya Samaj, in India, waged war against the ban imposed on the Fourteenth Chapter of *Satyarthpakash* by the Sindh Government and fought it to victory. We congratulate the Arya Samaj this heroic deed. But are we to remain satisfied with this? Nay, a great amount of task still awaits us. Caste-system based on birth has played havoc on the advancement and solidarity of the Hindu nation. It is due to the continuance of this pernicious practice that unequal marriages are performed and the lives of countless of couples are ruined for no fault of theirs. In this colony, we are starting afresh. People have been compelled to marry their children here but still they have not been strong enough to break through the "caste-fold." To our great shock our talks centre round Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya. It will, really, be an epoch-making event in the history of this young colony if a so-called Brahmin father ventures to give away the hand of his daughter to a deserving non-Brahmin youngman or *vice-versa*. An example in this direction will go a long way to drive deep the message of Arya Samaj into the hearts of Colonial Indians.



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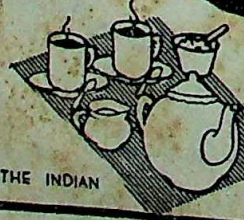

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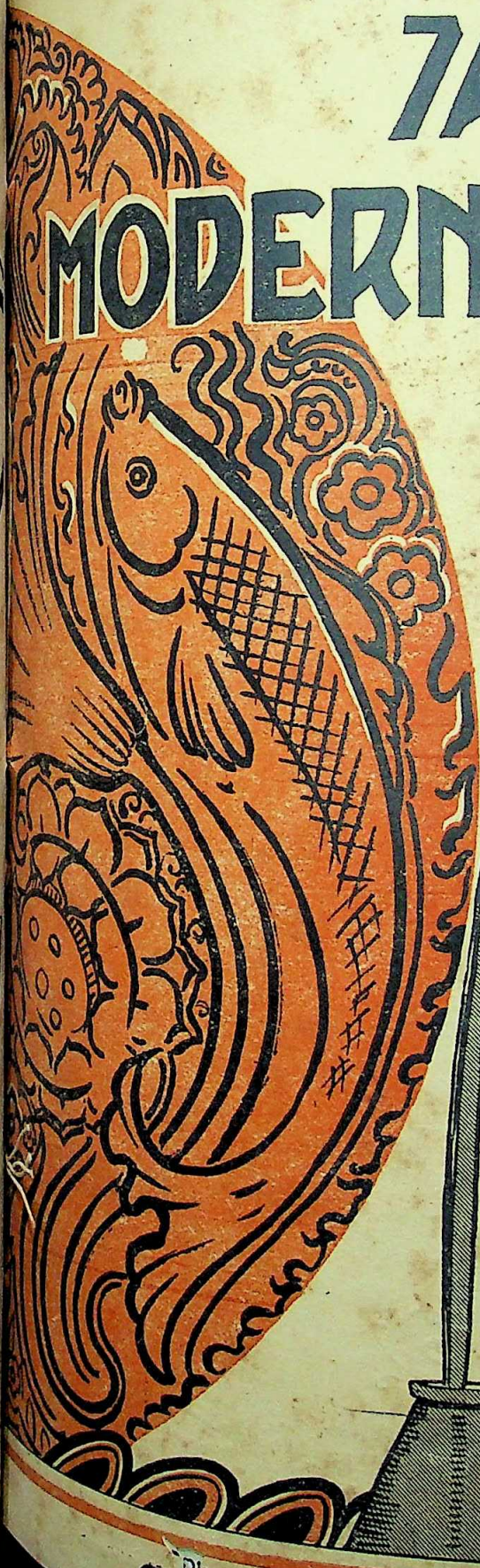

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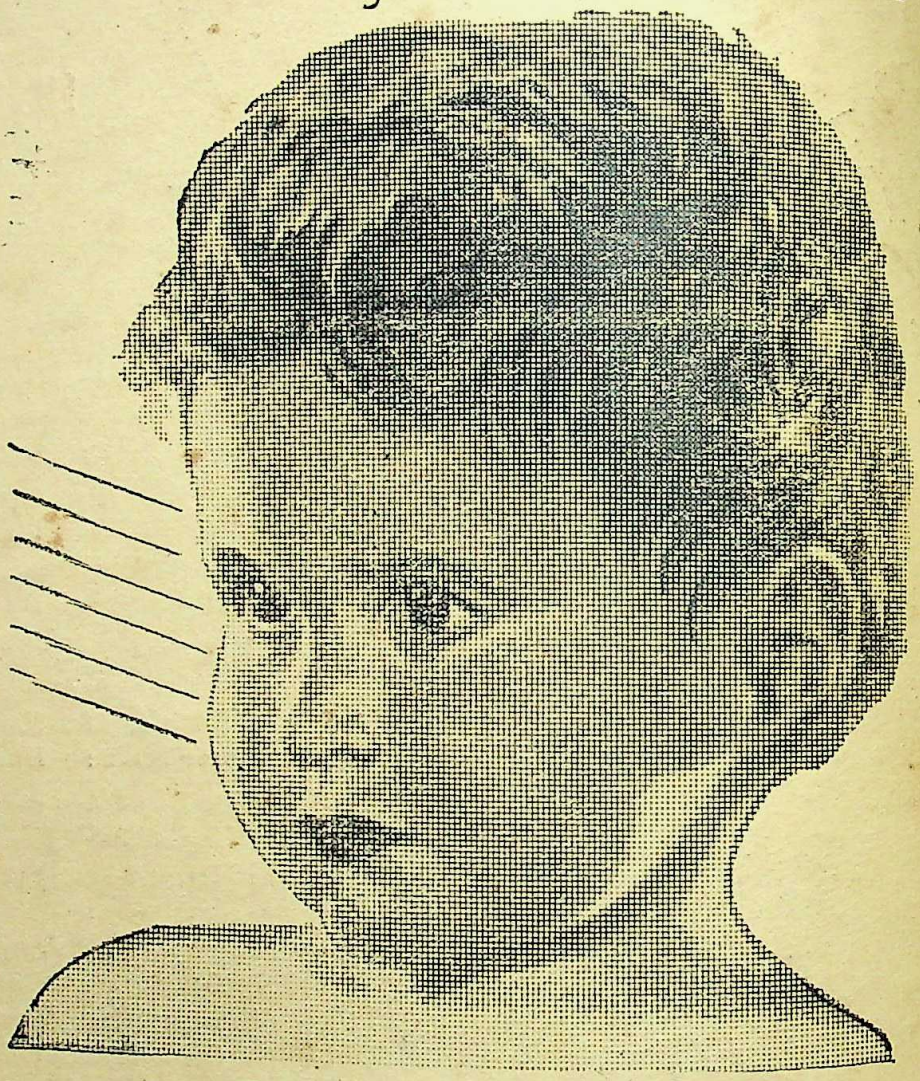

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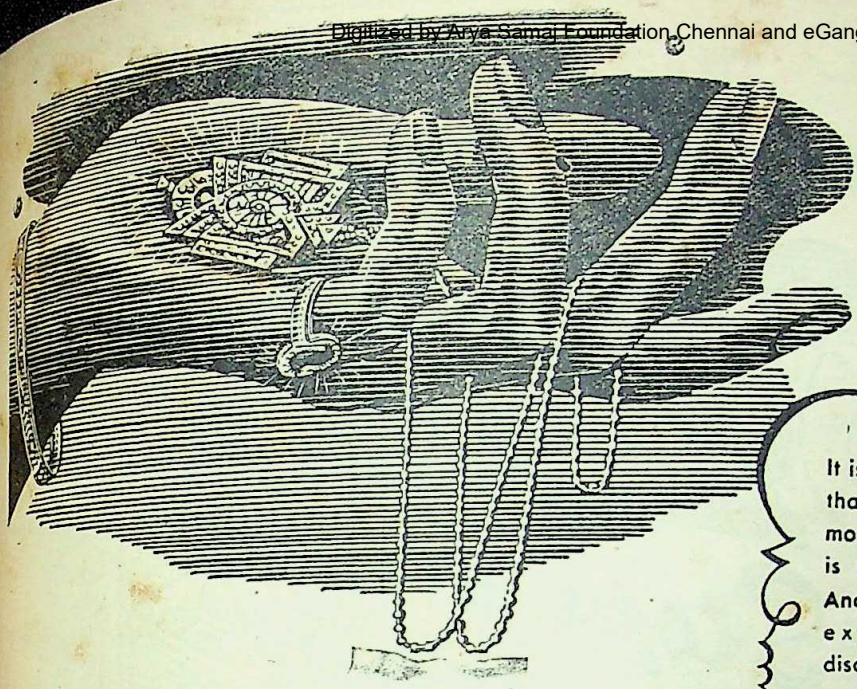

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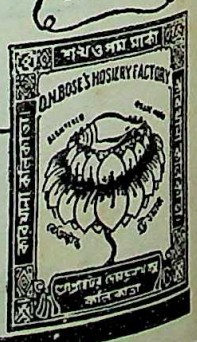

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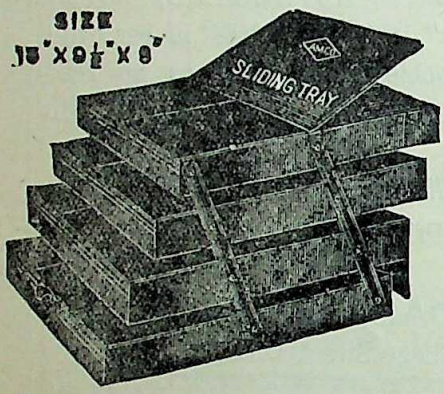

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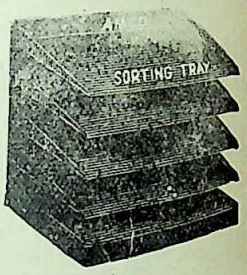

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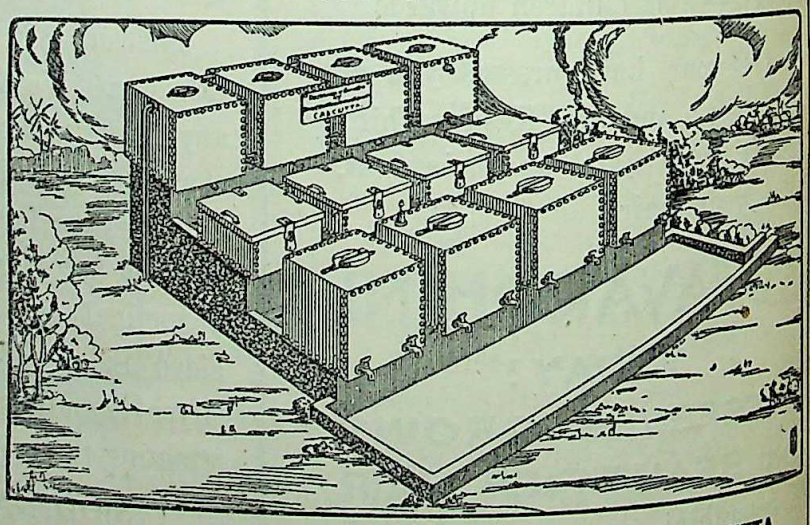

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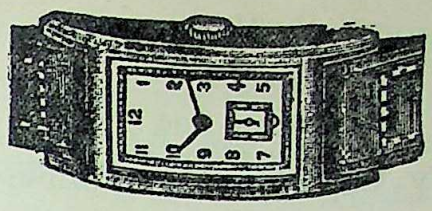

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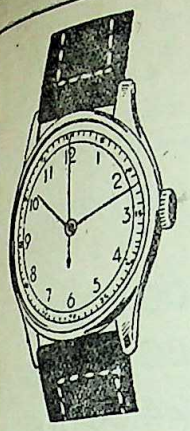

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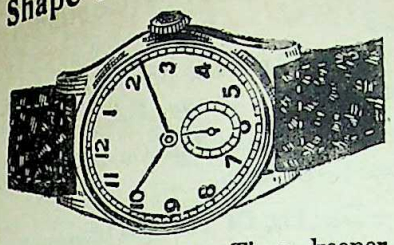

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Loyalty to the State

The Constitution of the Indian Union is fast taking shape and it will not be long now before it is placed before the world. But in all such matters, vital to the life of a nation, the most essential ingredient is loyalty to the State. We may have the highest ideals of democracy incorporated in the Constitution, but if the executive is disloyal and self-seeking, then of what avail is it all?. Today the enthusiasm of the masses is slowly dying out, and a sense of futility is gradually gaining ground, which if not checked in time, will end in chaos.

The most essential duty of the Central executive, starting from the very top, is to exhibit to the Nation an example of staunch loyalty to the State. If they fail, then despite all high-sounding phrases and all wonderful "Planning for the Future," the results would be fatal and catastrophic. Do our leaders realize that the Man in the Street is becoming a cynical pessimist, brooding over the nepotism and jobbery in the appointments to the higher services at the Centre, the total laxness of the heads of departments and the consequent failure to combat the bribery, corruption and inefficiency that permeates the entire administration.

What is the use of planning for industry when all industry and commerce could be held up today by corrupt officials, who utilize the control machinery for the sole purpose of extortion of bribes? What is the use of export control when the black-marketeer can facilitate his way past all barriers in broad daylight for the passage of millions of rupees worth of essential goods? There is an acute shortage of railway transport, we are told, but wagons and priorities seem to get wings when judicious sums—ranging from fifty to five hundred rupees—are handed over at the right place. Textile goods cannot be got for love or money in the "open" market, but go to any bazar in any city, town or village, you can get whatever you want from the black-marketeer at double the marked price. There is a control system for the export of essential commodities to Pakistan, but go to any frontier station, you will see open markets for so-called smuggled goods, goods smuggled, that is, with the open connivance of those whose duty it is to check the transit. As a result there is a vast flow of "controlled" goods across the border, *in one direction only, so far as the Eastern frontier is concerned*. For strange though it may seem, it must be admitted that the masses of Eastern Pakistan, lacking though they might be in education, culture and the higher human traits, do possess a far stronger sense of loyalty to the State in this respect at least. Possibly that is because of the absence on the other side of the counterparts of our mercantile bag-barons, bloated with ill-gotten gains, and totally devoid of any scruples, principles or higher ideals.

Bribery, corruption, nepotism and patronage of unworthy and unscrupulous job-hunters, are still as rife in the State as ever before. There have been many instances in the High Command when loyalty to undeserving associates has taken precedence of loyalty to the State. The Cabinet cannot deny that on many a crucial juncture the interests of the particular set have overridden the interests of the Nation. If this continues then how can they expect the mass to remain staunch in the face of privations and loyal in the midst of disruptive influence? As for the provinces, in some the people have already begun to curse the name of the Congress and others will follow suit if things do not mend.

Let us face realities. The first year of our freedom is already two-thirds gone, and the day of stock-taking is coming near. Has the weight of popular sanction behind our Ministries grown or diminished, is the morale of the masses higher than what it was in August, 1947?

Plans and schemes there are galore, in the Centre and in the Provinces, for the present and the future. But the only plan that seems to be working smoothly today is that of looting and fleecing the sorely tried, and badly mal-administered masses. And unless our Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister can evolve and put into active operation a master-plan to rectify these evils, all the other plans would be as nought.

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India's Draft Constitution

The Draft Constitution of India, as settled by the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly marks an important stage in the progress of framing the new Constitution for India. The Draft is divided into 18 Parts, consists of 315 Articles and 8 Schedules and runs into 214 printed pages. The preamble of the Draft Constitution as drawn up by the Drafting Committee runs as follows :

> We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens :
>
> *Justice*, social, economic and political ;
>
> *Liberty* of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ;
>
> *Equality* of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all ;
>
> *Fraternity*, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation ;
>
> In our Constituent Assembly this . . . of . . . (day 15 of May 1948 A.D.) do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.

The preamble closely follows the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly in January, 1947. The resolution declares that India is to be a Sovereign Independent Republic. The Drafting Committee has adopted in its place, the phrase Sovereign Democratic Republic. The question of the relationship between the Indian Republic and the British Commonwealth of Nations remains to be decided subsequently. The Committee has added a clause about fraternity in the Preamble, although it does not occur in the Objectives Resolution. The Committee felt that the need for fraternal concord and goodwill in India was never greater than now and that this particular aim of the new Constitution should be emphasised by special mention in the Preamble.

The different parts of the Draft Constitution deals with (1) the Union and its territory and jurisdiction, (2) Citizenship, (3) Fundamental Rights, (4) Directive Principles of State Policy, (5) the Union—the Union Executive, Parliament, Legislative Powers of the President, the Federal Judicature and Auditor-General of India, (6) the States of the Union (Governors' Provinces)—their Executive, Legislatures, Legislative power of the Governor, Provisions in case of Grave Emergency, Scheduled and Tribal Areas, High Courts, Auditors-in-Chief, (7) the States of the Union (Chief Commissioners' Provinces)—their Administration, Creation of Local Legislature or Council of Advisers, (8) other territories of the Union—Indian States, etc., (9) Relations between the Union and component States—distribution of Legislative Powers, Restriction on Legislative Powers, Inter-State Trade and Commerce, Co-ordination between States, (10) Finance, Property, Contracts and Suits, (11) Emergency Provisions, (12) Services, (13) Elections, (14) Special Provisions Relating to Minorities, (15) Miscellaneous—Protection of President and Governors, Interpretations, etc., (16) Amendment of the Constitution, (17) Temporary and Transitional Provisions, and (18) Commencement and Repeals.

The Report of the Committee is unanimous except that Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyer has submitted a separate note for the consideration of the Constituent Assembly in regard to certain Articles bearing on distribution of legislative powers between the Parliament and the Units and the Union Parliament assuming power over a subject in the Provincial list when it assumes national importance.

Citizenship

Article 5 of the Draft lays down who shall be a citizen of India at the date of the commencement of the new Constitution. Every person who or either of whose parents or any of whose grand-parents was born in the territory of India as defined in the Constitution and who has not made his permanent abode in any foreign State after the first day of April, 1947 ; and every person who or either of whose parents or any of whose grand-parents was born in India as defined in the Government of India Act, 1935 (as originally enacted), or in Burma, Ceylon or Malaya, and who has his domicile in the territory of India as defined in the Constitution, shall be a citizen of India, provided that he has not acquired the citizenship of any foreign State before the date of commencement of the Constitution.

The main principle embodied in this Article is that in order to be a citizen of the Union at its inception a person must have some kind of territorial connection with the Union, whether by birth or descent or domicile.

The Article also keeps in view the requirements of the large number of displaced persons who have had to migrate to India within recent months and provides for them a specially easy mode of acquiring domicile and, thereby, citizenship ; for, under the explanation to the Article, a person shall be deemed to have his domicile in the territory of India if he would have had his domicile in such territory under Part II of the Indian Succession Act, 1925, had the provisions of that Part been applicable to him, or if he has, before the date of commencement of the Constitution, deposited in the office of the District Magistrate a declaration in writing that he desires to acquire such domicile and has resided in the territory of India for at least six month before the date of declaration.

The acquisition of citizenship after the date of commencement of the Constitution has been left to be regulated by law by the Parliament of the Union.

Fundamental Rights and States Policy

The Fundamental Rights are based on the decisions of the Constituent Assembly. Part III deals with them.

These rights have been grouped as follows : right of equality, rights relating to religion, cultural and educational rights, right to property and right

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constitutional remedies. There is an express prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex. All citizens are assured of equal opportunity in matters of public employment.

'Untouchability' is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The State is prohibited from conferring any title and no citizen is to accept any title from any foreign State. Certain rights regarding freedom of speech, freedom to assemble peaceably and without arms, to form associations or unions, to move freely throughout the territory or to reside or settle in the territory of India or to acquire, hold and dispose of property or to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business are protected.

It is declared that all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to profess, practise and propagate religion. Traffic in human beings and "begar" and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited. The cultural and educational interests of minorities are also protected. The right to move the Supreme Court for the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights is guaranteed.

Part IV deals with the Directive Principles of State Policy and contains provisions which though not enforceable by any Court are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it is specifically provided that it shall be the duty of the State to follow these principles in making laws.

The new State is to promote the welfare of the people by establishing and maintaining a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life. This Part also contains various injunctions regarding the right to education, to just and humane conditions of work, to a living wage for workers, and so forth.

In a broadcast speech from the Calcutta Station of the A.I.R., Sir B. L. Mitter said that the Draft Constitution of India has made generous provisions for the protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities. The provisions are in two categories—first, general fundamental rights which are common to all including minorities and secondly, special rights for Muslims, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Scheduled Classes. Explaining the provisions of the Articles, Sir B. L. Mitter said:

Part III of the Draft Constitution deals with Fundamental Rights. Art. 9 enacts that the State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste or sex—Art. 10 directs that there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters of employment under the State—Art. 11 abolishes Untouchability. Art. 13 secures to all citizens freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom to form Unions, freedom to move freely and to reside and settle in any part of India, freedom to acquire property and freedom to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business. Protection of life and liberty and equal protection of the law are provided in Art. 15. Art. 16 gives freedom of trade, commerce and intercourse. Art. 17 prohibits traffic in human beings and enforced labour. Art. 18 prohibits the employment of child labour in factories, mines and other hazardous undertakings. These rights are secured to all, including minorities.

With regard to Religion, it is provided that all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate any religion. Every religious denomination shall have the right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes and to manage its own affairs in matters of religion and to own and acquire property.

Our leaders have made it clear that India will be a secular State—accordingly, it is provided that no religious instruction shall be given by the State in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds. But any community or denomination may arrange for religious instruction in an institution outside its working hours.

Art. 23 of the Draft Constitution fully safeguards the cultural and linguistic rights of minorities. It is provided that any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India, or any part thereof, having a distinct language, script and culture of its own, shall have the right to conserve the same. No minority, whether based on religion, community or language shall be discriminated against in regard to the admission of any person belonging to such minority into any educational institution maintained by the State. All minorities whether based on religion, community or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. Further, the State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minorirty, whether based on religion, community or language.

Practically all "human rights" that have attracted international interest, are covered by Part III of the Draft Constitution. Apart from these Fundamental rights, the Draft Constitution has made special provisions for the Muslim community, the Scheduled Castes and the Indian Christian Community in Madras and Bombay. Communal electorates have been abolished, but provision has been made for reserving seats for them in the Legislatures. The Anglo-Indian Community will have members nominated by the President and Governors. A special provision has been made for the Anglo-Indian Community for appointments in the Railways, Customs and Posts and Telegraph Services, their privileged position will be maintained for ten years after which this community will be on a par with other minorities and all reservations will cease. Similarly, the special financial concessions which the educational institutions of the Anglo-Indian Community now enjoy will be continued on a diminishing scale for a period of ten years. Muslims and Anglo-Indians, who have fought together aganist Indian Freedom, have thus received much more concessions than any country in the world would have given them under similar circumstances.

To ensure that the concession made to minorities and their rights generally are not whittled down in practice, provision has been made for a Special Officer who will watch over minority

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interests and periodically report to the President and the Governors. Power has also been given to the President to appoint Commissions to report on the administration of the Scheduled areas and the welfare of the Scheduled tribes and also to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes. The action taken by the President on such reports shall be communicated to Parliament.

Every right carries a corresponding duty with it. In India, under the British, it has been seen that minorities enjoyed rights without any corresponding duties. The Geneva Convention of the League of Nations provided that any minority that developed a fissiparous tendency within the body politic forfeits its claim to any special rights and privileges. But in India the Ruling Power encouraged the minorities to develop fissiparous tendencies in the country and strengthened them by granting rights without duties. The inevitable result is Divided India of today. The Muslims have got their own homeland which is declared to be an Islamic State and from where non-Muslims have been driven out. Anglo-Indians worked hand in gloves with them in all their anti-national acts. Now, in addition to their own dreamland, both of them are going to enjoy almost all the same special rights and privileges that they did under the British, this time guaranteed by the Indian Constitution itself. It is a gesture that is seemingly Quixotic, but we hope that the expected results would be forthcoming.

Union Executive and Parliament

Part V deals with the Union.

The Union Executive.—The head of the State is to be the President of India. All executive power of the Union is vested in the President, to be exercised by him on the advice of responsible Ministers. He is to be elected by the members of an Electoral College consisting of the members of both Houses of Parliament, and the elected members of the Legislatures of the States. He is to hold office for a term of five years and is eligible for re-election once, but only once.

The President must be a citizen, not less than thirty-five years of age and qualified for election as a member of the Lower House of Parliament.

The President may be impeached for violation of the Constitution. The Draft makes provision for a Vice-President also. He is to be the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council of States and is to be elected by the members of both Houses of Parliament assembled at a joinit sitting in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. He is to hold office for a term of five years.

Whenever the office of President becomes vacant, the Vice-President discharges its duties until another President is elected.

All doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the election of a President or Vice-President are to be inquired into and decided by the Supreme Court whose decision is to be final. The Draft provides for a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head, to aid and advice the President in the exercise of his functions. The Council is to be collectively responsible to the House of the People.

All executive action of the Government of India is to be expressed to be taken in the name of the President. It is the duty of the Prime Minister to furnish information to the President relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation whenever the President may call for the same. Provision has been made also for the appointment of an Attorney-General corresponding to the Advocate-General for India under the existing Constitution.

The Union Parliament is to consist of a President and two Houses to be known respectively as the Council of States and the House of the People. The Council of States is to consist of 250 members of whom 15 members are to be nominated by the President to represent literature, art, science, etc., and the remainder are to be the representatives of the States. The House of the People is to consist of not more than 500 representatives of the territories of the States elected on the basis of adult suffrage, and there is to be not less than one representative for every 750,000 of the population and not more than one representative for every 500,000 of the population.

The Council of States will not be subject to dissolution, but as nearly as possible one-third of the members will retire on the expiration of every second year.

The House of the People is to continue for a period of five years and the expiration of that period operates as its dissolution, but provision has been made for extension of the duration of the House of the People for a period not exceeding one year during any emergency.

The usual provisions for the summoning, prorogation and dissolution of the Houses of the Union Parliament, the conduct of business therein, the disqualifications of members thereof and the Legislative procedure of the two Houses including procedure in financial matters have been included generally on the lines of similar provisions contained in the Government of India Act, 1935.

It has however been provided, following the practice prevalent in the Parliament of the United Kinigdom, that at the commencement of every session the President shall address both Houses of Parliament assembled together and inform Parliament of the cause of its summons.

A special procedure has been prescribed with regard to Money Bills on the lines of the practice in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

It has been also provided that in the Union Parliament business shall be transcated in Hindi or

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English but that the Presiding Officer of the House may permit any member, who cannot adequately express himself in either of these languages, to address the House in his mother tongue.

Power has been given to the President to promulgate Ordinances at any time except when both the Houses of Parliament are in session. The President will promulgate such ordinances on the advice of his Ministers and such Ordinances will cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the re-assembly of the Union Parliament.

The President has been given power to issue a Proclamation of Emergency when a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India is threatened whether by war or domestic violence. The provisions relating to the Proclamation of Emergency are modelled on the existing provisions in the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Federal Judicature

There will be a Supreme Court of India consisting of a Chief Justice of India and not less than seven Judges. Provision has been made for the appointment by the Chief Justice of India of Judges of High Courts as *ad hoc* Judges at the sittings of the Supreme Court for specified periods following the practice prevalent in the Supreme Court of Canada. Provision has also been made for the attendance of retired Judges at sittings of the Supreme Court as in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America.

Any person who has held office as a Judge of the Supreme Court (or of a High Court) is prohibited from practising in any court in India.

The Supreme Court is to have original, appellate and advisory jurisdiction. Its original jurisdiction extends to disputes between the Union and a State or between two States, if and in so far as the dispute involves any question whether of law or fact on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends.

Disputes arising out of certain agreements have, however, been left out of the purview of the Supreme Court. The appellate jurisdiction of the Court extends to cases involving the interpretation of the Constitution and to all other cases from which an appeal now lies to the Federal Court or to His Majesty-in-Council.

The minimum pecuniary limit of the subject matter of the dispute in the case of civil appeals has been fixed at Rs. 20,000. The Supreme Court has advisory jurisdiction in respect of questions which may be referred to that Court by the President for opinion.

Provision has been also made for special leave to appeal to the Supreme Court from any judgment, decree or final order in any cause or matter passed or made by any court or tribunal in the territory of India.

In a foot-note the Committee has observed that in the Supreme Court of the United States of America all the Judges of the Court are entitled to participate in the hearing of every matter, that the Court never sits in divisions and that the Judges of that Court attach the greatest importance to this practice.

The Committee has expressed the opinion that this practice should be followed in India at least in two classes of cases, namely, those which involve questions of interpretation of the Constitution and those which are referred to the Supreme Court for opinion by the President, and that whether the same practice should not be extended to other classes of cases may be left to be regulated by Parliament by law.

It has been reported that the Supreme Court will come into being in October next.

The State Executive

India is described as a Union of States and for the sake of uniformity the Units of the Union have been described as 'States' whether they are known at present as Governors' Provinces or Chief Commissioners' Provinces or Indian States. The States have been divided into three classes :

(*a*) States enumerated in Part I of the First Schedule which correspond to the existing Governors' Provinces ;
(*b*) States enumerated in Part II of the First Schedule which correspond to the existing Chief Commissioners' Provinces ; and
(*c*) States enumerated in Part III of the First Schedule which correspond to the Indian States which have acceded to the Dominion.

In addition, the territory of the Union includes the Andaman and Nicobar Islands enumerated in Part IV of the First Schedule and any other territory which may be acquired by the Union.

Provision has been made for the admission, establishment and formation of new States.

Part VI deals with States corresponding to Governor's Provinces.

Each State will have a Governor and the executive power of the State is vested in him.

As to the mode of selection of the Governor, the Draft contains alternative provisions. One alternative, following the decision of the Constituent Assembly, provides that the Governor shall be elected by direct vote of all persons who have the right to vote at a general election for the Legislative Assembly of the State. The other alternative, favoured by some of the members of the Committee who feel strongly that the co-existence of a Governor elected by the people and a Chief Minister responsible to the Legislature might lead to friction and consequent weakness in administration, provides that the Governor shall be appointed by the President from a panel of four persons (who need not be residents of the State concerned) elected by the Legislature of the State.

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The term of office of the Governors is to be five years. Provision has been made for impeachment of a Governor for violation of the Constitution.

The Committee has not thought it necessary to make any provision for Deputy Governors, because a Deputy Governor will have no function to perform so long as the Governor is there.

At the Centre, the position is different, because the Vice-President is also the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council of States; but in most of the States there will be no Upper House and it will not be possible to give the Deputy Governor functions similar to those of the Vice-President. There is a provision in the Draft enabling the Legislature of the State (or the President) to make necessary arrangements for the discharge of the functions of the Governor in any unforeseen contingency.

Provision has been also made for a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions. The Governor is to act on the advice of his Ministers, except in respect of certain matters, such as, the summoning and dissolving of the Legislature, the appointment of the Chairman and members of the State Public Service Commission and the Auditor-in-Chief of the State and the issue of a proclamation suspending the constitution in case of grave emergency threatening the peace and tranquillity of the State. This last-mentioned power can be exercised only for a period not exceeding two weeks and the Governor is required to report the matter to the President.

The boundaries of the existing provinces have been drawn most arbitrarily by the British authorities as dictated by immediate political expediency and in their own administrative interests. It is a pity that the same boundaries have been preserved. Arrangement has been made to create Andhra into a separate province. Some other linguistic areas claiming to alter the existing boundaries are also getting a sympathetic hearing. But Bengal's claim on its own territories unjustly transferred to Bihar have been completely cold-shouldered. It has been proposed to set up a Boundary Commission of the Constituent Assembly and so far we have been able to gather, Bengal's claim will be excluded from the terms of reference of the proposed Commission. Provisions of Section 3 of the Draft Constitution will deprive Bengal for ever of all constitutional means of redress of her long-standing grievance against Assam and Bihar.

The State Legislature

The State Legislature is to consist of the Governor and two Houses (Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council) in a few States and one House (Legislative Assembly) in all other States. The names of the States which will have two Houses have been left blank for the present.

The Legislative Assembly is to consist of members (not being in any case more than 300 or less than 60) who are to be chosen by direct election on the basis of adult suffrage in territorial constituencies. There is to be not more than one member for every lakh of the population, except in the case of certain areas known as the "Autonomous districts" of Assam.

The total number of members of the Legislative Council of a State having such a Council is not to exceed 25 per cent of the total number of members in the Legislative Assembly of the State. One-half of the members of the Council are to be chosen from panels on a functional basis and one-third of the members to be elected by the members of the Legislative Assembly in accordance with the system of proportional representatoin by means of the single transferable vote and the remainder are to be nominated by the Governor.

The Legislative Assembly is to continue for five years and the expiration of that period operates as its dissolution. The Legislative Council will not be subject to dissolution but as nearly as may be one-third of the members will retire on the expiration of every third year.

The usual provisions for summoning, proroguing and dissolving the House or Houses of the Legislature of the State, the conduct of business therein, the disqualifications of members thereof and the legislative procedure, including procedure in financial matters, have been included.

It has been provided that in the Legislature of a State business shall be transacted in the language or languages generally used in that State or in Hindi or English but that the Presiding Officer of the Legislature may permit any member, who cannot adequately express himself in either of these languages, to address the Legislature in his mother tongue.

Emergency Powers of the Governor

Powers has been provided for the promulgation of Ordinances by the Governor of a State at any time except when the Legislature of the State is in session. The Governor will promulgate such Ordinances on the advice of his Ministers and they cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the re-assembly of the Legislature of the State.

Provision has been made empowering the Governor in cases of grave emergency threatening the peace and tranquillity of the State to issue a proclamation suspending certain provisions of the Constitution for a period of two weeks only, and the Governor is required to report the matter to the President. Upon receipt of the report the President may either revoke the proclamation or issue a fresh proclamation of his own, the effect of which will be to put the Central Executive in place of the State Executive and the Central Legislature in place of the State Legislature or, in other words, the State concerned will become a centrally administered area for

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the duration of the proclamation. This replaces the "Section 93 regime" under the Act of 1935.

State Judiciary

Provisions with regard to High Courts in States corresponding to the Governors' Provinces and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces are mostly the same as in the Government of India Act, 1935. It has, however, been provided that a Judge of a High Court may hold office until he attains the age of 60 years to such higher age not exceeding 65 years as may be fixed in this behalf by the Legislature of the State. It has also been provided that a person who has held office as a Judge of a High Court shall be prohibited from practising in any court or before any authority within the territory of India.

Provision has also been made for the employment of retired Judges at sittings of the High Court following the practice in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America.

It has also been provided that the Union Parliament may by law extend the jurisdiction of a High Court to or exclude the jurisdiction of a High Court from any State other than the State in which the Court has its principal seat.

The Union and the State

Part IX deals with the legislative and administrative relations between the Union and the States. For the most part, the Drafting Committee has made no change in the Legislative Lists as recommended by the Union Powers Committee and adopted by the Constituent Assembly.

The Committee has, however, provided that when a subject which is normally in the State List assumes national importance, then the Union Parliament may legislate upon it. To prevent any unwarranted encroachment upon State powers it has been provided that this can be done only if the Council of States, which may be said to represent the States as Units, passes a resolution to that effect by a two-thirds majority.

The Committee has also considered it desirable to put into the Concurrent List the whole subject of "succession" instead of only "succession to property other than agricultural land."

The Committee has also included in the Concurrent List all matters in respect of which parties are now governed by their personal law, so that the enactment of a uniform law in India in these matters may be facilitated. While putting land acquisition for the purposes of the Union into the Union List and land acquisition for the purpose of a State in the State List, the Committee has provided that the principles on which compensation for acquisition has to be determined shall in all cases be in the Concurrent List in order that there may be some uniformity in this matter.

In addition, in view of the present abnormal circumstances which require Central control over essential supplies, it has been provided, on the lines of the India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946, that, for a term of five years from the commencement of the Constitution, trade and commerce in and the production, supply and distribution of, certain essential commodities, such as, cotton textiles, food-stuffs, and petroleum, as also the relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons, shall be on the same footing as Concurrent List subjects.

As regards the administrative relations between the Union and the States provision has been made for enabling a State which corresponds to an Indian State to enter into agreement with the Union or with any State which corresponds to a Governor's Province for the undertaking of executive, legislative and judicial powers in the former State by the Union or the latter State. Provision for settlement of the disputes regarding inter-States' water-supplies on the lines of the existing provision in the Government of India Act, 1935, has also been included.

As respects inter-State trade and commerce, all preferences or discrimination to one State over another have been prohibited. Provision has, however, been made to enable any State to impose reasonable restrictions in the public interest.

Provision has also been made for the appointment by the President of an inter-State Council for the settlement of disputes between the States and for the better co-ordination of policy.

End of Communal Politics in India

The Indian Parliament has adopted a resolution declaring that no communal organisation should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the *bona fide* religious. cultural, social and educational needs of the community. It recommends legislative and administrative steps to prevent such activities. The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, accepted the resolution and in doing so made it clear that so far as the implementation of it was concerned, more especially in regard to the legislative aspect of it, it would have to be very carefully considered and it would ultimately have to come up before the House.

The resolution, which was moved by Shri Anantasayanam Ayyangar, reads:

> Whereas it is essential for the proper functioning of democracy and the growth of national unity and solidarity that communalism should be eliminated from Indian life, the Assembly is of opinion that no communal organisation which by its constitution or by the exercise of discretionary power vested in any of its officers or organs, admits to or excludes from its membership persons on grounds of religion, race and caste, or any of them, should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the *bona fide* religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community, and that all steps, legislative and administrative, necessary to prevent such activities should be taken.

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The resolution will have far-reaching effects. It marks the end of the most pernicious communal politics introduced into this country by Britain which has spelled disaster on millions of innocent Indian families. The communal politics of the last ten years have taught us that separate electorates and reservation of seats in the legislatures and reservation of posts in the services on communal grounds have not improved the lot of those whose interests were purported to have been safeguarded but have killed the usefulness and efficiency of both the legislature and the administration. Corruption and nepotism are only the handmaids of this policy of communal reservations. Allocation of seats and posts on grounds of backwardness and inefficiency never improves the bodies into which they are placed, on the contrary, they pull down the general standard of efficiency because they act as clogs on the wheels of the legislative, executive and judicial machineries of the society.

After the passing of the resolution, the Constitution Act of Free India should drop the principle of communal reservations conceded in the Draft. It is understood that the view that there should be no more reservations on communal basis is gaining ground among the members of the Constituent Assembly. It is reported that the committee, which is finalising the minorities rights, is likely to give a go-by to the principle of reservation excepting the backward classes. We think that reservations should not be made even for them. Instead, let them have their fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution making them enforceable at law so that they may not be encroached upon in any way. It is much better both for them and also for the Nation that they should have full facilities for education so that they may qualify themselves for open competition with the other members of the society. In the matter of coming to the Legislature and entering the services they must be treated on an absolutely equal footing with all citizens irrespective of religion, caste or creed. Substantial allocations out of the general education funds may be reserved for granting extra educational facilities for the minority communities and backward classes but it must be made clear to them that entry into the brain-system of the society represented by the Legislature and its nervous system, the administrative machinery must be strictly regulated on grounds of merit and quality alone. The presence of even one single diseased tissue in any one of them may kill the entire body corporate. Ten years of communal politics and communal administration is a sufficient pointer in this direction.

The Government and Universities

The Central Government of the Indian Union have constituted the University Grants Committee of 9 members with the Rt. Hon'ble M. R. Jayakar as Chairman. The other members are Srimati Hansa Mehta (Bombay), Dr. Swanti Swarup Bhatnagar (Delhi and E. Punjab), Dr. Meghnad Saha (Calcutta), Sir Homi Mody (Bombay), Dr. Subbarayan (Madras), Dr. Zakir Husain (Delhi), Mr. K. Zacharia (Travancore) and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. The Committee will have a life of 5 years, and its duty is to make enquiries and make recommendations, regarding:

(*i*) the lines on which the Universities and other institutions of higher learning should develop,

(*ii*) the additional amounts in the form of grants-in-aid from public funds required for them, and

(*iii*) the co-ordination of their activities with a view to avoiding unnecessary overlapping.

When the talk of educational reconstruction is so much in the air, and a general drive to expedite it is in the offing, it is hoped that the Central Government will make a positive contribution to clarifying the ideas and laying down the lines of future development. We have heard the former Premier of West Bengal, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, holding forth that higher education should depend on private help for functioning, and that the State should concentrate on what is known as "mass education", the field which has been neglected for the whole period of British regime. We have no desire to enter into an argument on this subject, because we refuse to accept this compartmentalism in education that Dr. Ghosh favoured. What we find in other countries differs wholly from his ideas. The *Worldover Press* reported some time ago that the State in Britain has increased its grants to Universities to well over Rs. 10 crores, that "State scholarships have been doubled, and by far the greater number of undergraduates now in residence receive grants from Rs. 2,600 to Rs. 4,200 from Government sources. No one has to work through college." It is not possible in this country to fully realize the significance of this State help to equalize conditions for all the rich and the poor in the field of education. That is Socialism "in action" in one department of the people's life. The ideas represented by Dr. Ghosh were based on the conception that there was a conflict between higher and lower education inherent in the scheme of things. If we are to build up a better India, this old conception has to be thrown overboard, and an integrated education brought into use. The neglect of centuries has to be made up in as many yeears. The Sargent Scheme had spoken of a 40-years programme for the literacy and education of the whole people. Very few have accepted this long trial. The alien State in India had been afraid to hustle India. Our National State has no reason to fear its own people. And we have no doubt that our people will respond as eagerly to the call for national reconstruction as British University students have done to the call for "effort" for their "national" recovery. The following from the "British Information Services" Bulletin is worth knowing :

Thousands of university students in Britain today are responding to their country's call for service by devoting their week-ends to the national recovery effort, doing all sorts of manual tasks such as the unloading of wagons and helping with excavation work.

Now, with hospitals desperately short of staff, a

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advance party of 23 girls and seven young men from London University has volunteered to work full-time in hospitals, instead of going on holiday.

Forty others have volunteered to work at week-ends starting on January 24.

The student volunteers will do the work of ward orderlies including gegneral cleaning tasks, polishing and dusting. They will also help in the preparation and serving of meals for the patients.

An official of the National Union of Students remarked the other day: "We are drawing volunteers from 25 colleges, schools of medicine and polytechnics. We want to get everyone to play his part."

Industrial Policy of the India Government

The long-awaited industrial policy of the Government of India has been announced. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Minister for Industries and Supplies, presented on April 7 to the Indian Parliament a resolution on the Government of India's individual policy. The resolution was debated upon and accepted. The following is the text of the resolution :

"The Government of India have given careful thought to the economic problems facing the country. The Nation has now set itself to establish a social order where justice and equality of opportunity shall be secured to all the people. The immediate objective is to provide educational facilities and health services on a much wider scale, and to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by exploiting the latent resources of the country, increasing production and offering opportunities to all for employment in the services of the community. For this purpose, careful planning and integrated effort over the whole field of national activity are necessary and the Government of India propose to establish a National Planning Commission to formulate programmes of development and to secure their execution. The present statement, however, confines itself to Government's policy in the industrial field.

"Any improvement in the economic conditions of the country postulates an increase in national wealth. A mere redistribution of existing wealth would make no essential difference to the people and would merely distribute the distribution of poverty. A dynamic national policy must, therefore, be directed to a continuous increase in production by all possible means, side by side with measures to secure its equitable distribution. In the present state of the Nation's economy, when the standards of the people are below the subsistence level, the efforts should be on the expansion of production, both agricultural and industrial, and in particular on the production of capital equipment of goods satisfying the basic needs of the people, and of commodities the export of which will increase earnings of foreign exchange.

"The problem of State participation in industry and the conditions in which private enterprise should be allowed to operate must be judged in this context. There can be no doubt that the State must play a progressively active role in the development of industries, but ability to achieve the main objectives should determine the immediate extent of State responsibility and the limits to private enterprise. Under present conditions, the mechanism and the resources of the State may not permit it to function forthwith in industry as widely as may be desirable. The Government of India are taking steps to remedy the situation. In particular, they are considering steps to create a body of men trained in business methods and management. They feel, however, that for some time to come, the State could contribute more quickly to the increase of national wealth by expanding its present activities wherever it is already operating and by concentrating on new units of production in other fields, rather than on acquiring and running existing units. Meanwhile, private enterprise, properly directed and regulated, has a valuable role to play.

"On these considerations the Government have decided that the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the production and control of atomic energy, and the ownership and management of railway transport should be the exclusive monopoly of the Central Government. Further, in any emergency, the Government would always have the power to take over any industry vital for national defence. In the case of the following industries, the State—which, in this context, includes Central, Provincial and State Governments and other public authorities like municipal corporations—will be exclusively responsible for the establishment of new undertakings, except where, in the national interest, the State itself finds it necessary to secure the co-operation of private enterprise subjected to such control and regulation as the Central Government may prescribe.

"1. Coal (the Indian Coal Fields Committee's proposals will be generally followed). 2. Iron and steel. 3. Aircraft manfacture. 4. Shipbuilding. 5. Manufacture of telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus, excluding radio receiving sets. 6. Mineral oils.

"While the inherent right of the State to acquire any existing industrial undertaking will always remain, and will be exercised whenever the public interest requires it, Government have decided to let existing undertakings in these fields develop for a period of ten years, during which they will be allowed all facilities for efficient working and reasonable expansion.

"At the end of this period, the whole matter will be reviewed and a decision taken in the light of circumstances obtaining at the time. If it is decided that the State should acquire any unit, the fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution will be observed and compensation will be awarded on a fair and equitable basis.

"Management of State enterprise will, as a rule, be through the medium of public corporations under the statutory control of the Central Government, who will

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assume such powers as may be necessary to ensure this.

"The Government of India have recently promulgated a measure for the control by the State of the generation and distribution of electric power. This industry will continue to be regulated in terms of this measure.

"The rest of the industrial field will normally be open to private enterprise, individual as well as co-operative. The State will also progressively participate in this field ; nor will it hesitate to intervene whenever the progress of an industry under private enterprise is unsatisfactory. The Central Government have already embarked on enterprises like large river-valley developments, which are multi-purpose projects of great magnitude, involving extensive generation of hydro-electric power and irrigation on a vast scale, and are calculated in a comparatively short time to change the entire face of large areas in this country.

"Projects like the Damodar Valley Scheme, the Kosi Reservoir, the Hirakund Dam, etc., are in a class by themselves and can stand in comparison with any of the major schemes in America or elsewhere. The Central Government have also undertaken the production of fertilizer on a very large scale, and have in view other enterprises like the manufacture of essential drugs, and of synthetic oil from coal ; many Provincial and State Governments are also proceeding on similar lines.

"There are certain basic industries of importance, apart from those mentioned in paragraph 4, the planning and regulation of which by the Central Government is necessary in the national interest. The following industries whose location must be governed by economic factors of All-India import, or which require considerable investment or a high degree of technical skill, will be subject to Central regulation and control : 1. Salt ; 2 Automobiles and Tractors ; 3. Prime Movers ; 4. Electric Engineering ; 5. Other Heavy Machinery ; 6. Machine Tools ; 7. Heavy Chemicals, Fertilizers and Pharmaceuticals and Drugs ; 8. Electro-Chemicals Industries ; 9. Non-Ferrous Metals ; 10. Rubber Manufactures ; 11. Power and Industrial Alcohol ; 12. Cotton and Woollen Textiles ; 13. Cement ; 14. Sugar ; 15. Paper and Newsprint ; 16. Air and Sea Transport ; 17. Minerals and 18. Industries related to Defence.

"The above list cannot obviously be of an exhaustive nature. The Government of India, while retaining the ultimate direction over this field of industry, will consult the Governments of the Provinces and States at stages and fully associate them in the formulation and execution of plans. Besides these Governments, representatives of industry and labour will also be associated with the Central Government in the Industrial Advisory Council and other bodies which they proposed to establish, as recommended by the Industries Conference.

"The resolution of the industries conference has recommended that Government should establish a Cottage Industries Board for the fostering of small-scale industries. The Government of India accept the recommendation and propose to create such a machinery to implement it. A cottage- and small-scale industries directorate will also be set up within the Directorate General of Industries and Supplies.

"One of the main objectives will be to give a distinctly co-operative bias to this field of industry.

"During and before the last war, even a predominantly agricultural country like China showed what could be done in this respect, and her small industrial co-operative units were of outstanding importance in her struggle against Japan.

"The present international situation is likely to lessen to a marked degree our chances of getting capital goods for large-scale industry, and the lee-way must be made up by having recourse to small-scale industrial co-operatives throughout the country.

"(9) The Government, however, recognise that their objective, *viz.*, securing the maximum increase in production, will not be realised merely by prescribing the respective spheres of State and private enterprise in industry. It is equally essential to ensure the full co-operation between labour and management and the maintenance of stable and friendly relations between them.

"A resolution on this subject was unanimously passed by the industries conference which was held in December last. Amongst other things, the resolution states :

" . . . The system of remuneration to capital as well as labour must be so devised that while in the interests of the consumers and the primary producers excessive profits should be prevented by suitable methods of taxation and otherwise, both will share in the product of their industry and reasonable reserves should be allowed for the maintenance and expansion of the undertaking."

Pandit Nehru, speaking on the resolution, said that one had to be very careful that in taking any step the existing structure was not injured too much. In the state of affairs in the world and in India today, the Prime Minister said, any attempt to have a "clean slate," that is a sweep away of all that they had would certainly not bring progress nearer but would delay it tremendously. He had no doubt in his mind that the existing structure had to be changed as rapidly as possible but priorities had to be laid down in view of the country's limited resources and those priorities must be laid down in terms of new things as far as possible unless the old things came in the way. He emphasised the need for thinking in terms of the changes in production methods that might come about which would render the industrial apparatus completely obsolete. If they spent vast sums of money on acquiring this or that, they would be acquiring things which were 90 per cent obsolete today.

Referring to Sir J. P. Srivastava's remarks

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Nehru said, "The fact of the matter is that his lament is that the burdens that are put on industry, taxation and so on and that is based on a certain view of the world which, I fear, cannot possibly come back. I am not thinking in idealistic or any terms but practical terms when I say that you cannot have it back. There are going to be greater burdens on industry because the State itself is burdened so much with its social problems. It has to solve them or cease to be a social State. If it becomes just a police State, then too, it ceases to be and some other State takes its place. It has to face those problems and if it has to do this it cannot necessarily have the wherewithal to face those problems and the burden on industry and the like becomes greater and greater. In fact, not because you think or I think or anybody thinks, inevitably the trend of events is to make the State more and more the organiser of constructive activity, industry, etc., and not the private capitalist or any other person. I do not rule out entirely the profit motive completely. I do not know how long it will last in a smaller sense, but in a larger sense of the term it will come more and more into conflict with the new sense of the social State. That conflict will go on and one must live, and it is clear that the State will survive and not that group which represents in its pure essence the private sector in industry. So, that is an inevitable development. How are we to face that development? Are we going to try to accelerate it as many of us would like to do? Because, quite apart from the economic aspect or the expert aspect, we have arrived at a stage when a sensitive person cannot put up easily today with the vast gap between human beings, the distance and the difference between them, between the lack of opportunity on one side and the waste on the other."

A good deal of uncertainty and conflicting news and views about an impending nationalisation scheme had a great depressing influence on the Stock Markets in India and caused a fall in investments. The present resolution, coupled with the Prime Minister's bold and emphatic statement, should remove all uncertainties from the minds of our industrialists. The industrial policy has been so framed as to give the greatest possible concession to big business. It has put off nationalisation for ten years to come leaving the field open for them to make more profits. It has not uttered a word about the most detestable aspect of our industrial finance, namely, the Managing Agency system. The abolition of this pernicious system of industrial finance, found nowhere else in the world, and which is the greatest source of exploitation and profiteering, would have been a boon to the country and specially to honest small business. The omission of this vital point from the resolution is a very bad lapse indeed. Decentralisation of industry, its planned dispersal all over the country and freeing it from the clutches of a handful of men at New Delhi lacking in knowledge of local conditions of trade, commerce and industry, was a desideratum. This has not been proposed clearly in the resolution. Pandit Nehru himself said, "We would have liked the Minister for Industries to indicate what were the industries which he expected the Provincial Governments to take up." There was a strong suggestion throughout the statement that the State would in practice ultimately mean the Central Government. He protested against the increasing tendency towards concentration of all power in the Centre. We all know what the Central Government means. Even a single decision by the Centre on a minor matter takes months and months. The Central Government means today a group of fifteen or twenty people, some very old and tired, who had got innumerable other activities, and it was wrong that the whole economic activity of the country should be concentrated in their hands. There should be the widest possible distribution of initiative, control and management. The best way to achieve this planned decentralisation is to have a National Planning Commission at the head and dispersal of private and State enterprises all over the country within the framework on a plan set up by the Commission with the greatest measure of liberty of action granted to the units.

Regarding the exclusive monopolies of the State, there should have been some scope for the manufacture of sporting guns and rifles, etc., with the necessary ammunition by private enterprise, as otherwise the State would have to maintain a very large cadre of highly skilled men in peace time. It is also notorious that State-control means total stagnation of research, therefore, private enterprise should be allowed to participate under rigid control of research and production in other industries vital for the defence of the State. As for Cottage industries, there should be an well-knit scheme for standardisation of quality and marketing on a wide scale. Otherwise such minor enterprises cannot stand the shock of industrial upsets, to say nothing of competition from big business.

Nationalisation of Reserve Bank

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has adopted a resolution expressing its opinion that "it is not in the interests of the country to nationalise banking as recommended by the A.-I. C. C. Economic Programme Committee" and that the Reserve Bank of India should not be nationalised. The resolution reads:

"The Federation is definitely of the opinion that it is not in the interest of the country to nationalise banking as recommended by the Economic Programme Committee. Moreover, it is also opposed to bringing all resources available for investment under the control and direction of the State, as it would strike at the very foundation of the working of private enterprise in this country. The Federation, however, welcomes the recent statement of the Prime Minister that the Government have no intention of nationalising commercial banks.

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"As regards the Reserve Bank of India, the Federation is definitely of the opinion that it should not be nationalised. Apart from the present preoccupation of the Government with pressing problems and the dearth of sufficient personnel of requisite qualifications for places of control and management, which would make the nationailsation of that bank extremely unwise, the Federation considers it essential that those who dictate the policy of the Reserve Bank must bring an independent approach and judgment in the management of the affairs of the Bank. Such an independent approach and judgment are specially called for, particularly as the Bank has to deal very largely with the finance of the Government of India.

"The Federation would, therefore, most strongly urge the Government of India to reconsider their decision as regards the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank and not proceed with any scheme that they may have involved in connection therewith."

From the trend of discussions in the meeting of the Federation, it appears that big business is deadly opposed to the scheme for nationalising the Reserve Bank. It transpired that Reserve Bank Board was sharply at variance with the Government over this issue. Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand, moving the resolution, said that it was the duty of the Government to ascertain the views of experienced persons and organisations but it would appear that even the views of the Reserve Bank had not been taken into consideration and declared, "I find that the Board seems to have advised the Government against the proposal." Another gentleman characterised the proposal for nationalisation of banking as "an ideological proposition" which was "nothing short of Communism" and was "a trespass on personal liberty and freedom." Fulminations apart, we are unable to agree with any of the points enumerated in the body of the resolution as arguments against the scheme for the nationalisation of Reserve Bank. We believe that if there ever was any case for nationalisation of any institution in India at the present moment, it is the Reserve Bank. The import and export policy of India need a complete reorientation and the policy of the country should be directed towards conserving India's foreign exchange resources. The present dissipation of our valuable foreign exchange resources should forthwith be stopped but there is little sign that it will be done in the near future. The foreign exchange policy of Reserve Bank controlled by big business in the name of shareholders is open to strong criticism, as it has not played fair with the country. The import policy and foreign exchange policy should both now be fixed and regulated by the State and to facilitate that, the Reserve Bank must be nationalised. Big business must understand that playing King Canute is an extremely dngerous occupation today. It has the choice today of gracefully surrendering to the will of the people. Tomorrow there may have to be abject surrender on harsh terms.

Employees Insurance in India

The Indian Parliament has passed the Employees State Insurance Bill which provides for certain benefits to employees in cases of sickness, maternity and employment injury. This Bill is a long step forward on the way of ensuring social security to the working class. Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister of India, told the Parliament that the Government were actively engaged in working out the details of a programme to provide a million workers' houses of approved design. The Bill is only a beginning of social security measures. Its scope, as now formulated, is limited but the benefits might be expanded and extended to any degree in order to cover the various categories of the working classes in this country.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that the constitutional position was such that they had mostly to depend upon the Provincial Governments for the implementations of the measures passed by the House. He assured that the Central Government would take utmost care to see that there was uniformity in the provinces and that the provincial governments made honest efforts to give effect to the various measures adopted by the House. Uniformity in the social security measures and also in wages, allowances and concessions in all the provinces is absolutely essential for maintaining the stability of the industrial structure. It is good that the Labour Department of the Central Government have kept this vital point in view. It would have been better if, instead of depending on the "honest efforts" of the provincial governments, an element of compulsion had been introduced in order to maintain a uniformity of policy and practice throughout the country in such an important matter.

The provisions of the Bill applies to the organised workers in industries and plantations who will be the beneficiaries. It is high time that the case of the organised agricultural labour had been taken up. The conditions of work and the way in which they are widely scattered all over the country do not permit them to come under organised and closely knit associations and for want of such organisations they have so long suffered. Mr. Jagjivan Ram has assured the Indian Parliament that the needs of the agricultural population were constantly before the Government.

The pressing needs of our industrial, plantation and mining labour in the matters of wages, allowances and extra benefits have during the past few months been largely assured and necessary legislations have been made to secure them ample social justice. It is now time that they had been encouraged to play their part in right spirit and help in increasing production for the benefit of the society. We believe that spread of education among the working class should be the foremost programme now in the hands of our Labour Department. Education alone can infuse a sense of responsibility in their minds and to make them conscious of their duty to the society that has, at the first opportunity removed all their legitimate grievances

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and have cheerfully borne all the extra expenses for doing so. We have an apprehension about the fixation of minimum wages for certain industries. This has been done at a time of inflated prices and high cost of living. The present prices are bound to come down in a couple of years, if there is no war. Foreign competition will have to be faced in every sphere of our industrial activity. The agricultural prices have already registered an indication towards fall. With the purchasing power of our masses reduced due to a fall in agricultural prices together with a continuous import of cheaper foreign industrial goods may create an unenviable condition for our industries. The goose that lays the golden egg ought to be kept alive. Fixation of a minimum wage at a high level may prove greatly embarrassing for the Government itself in foreseeable future and it may prove injurious in the long run to the interest of the workers themselves. It is much better that they begin to think in terms of the whole society instead of considering themselves as a block completely separate and isolated from the other occupation groups as they have so long been taught to do by the misleaders of labour.

The Delhi Secretariat

We have heard how after a short spell of shock, Indian officialdom has got over its fear of the unknown, represented by the Congress and its declared objectives of equity and equality in all relations of life. They have reverted to their habitual life of files, of confusing their superiors—at present Ministers—with the multitude of counsels that these files abound in, is continuously adding to their own on the pretext of taking up some newly advertised campaign for public weal. What they were during the British regime we do not propose to recall today; for, we want to forget that as a bad dream. But, by and large they have been proving to be an "unfortunate legacy" (Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's words). During the last session of the Central Legislature, just prorogued, there was criticism of the way in which the "Imperial" Secretariat have been handling affairs, they do not appear to feel that there has been really any change on and since August 15, 1947. One of the critics, Shri Mohan Lal Saksena, member of the Constituent Assembly from the United Provinces, has returned to the charge in the columns of the *Indian News Chronicle* of Delhi. From this article our readers can have some idea of the vast reproductive capacity of this organ of Indian Administration. We propose to share with our readers this information from this article:

> The Secretariat is as over-crowded as before. Let me cite the number of Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries, to drive home the immediate necessity for reorganising the Secretariat right from the top. In the year 1924-25, we had only nine Secretaries of Departments; in 1938-39, we had ten Secretaries; and in 1948-49 we are to have twenty-two Secretaries. In 1924-25, we had no Additional Secretary; in 1938-39, we had three Additional Secretaries and in 1948-49, we are to have five Additional Secretaries, so that we have in all 27 Secretaries and Additional Secretaries, working in the seventeen Ministries. As for Joint Secretaries there were seven in 1924-25 and ten in 1938-39. In 1948-49 we are to have thirty-seven. Then as regards Deputy Secretaries, in 1924-25 we had fifteen. In 1938-39 we had nineteen and now we have eighty-eight. Again, in regard to Under-Secretaries in 1924-25, there were four. In 1938-39, there were seventeen and now in 1848-49, we have seventy-three. Again, as regards Assistant Secretaries in 1938-39, there were twenty-one and now we have 127.

And this brood costs quite a pretty penny. The Secretaries, the highest in the official rung, draw Rs. 4,000 a month, although the Pay Commission had recommended that none of them should have more than Rs. 3,000 a month. The writer contrasts this with Secretariat salaries in Burma and Pakistan where in response to appeals by Prime Ministers, they have agreed to accept "a reduction in salary." He reports a talk with the Deputy Prime Minister which is revealing. Sardar Patel said that he had been working with "one-third the number of I.C.S. officers." When he was asked: "Why . . . are they everywhere?" Sardarji is reported to have said: "What can I do? Everybody is demanding I.C.S. officers with ten years' experience, and all that." This is a defeatist attitude that does not sit well on the "Iron Man" of the Congress. If August 15 did really make a "new departure" in our life, we should be able to train up men and women to adequately meet the new occasions and discharge the new duties. Why should we be found clinging to the remnants of the old system with its inflated price?

Abuse of Authority

"I hope to demonstrate that real *Swaraj* will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused"—thus wrote the Architect of India's Freedom in 1925. Since then for two and twenty years he gave himself no rest so that his people, the average Indian, can grow this capacity in himself to resist authority when abused. Today, the Indian constitution in action will be tested on the success it attains in calling up out of his being this capacity in the Indian. The Ministers of the Indian Union, the high officers of the Government, the Magistracy and the police are all required to co-operate in this education in citizenship. Have they been doing it? Are they more circumspect in using their authority? In railway stations, and booking offices, in steamer stations, in offices, do we see any sign of improvement, of determination to restrain authority from abuse? Does authority so act that the average Indian can feel that he is the master to whose comfort and convenience

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authority ministers? These questions have to be asked to be replied in the negative. Cases still come to light where there does not appear to be any change from the British regime; there are cases of insult to dignity and extortion of money which people suffer in silence with a rankling sense of wrong embittering their thoughts. The *Jugantar*, the Calcutta Bengalee-language daily, drew attention in a recent issue of instances of a long-standing abuse that in the context of our lately won freedom look as an outrage. The story related the exploitation of the people by the "Chaudhuries" who have established a monopoly in the removal of goods from the steamer stations of Calcutta. Outside carters and porters are not allowed to enter the sheds, and the "Chaudhuries" dictate their terms at the point of their insolent combination. The Port Police wink at this daily abuse of monopoly because they have a share of the "loot." It is curious that these "Chaudhuries" very often demonstrate their nationalism by bringing out their carts and drivers to add to the volume of nationalist processions. But they lack the elementary sense that nationalism and exploitation are incompatible. And there appears to be none to teach them a better practice. The first Indian Chairman of the Port Trust should for once raise his eyes from his files, and take a hand in educating on the better way his police and these "Chaudhuries."

Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen

The name of this organization—Union of Muslims—in the State of Hyderabad has been dramatized in the Press which has a sneaking fondness for Muslim communalism. Lately the editor of the Calcutta *Statesman* visited the State and related his experiences in his own paper. He appeared to have made it a point to meet the leader of the *Ittehad*, Haji Kasim Razvi, the man who has burst over the life of the State as the defender of Islam and its traditions. Mr. Ian Stephens appeared to have been impressed by this wild-eyed visionary who, if he is allowed to go in the way he has been doing all this time, will end in staging a pogrom which Pakistanis made us familiar with in Calcutta, in Noakhali, in West Punjab, and in Sind. The Calcutta editor was concerned with the present, and did not care to trace the migration of Haji Kasim Razvi from Lucknow to Hyderabad, representing a historic continuity of the "Mulk" (Hyderabad) being influenced by persons from outside. The present head of the *Ittehad* carries the tradition that is associated with the Bilgramis, the Moshin-un-Mulks and the Chattaris. He was a lawyer who left the profession and has found in communal politics a better soil for exploitation. And what he has been up to was described by the Prime Minister of India in a speech delivered at Vizagapatam on March 14, last:

> The kind of speech and action that has been going on in Hyderabad—it represents, I take it, the spirit of the Ittehad. Then all I can say is that the state in Hyderabad is pretty parlous indeed! If that be the ideology of the speech and action lying behind the things there, I am afraid Hyderabad is going to suffer greatly. Because out of such speech and evil action, only evil can result.

As we write the news of the volunteers of the *Ittehad* over-flowing into Madras, Bombay and Central Provinces have appeared in the Press, carrying destruction and loot in their wake. Nothing better could be expected of this organization which today is the dictator of the policy in the State, the Nizam being more or less the custodian of the seal. We should remember that the *Ittehad*, starting as an Anjuman in 1927 under the leadership of the late Nawab Sadar Yar Jung, Director of the Ecclesiastical Department, has developed into a political instrument of terrorism. A meeting was held under the presidentship of Moulvi Abdul Qadir Siddiqui, Professor of Islamic Theology and Religion in the Osmania University, and the objects of the organization were thus stated:

> The Ruler and the throne are the symbols of the political and cultural rights of the Muslim community in the State. This status of the Muslims must continue for ever. It is therefore for this that the maintenance of the prestige and the divine rights of the Ruler must attain first importance whenever a change in the Constitution has to be effected.
>
> All laws, privileges and rights derived by the Muslim community traditionally shall remain as such as they are meant for safeguarding the political rights of the Muslims and also for maintaining their economic and cultural status.

The support of the ruling house to this organization enlisted the co-operation of officialdom to it, and we find on the occasion of the death of Nawab Sadar Yar Jung in 1943, the Nizam issuing "firman" after "firman" calling upon his Muslim subjects to maintain the traditions of the late leader who had a new theory of "'Anal Malik"—I am the Owner; the Muslims were made to believe that they were the Ruling Race and the Nizam was but a symbol of their sovereignty. The *Ittehad* was their instrument of rule over-riding the authority of the Nizam. The latest demonstration of this claim was on the occasion of the agreement signed by the Nizam at the instance of the Nawab of Chhatari advised by Sir Walter Monckton. The *Ittehad* demanded its rejection, and the Nawab of Chhatari had to quit. The Nizam panders to the pretensions of this organization because it upholds his dynastic ambitions and his irresponsible authority. And the policy of the *Ittehad*, deducible from its original objects referred to above, has been stabilized in a political testament breathing the narrowest of ambitions.

> 1. Monarchy must rule over Hyderabad and be sovereign. The Ruler must be a descendant of the Asaf Jahi Dynasty only.
>
> 2. If any change in the constitutional governance of Hyderabad becomes inevitable notwithstanding which will prejudice the traditional political superiority of the Muslims should be done.
>
> 3. Muslims must be in a majority, both in the Local Self-Government bodies and the Legislature.
>
> 4. There should be separate electorate for the Muslims.

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5. Urdu must be the official language of the State.

6. The problem of State services being interlinked both with the political and cultural superiority of the Muslims and their economic interest, division of the same in proportion to the population is out of question.

7. The Ecclesiastical Department should function as before. An organisation of Muslims for the protection of their religion must be recognised.

8. There is a small share for Muslims in Trade, Agriculture and Industries. All facilities must be given to them to increase their shares in these fields.

The narrative given above shows that the last twenty years have brought no change in the spirit of the ruling *junta* of the State of Hyderabad, that in the heart of the Deccan has been planted a social polity that repudiates every principle of modern life. The State has a population of over a crore and sixty lakhs of people of which the *Ittehad's* clientele are hardly more than twenty-five lakhs if we accept the claim that it represents all the Muslims of the State. This movement has refused to align itself with the progressive forces in the country. It has become a foreign element that must be ejected. The States Ministry of the Indian Union has been trying to bring it to reason. But during the negotiations in this behalf, the people, the majority, are being subjected to unspeakable terrorism. And the Nizam has become a prisoner of his own policy of dynastic ambitions and communal mandisement. The gods appear to have made him and his supporters mad—a prelude to their destruction.

Pakistani Officials Returning

On the 18th of February last a news from Dacca appeared in the Press saying that 150 senior officers opting for service in Pakistan have finally decided to return to their services in the Indian Union on which they had a lien under an agreement arrived at in July last. These senior officers elected for service in the Central Government of Pakistan. The option clause enables them to revert to their old posts if they informed authorities by February 15, 1948, that they wished to exercize their option of service in this behalf. This they must have done, and the Government of the Indian Union are in honour bound to make provision for their service. On the 7th of March last a Delhi news informed the world that about 12,000 men, mostly of the Post, Telegraph and Railway Departments, have exercised their option to serve under their old departments in the Indian Union. These two items of news raise a problem that touched on the loyalty and integrity of citizenship. The impulse that had led these men to elect for service in the new State of Pakistan would have been respected by us if they had been able to stick it out and serve their Pakistan, "the land of the Pure" even at a sacrifice. But they are found to be broken reeds, and to the Indian Union they will be a liability, and a danger. Their loyalty will be suspected, and no declaration of theirs can persuade the rulers of the Indian Union to relax their watch on their conduct. We do not know why they have revised their choice. So far as we know there is not a superfluity of experienced officials at the disposal of the Pakistan Government, and it is a wonder that they should have allowed these men to leave when their service could hardly be spared. We have heard that Hindu officials in Sind are not allowed to leave the Province. But in the case of Muslim officials, there is exemption from this rigid practice. Why? The Central Government of Pakistan appear to value more the services of potential enemies amongst Hindu officials than that of their own co-religionists. This strange conduct requires a satisfactory explanation. Till then, we should be watchful of "fifth columnists" amongst the Muslim officials who have been returning. The building up of Pakistan requires life-long devotion. Why should Muslim officials be lacking in it? Their betrayal puts them out of court in Pakistan and in the Indian Union also. They are not a breed of humanity of which we can be proud.

Muslim Polity in Indian Union

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the great organisation of Muslim divines, being opposed to the politics of the Muslim League, has suffered for it at the hands of Muslim League gangsters. Its venerable president, Moulana Hussain Ahmed Madani of Deobund, has been the butt of special persecution. With traditions such as these, the Jamiat has not found it difficult to reorientate its activities after August 15, 1947, when the partition of India has left over four crores of Muslims in the Indian Union, millions of whom had flirted with the "two-nations" theory and brought strength to Muslim League's elbow. Now, these millions are in a fix; they see now that Pakistan has not solved their problem; rather, from certain points of view, it has made it almost insoluable. At this crisis in their life, the Jamiat has given them a lead which may offer a way out of their difficulty. At a meeting of the Council of the Jamiat held at Delhi on the 20th of March last, resolutions were passed putting a stop to its political activities and laying a new platform for it. The resolution on the second point ran as follows:

> This meeting of the Council is of the opinion that the future sphere of the Jamiat should be confined only to the religious, cultural, economic and educational interests of Muslims of the Indian Union and in order to voice their political rights and interests they should be invited to join non-communal organisations.

The success of the resolution depends on the way in which the religious, cultural and educational ideals are interpreted to Muslims. The Muslim League also had spoken of religion and culture creating special needs for the Muslims of India, which required "separate" consideration apart from those of their neighbours of other communities. It is up to the Jamiat, representing the thought-leaders among Indian

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Muslims, to sterilize this spirit of separation. How they will do this, it is for them to find out in response to conditions in India where many races and cultures have sought and found asylum. It was this mingling of races and cultures that enabled Rabindranath Tagore to hail India as "the shore of humanity."

Congress-Akali Dal Merger

There appears to be general satisfaction that in the Legislative Assemblies, Central and East Punjab, the Akali Dal Sikh representatives have agreed to abide by the principles and policies, advocated and followed by the Indian National Congress. But this satisfaction will be diluted when we come to know that the leadership of the Akali Dal, Master Tara Singh, for instance, is sceptical of any good coming out of the present arrangement. He and his group have agreed to it as a trial of what, we do not know! Is it of Congress competence to implement all the terms and conditions of this pact, the details of which we do not know? From the trend of discussion we are led to form the opinion that it will be as successful or unsuccessful as the Lucknow Pact of 1916 which was hailed as the charter of Hindu-Muslim unity. We have since then been witnesses of bitter disappointment with Pacts and such other opportunist patch-works. Sikh feeling, the feeling of a section of it at least, does not appear to be enthusiastic. Perhaps, it expects too much from the Congress, the Sikhs to be always sitting on the fence. This feeling found expression through the Delhi *Liberator*, dated March 31 last. Our readers will easily realize that there is hardly any occasion for the ringing joy-bells:

> Though the Akali legislators have joined the Congress unconditionally, the Sikh problem has not yet been resolved. Rather its magnitude has increased many times. Those who are opposed to this merger will create—and they are many men of great integrity and influence—very difficult situation for us if we fail to satisfy them through the Congress. And the prestige of the Congress will receive a set-back thereby as it has never done before.

Militarization of West Bengal

During the British regime, military spirit had been all but killed amongst the Bengalee people. If the encouragement and support of the State be denied to the people in this respect, frustration and demoralization would ensue as is illustrated in the recent history of India. This total denial has been a sore point with us, thus to be transformed into a "non-martial" race. Today we desire to retrieve this position. And since August 15, 1947, we have been strongly pressing for the imperative need of making a new departure in the thoughts and activities of the Bengalee people. It is, therefore, that we welcome the recent plan of the West Bengal Government intended to train up every year 20 villagers from each of the 330 villages lying on the border of this province and East Bengal. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, elaborated this scheme in course of his weekly Press Conference on March 6 last. He also announced on the occasion their proposal for raising a National Volunteer Corps recruited from schools and colleges; at present 500 boys and young men will be put under training. This corps will be formed on the lines of the National Cadet Corps sponsored by the Central Government.

Since then we have seen an announcement in the Press that the West Bengal Government proposes to start three Naval Schools in the Province. In this regard the authorities will have to start right from scratch. The West Bengal Government is, thus, called upon to revive the traditions of naval life associated with the names "Srimanta Sadagar" and "Chand Sadagar."

The West Bengal Government may find it easy to start naval schools, not three but any number of them. But their real difficulty will come when they will have to hunt for ratings. They must recruit from schools and colleges young men who aspire for officers' grades in the navy. But from where will come the *Lascars*? Bengalee boat-men have almost vanished from the surface of West Bengal rivers, such of them as have not silted up. Only in the Sunderbun area in the metropolitan district of 24 Parganas are to be found men who take to the salt waters as ducks. But, will they be tempted out of their habitual life, to submit themselves to the discipline of naval life? Another likely field of recruitment is to be found in the fishermen class, men who defy storm and rain to eke out a miserable pittance. We do not know whose has been the brain wave about these naval schools. Did the Secretariat, the ears and eyes of the Ministers, go into the difficulties before they put into Ministerial mouth the news about this particular scheme?

The last but not the least in modern warfare is the air force. Have the Brain Trust of the Bengal Government any scheme that will make the people "air-minded"? It may be that at moments of crisis the Indian Air Force will be there to fall back upon. But has West Bengal no contribution to make? Can create the requisite atmosphere where youth can be inspired to accept the challenge of the air? We have known that during World War II of the 20th Century Bengalee youth made good in the Air Force and established a record in India. Their example should be an inspiration to the rising generation in Bengal. The Government of West Bengal should initiate measures that will enable the Bengalee youth to acquire the requisite knowledge and training in body and mind for the use of the new weapon that science has placed in their hands to defend the integrity of the country and attack its enemies. A special responsibility devolves on them; they have to revive the Kshatriya spirit that the British killed in the people; they have to transform quill-drivers into military men, into commanders of army, of navy and air force. There is nothing esoteric in the matter

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Netaji has exploded all hallucination created by enemies of India's freedom about certain characteristics that military life requires, and which Bengalees lacked. The Rani of Jhansi Regiment have demonstrated that even women, daughters of Bengal, can play a significant part in the setting up of a State, in organizing fighting forces under modern conditions of scientific warfare. One of the tests by which we will judge Ministries in West Bengal is the way they go about militarizing the people, in preparing them for the hazards of war, in confirming in their people's character the virtues of do, dare and die, of creating the spirit that would be prepared to sacrifice life and limb for the defence of the temples of their gods, for their honour and dignity.

Since writing the above, we have had a very important announcement made by the Defence Minister on the 8th instant in the Central Legislature intimating the decision of the Ministry to immediately take in hand the formation of Territorial forces, the first contingent to be of the strength of one lakh thirty thousand. These forces will constitute what has come to be known as the "second line of defence" of a country, and in an emergency these will take the place of the regular defence forces. We desire heartily to congratulate the Ministry on this measure. These Territorial Units is to be organized on a regional basis; for the purpose in view the country is proposed to be divided into 8 Regions :

(1) East Punjab, the East Punjab States, Rajputana with Delhi ;
(2) The United Provinces ;
(3) Central Provinces and East India States ;
(4) Bombay Presidency and Kathiawar ;
(5) Madras Presidency, Mysore and Travancore ;
(6) Bihar and Orissa ;
(7) West Bengal and Cooch Bihar ;
(8) Assam, and the States of Tripura and Manipur.

In this new set-up, areas whose people had by British dispensation been reduced to the indignity of 'non-martial' classes, will have an opportunity to retrieve their position and prove their mettle. It is a strange commentary on the situation that in the Kashmir campaign, Bengal is found represented by "officers" only, other ranks being conspicuous by their absence. Members of the Central Legislature visiting Kashmir have marked this incongruity, and urged the immediate formation of a "Bengalee Regiment." Sardar Baldev Singh's announcement should enable the West Bengal Ministry to go ahead with it.

Pandit Nehru's Dictum

We revert to this subject of linguistic provinces and propose doing so month after month till the Central Government of India in its collective wisdom decides to honour the pledge that the Indian National Congress gave to the people on the necessity and justice of this step. By reconstituting the administrative provinces of the country on this principle of linguistic affinity, the Congress could have put its seal of sanction on the solution of a problem that the British Administration had lacked the urge to settle, for as long a time as it is possible for human wisdom to see. It tinkered with the subject. In deciding to take out Oriya-speaking areas from Bihar and Sindhi-speaking areas from the Bombay Presidency, the State responded to popular feeling ; and Orissa and Sind are better places today for the indigenous people, though we do not forget that Muslim League frenzy has created conditions of hell for the autochthonous minority community in Sind. Why it did not do the same thing in the case of the Telugu-speaking areas in the Presidency of Madras, we have not been told. We believe that concern for the susceptibilities and the interests of His Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad, had something to do in the matter. Almost half the people of this State are Telugu-speaking, and it was a natural surmise that if an Andhra State be formed inside the Union of India, it will be difficult for these people to resist its full from across the border. But this is a special case, and we do not think that the Nehru Government has any such softness or weakness in deciding its course of duty in this matter. The case for a Karnataka Province, for the greater Maharashtra, for extending the boundaries of Bengal in the West is irrefutable, and the decision of the Nehru Government to recommend the constitution of the Andhra Province has made it irresistible.

We are, therefore, not satisfied with the reply which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has sent to the Memorandum of the New Bengal Association pressing for the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar and Orissa into the new Province of West Bengal forming a unit of the Indian Union. He is reported to have said that "the present time is quite inopportune for considering the redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa." The reason behind this dictum is unexplained ; we are not told when the time will become opportune. Evidently, the Prime Minister of the Indian Union is not conversant with the history of this claim ; and he appears to have been unable to apply his mind to its implications brought out in the memorandum prepared by the New Bengal Association and submitted to him on its behalf. We do refer to what the Hardinge Government said in its Despatch of August 15, 1915, about "a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all concerned." We will call Panditjee's attention to the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its session of 1911 ; it was moved by Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and seconded by Mr. Parameswarlal, a Bihar leader. It pressed that "in readjusting the provincial boundaries (consequent on the modification of the Partition of Bengal) the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengalee-speaking districts under one and the same administration." What was of more significance was the statement issued in the name of leaders of public opinion in India in the newly-

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formed province of Bihar in January, 1912, laying down with a certain amount of precision the boundaries of the areas that should go to Bengal. If we mistake not, Dr. Sachhidananda Sinha was one of the signatories to the statement, he is still happily with us, and he should be able to explain to the world the many factors that influenced him and his co-signatories to make the statement. If Pandit Nehru had before him this statement he could not have made reference by implication that Bengalees had overflowed into these areas in Bihar. They are autochthonous to the areas concerned, racy of the soil.

There may be various reasons for cultivating a procastinating attitude towards the re-distribution of provincial boundaries, and the re-constitution of new provinces in India. But this policy will heap up more difficulties when Panditjee or any of his successors will wake up to the necessity of responding to feelings intensely felt and long kept unsatisfied by lack of imaginative statesmanship with which the present Prime Minister of India is richly endowed. We know that provincial bickerings are in the ascendant today. But it is not wisdom to bow to these, to accept defeat at their hands. It is the path of wisdom to anticipate such an unhappy state of things, to do the right thing when you realize that it is right. Panditjee has re-discovered the grandeur and glory that was India. He will have found wisdom in the Ramayana episode wherein Shri Ram Chandra approached the wounded Ravana on his death-bed to learn something of state-craft from the Rakshasha Chief. The one lesson that the latter stressed over and over again was that one, a king also, should not delay doing the right thing as soon as he realized that this was the right thing to do. He narrated to Shri Ram Chandra his disappointment within himself. He had decided to build a golden bridge from earth to heaven, but sat upon it and postponed it from day to day; on his death-bed he realized this folly. On the other hand, the capture of Seeta Devi, an act evil in itself, so blinded his intelligence that he forgot everything else. The result was the destruction of Golden Lanka, the destruction of his one lakh sons and one lakh and twenty-five thousand grandsons. The story of this wisdom from India's historic past has lost none of its value today. If the Government in 1912 had acted upon the lines indicated in the Bihar leaders' statement of January, 1912, Babu Rajendra Prasad would not have driven to give the evil advice to the enthusiasts of the Bihar Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister of the Indian Union would have been spared the unpleasant duty of putting off a right thing because it might stir up discontent in the higher ranks of the Congress. We, therefore, repeat that we cannot accept the validity of Panditjee's dictum that linguistic provinces are an untimely problem raised by disgruntled people. The Andhra, the Karnataka, the Maharashtra and Bengalee people have been waiting for over thirty years. And they are in no mood to postpone the fulfilment of their hopes and pass days in agitation that are more than ever necessary for re-constructing the life of India on the pattern of Gandhiji's hopes. Panditjee would be wise to read the signs of the time.

Deadlock in Indonesia

Indonesia is not in the news. But since the signature in January last of the "Cease Fire" agreement between the Indonesian Republican army and the Dutch invading forces, things have been happening that may flare up into a conflagration in the not distant future. It is well-known that the capitalist interests of Holland, Britain and the United States are linked up, and their investments in the 2,000 islands that make up Indonesia reach gigantic amounts. The Dutch had invested about 325 crores of rupees; the British had about 150 crores; and the U.S.A. capitalists a little less than this amount. Rubber, sugar and oil make up the wealth of the islands, and there has been a stampede of world capitalism, French, German, Belgian, Japanese and Chinese also, to make profit out of the cheap labour of the Indonesian people. But the dictators of policy appear to be the United States and Britain. Owen Lattimore in his book, *Solution in Asia*, published in 1945, thus indicated the lie of the land:

> The Dutch Empire need not be treated separately, because it is essentially a satellite empire. It could not exist without the British Empire, and developments within it after the war will move parallel to the movements within the British Empire whether the movement be toward emancipation or toward an attempted stabilization of the institution of empire.

The British imperialism that we have known has retired from Burma and India. Not so the Dutch; it has been attempting a come-back by helping to set up innumerable puppet republics in the various islands in order to break up the united front of the Indonesian Republic. In Owen Lattimore's book a key to this situation can be found. He suggested that "the Dutch had been allowed to make a rather clever job of this affair. They have had not only British capital to support their regime, but powerful financial and industrial groups in the United States have been tempted to invest in the islands' natural resources, and these working through the Dutch have been maintaining a nominal Dutch colonial policy which is actually in large part the foreign policy of exported American and British capital." The Provisional Federal Government formed by Dr. Van Mook, Lt.-Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, on March 9 last, without the co-operation of the Prime Minister of the Indonesian Republic, Dr. Hatta, exposes the Dutch game. The United Nations Organisation does not appear to be interested in this area. And the Dutch have been taking advantage of this indifference. Some interested power, India specially, may bring up the matter before this international forum.

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Dress-Rehearsal of Third World War

The dress-rehearsal of the third World War of the twentieth century is being held at Berlin. Russian tanks have appeared in the city's streets and avenues; United States troops have beseiged the Russian-controlled railway headquarters; and British and U. S. airplanes have been carrying food to their portions of the beleaguered city. The Press of the Western world have begun to feature this development with captions such as "The Battle for Berlin." The last two weeks of March were disturbed by this news, and though we are being told that things have eased a little in Berlin, the tension between the two groups of powers represented on the one side by the Soviet Union and on the other by the United States persists. An uneasy peace is the most to which the world can look forward to. And leaders of thought, rulers of States, organisers of armies and moulders of opinion have been giving expression to opinions that are more than academic. From a New York despatch, dated March 15, we sample a few of these, giving our readers an idea of the tension to which "increasing numbers of shuddering Americans" are being subjected. F. S. C. Northrop, Law Professor of Yale University and a "prominent philosopher" opined: "There is danger of war within the next few days since Russia hopes to grab the world before November 1." The former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the U. S. A. Mr. Marshall's predecessor, James Brynes, declared: "The U. S. A. may have to meet an international crisis four or five weeks from now." The Defence Secretary of the United States, James Forrestal, cried: "I am worried and sick at the imminent threat of war." The New York *World Telegram* set date-line for the outburst: "Since 1946, all planning has been on a long-range basis, assuming that war was ten or fifteen years off. Now, the military is thinking in terms of immediate mobilization. April 18, the date of the Italian elections, presents a possible 'D-Day' to them." General Claire Chennault, former Commander of the small air-force, organized under non-official auspices to help China fight Japan, known as the "Tiger" Force, and now head of the Chinese Government's Freight Air Line, drew attention to the Asian front in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Affair Committee: "Siberia, east of Lake Baikal, could be isolated from the remainder of Russia by air attacks launched from Chinese air fields. . . . Bombers operating from . . . West China are within a much closer range of Russia's industrial areas than bombers based in the United States." Walter Lippman, the famous foreign policy expert, said: "Cold war has ended. The military phase has begun." A responsible Washington radio commentator, Robert Allen, appeared to be more positively prophetic. "It could be war in a matter of weeks, or another year or two of armed, disturbed peace. For, it is now definitely clear here in Washington that it will mean shooting if Russia makes another move, no matter whether with military or political means, whether in Italy, Austria or Iran." It is well-known, however, that there are elements in the U. S. A., which refuse to succumb to this war excitement. Henry Wallace, Vice-President, under President Roosevelt in 1942, heads this group. Mr. Marshall, at present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is regarded as a "moderate" in the Truman Administration, but he is being "overshadowed by the Defence Council." The Republic Party, true to its traditions of "isolationism", appears to be wobbling at present. Mr. Robert Taft, "Rightist Republican candidate," appears to be sceptical of Russia's war-like intentions. He did not believe that "Russia is planning any military moves. Russia is only consolidating the positions we gave her at Yalta Conference. If Communists win in the Italian elections, what can we do? It would not be a Russian military move." From this multitude of interpretations, the man and woman of America do not appear to have had a clear lead. He or she is represented as feeling—War! "probably no, possibly yes! and real peace is remoter than ever; should not be surprised at anything specially during the President-election year when competition for votes replaces real statesmanship." From this sampling of opinions, feelings, prejudices and ambitions, we can only deduce that "shooting" may start not from any deliberate choice, but almost by accident, by the momentary failure of reason on the part of any ruler or rulers of States.

"Harijan" Re-appears

This English-language weekly and its Indian-language editions, re-appeared on the 4th April, 1948, after a closure of about seven weeks. Shri K. G. Mashruwala has accepted the responsibility of editing the paper. The new editor in his first article entitled "With Trust in God" took occasion almost in the opening lines to say that if the English edition was at all to be re-started, "Pyarelalji (whose name had been appearing as editor of this weekly even when Gandhiji was filling the major part of the paper) should have continued to edit it." But, as Pyarelalji is at his post of duty in Noakhali since November, 1946, as the centre of activity symbolizing Hindu-Muslim unity, he cannot leave it but must continue the unfinished work of Gandhiji. So, Mushruwalaji with many doubts takes up the burden of the song of Gandhiji's "unique message of truth, love and non-violence," to quote Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's words in the front-page article in this issue. A special responsibility devolves on the Indian public to enable this "message" to go round the world, tossed on war's frenzy. The new editor indicates this responsibility and duty when he says: "It will go on only if the subscribers maintain it; for, it cannot be carried on if it is not self-supporting. Advertisements are out of the question."

The present issue is valuable for another fact. It

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contains the report of the decisions of the Constructive Workers' Conference held at Wardha on the 13th-15th March last. It appears over the signature of Babu Rajendra Prasad. The report discussed the reasons that influenced the leading members of the Gandhi fraternity present on the occasion to take infinite pains so that they may "not degenerate into a *sampradaya* or a sect." The choice of the name—*Sarvodaya Samaj*—indicated this determination of theirs; the word *Sangha* was avoided because it implied "some sort of organizational compulsion," while the word *Samaj* correspond to the idea of a *brotherhood* which is the ideal set before the world by Gandhiji. *Sarvodaya* was the name chosen by him to translate the idea preached by Ruskin in his book *Unto the Last*, "A society based on Truth and Non-violence in which there will be no distinction of caste or creed, no opportunity for exploitation, and full scope for development both for individuals as well for groups." Ruskin living in the hey-day of British dominance over world affairs had faint intimations of this ideal. It was reserved for Gandhiji to borrow and better in the borrowing these incipient ideas in the light of India's history and in the crucible of his own struggles for individual self-fulfilment which cannot be reached without justice in human relations. Thus was Gandhiji's *sadhana*, consecrated work, affiliated to the service of the poor and the lowly, and his birth in India drew him into the fight for the self-respect of his people. The *Young India* and *Harijan* were instruments of his campaigns in this behalf.

Problems of Administration

Problems of administration in Free India seem to be colossal. There is no doubt that the task of rebuilding the administrative services will prove to be a steeply uphill one. The administrative machinery that has been handed down to us by the departing British Government had been designed for maintaining the grip of a foreign power in this country and was thoroughly turned to that effect. During the past sixty years of Indian struggle for freedom, this machinery had been perfected as an engine of repression. It spent all its energies in combating nationalism and devising ways and means to suppress every expression of self-help and the rights of the people. The Indian members of the Imperial Services aligned themselves with the British bureaucracy in checking nationalism and aided the Briton in his antinational campaign. Some of the Indians out-Heroded Herod and proved themselves more royal than the King. The inevitable result has been that during the past half a century hardly one single individual Indian could claim to have made any improvement in the administrative machinery so as to give it the character of an agency of service to the people. Some wrote essays of a school-boy type on economic and agrarian problems. The Indians in the Imperial police and their subordinates with plenty of secret service money to spend without audit and fat special allowances, excelled in the Special Branches set up for stamping out nationalism. They had the one object of hunting down who showed any trait of leadership or betrayed symptoms of patriotism. None of them contributed anything to make improvements in the methods of prevention and detection of crimes from which the social organism suffered and still suffers so acutely.

The formation of provincial ministries on a communal basis since the Mont-Ford Reforms, and specially during the decade ending August 15, 1947, opened the flood-gates of dishonesty, nepotism and recklessness. Whatever efficiency there was in the services was practically gone. Corruption was rampant, and discipline was smashed up. The British legacy is a totally smashed administrative machinery stewing in the juice of corruption.

Since August 15, at the Centre and in the two ex-League provinces of the Punjab and Bengal which have been divided following partition of India and have borne the severest brunt of it, the administrative machinery have come into the hands of people who gained no opportunity to gather experience in it. The machinery that have come down to them lacks in national ideology, integrity, honesty and efficiency. The result has been that the patriots who have accepted responsibility, feel so helpless in their inability to apply the administrative machinery for the amelioration of the conditions of masses. It is true that thorough overhauling would take time but what is most regretted is that there is yet no sign of making even an honest and serious beginning. So far nothing has been done beyond spending some sweet words and money on the preparation of some nice looking schemes. It is still more regrettable to find a competition in the presentment of "bills for sacrifices" often unsupported by "vouchers" and receipts for previous payments.

Corruption and inefficiency are the worst features in the services and an attitude of negligence of duty and irresponsibility amounting to sabotage is prevalent. The worst feature of it is that the disease is at the top, the superior officers lack knowledge, capacity, competence, interest and pride in work even after the time to look upon the administrative services as national service has come. The few prosecutions of smaller fries for bribery is no proof of a change in outlook. A complete and total all-out campaign against inefficiency anl corruption is needed. When Mr. Casey was the Governor of Bengal, an attempt was made to combat corruption in the services. Rai Bahadur Bijay Bihari Mukherji, Retired Director of Land Records and Surveys, an officer of highest integrity and with wide and deep administrative experience, was appointed as a special officer to draw up a scheme for rooting out corruption. Working hard in an honourary capacity he submitted his Report within a few months of his appointment. Just at his time, the Suhrawardy Ministry came into office. The Report was shelved. But we understand that the Nazimuddin Government of East Pakistan has asked for a copy of this Report evidently with the object of utilising it in their province. Cannot the Central, and West Bengal Government utilise this Report and make a serious beginning in rooting out corruption and inefficiency from the administrative services as a first step in its purification. The problem of reducing its top-heaviness and fitting it to national needs may follow next.

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DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

By Dr. Sir HARI SINGH GOUR, M.A., D.Litt., D.Sc., D.C.L., LL.D.

The world at large is, at the present moment, divided by two conflicting sets of ideologies, *viz.*, Democracy and Communism, but very few people owing allegiance to each political creed really understand what they stand for. The protagonists of communism profess to be democrats though the democrats repudiate this claim. The question is whether there is any basic common principle between the two sets of political thought, or if there is no meeting ground, how far they are apart, and how far their distance remains in the various countries where the two doctrines are combating for mastery.

Political theorists tell us that the term 'democracy' of today is very different to the democracy of the Victorian Age, when democracy was as much abhorred by the Liberals, Radicals and the Whigs as communism is abhorred by the democrats today. In the mid-Victorian age, democracy was understood to mean 'mobocracy'; something akin to what communism is today. This extreme sense of democracy became modified as time went on, and even the old die-hard Tory began to recognize democracy as the basic principle underlying his political creed. In the last century, political power, centred in the feudal lords, began slowly and imperceptibly to gravitate downwards to the middle class and through them to the lower middle class, but the working classes at large were absolutely excluded from all power, and the radicals of the day could never think of sharing their power with the man-in-the-street. As late as 1866, Mr. Gladstone, in introducing a bill for the enfranchisement of the town worker vehemently refuted the suggestion of Tory and Liberal critics that it was a democratic measure.

In later years, however, as the labourers became more politically conscious and organized, they formed their own unions and through them, demanded a share of Government. The great psychological revolution of 1848 on the continent of Europe has led the way. The French Revolution of 1789 was the pioneer of this later revolution on the continent, and this revolution in its turn awakened the tiller of the soil and the worker in the factory to something outside his own narrow sphere of toil and work, the result being that the conception of democracy has been evolving on the continent of Europe from the bottom. In England, the people of which have always followed their insular policy of 'wait and see', the development of democratic conception has descended from the top of feudalism to the wider circle of ruling classes who have for a century past retained all real power and it has only gradually and slowly filtered down to the common man. A wide generality of the evolution of democracy has thus been in to opposite and complex directions on the main continent of Europe and in the insular domain of England with the result that while on the continent, the hegemony of the church was destroyed with the fall of the Bastille, in England the nominal head of the State is still Defender of Faith, and to that extent the religious disability of persons standing outside the Anglican Church still continued with the result that the Lord Chancellor of England, Head of the British Judiciary, cannot be a member of the Catholic Church. But this apart, the filtering process has permeated the working classes, who have taken their cue from the continental expansion of democracy, and the conquest of the labour movement in England has resulted in the dethronement of the ruling classes mainly represented in the Conservative Party and their arch-leader Mr. Winston Churchill, who is still struggling for the apotheosis of his narrow conception of democracy by declaring an ethical war upon communism in which the Labour Party have joined hands.

The fact is that the true conception of democracy *versus* communism has not yet dawned upon the publicists and political thinkers of Great Britain to the extent they are realized on the continent of Europe and America. To a political thinker, a clear conception of the two ideals would betray the weaknesses of each system of government. Turning first to the progressive forces so described by the Soviet Union apostles of communism, who proclaim that their ideological structure in Eastern Europe and Russia have brought about the apotheosis of human rights and human progress and with it human happiness, it must be remembered that the Russian Revolution of 1917 proceeded upon the academic conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat or working classes. Karl Marx (1818-1883), the author of *Das Kapital*, was a thinker and not a practical worker. He minimised if not ignored the main considerations of sentient life including man which point to individualism and self-advancement as creative of action, the result being that the doctrine of communism, which denies every man his right to his private property acquired by his own endeavour and labour, comes in conflict with the aetiology of communism. Its history for the last thirty years has

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brought to the apex the two conflicting incentives of life, namely, the communist doctrine of denial of all right of private property and its free disposal denounced as Capitalism and the effect of its working on human society.

The Bolshevik started their revolution by eliminating all top classes of intellectual and inherited wealth which they denounced as Bourgeois, but when they had to create an order out of their new cosmos they had to appoint a few people to carry out the doctrine which imbued the millions of communists in Russia. These few owed their allegiance to one man who became the totalitarian dictator of the new doctrine and to this extent, his powers and position were akin to those of the fascist leader of Germany. The totalitarian chief could not manage millions of his countrymen in their far-flung activities and he had to apportion his power to a class of workers who became twentieth-century edition of the feudal lords of the damned order of Capitalism and Bourgeoism. They professed to work for the people, but their innate instinct of self-love, self-preservation and self-aggrandisement could not and did not die out with the result that they began to amass property and transfer it unobserved by the watchful proletariat, the result being the creation of a ruling class in the Bolshevik regime akin to the ruling classes in America and on the continent of Western Europe. The difference between the two systems was essentially that of direct and indirect acquisition of property and its disposal. The one was open, the other was secret, but the essential difference between the two continued with the result that the Bolshevik doctrine had to be modified and attenuated; the scheme of private property has begun to be recognized though grudgingly but necessarily as was to be expected.

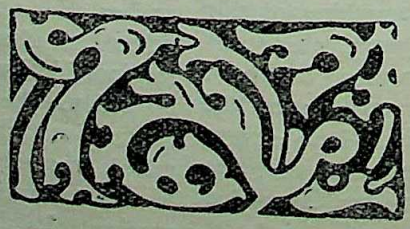
As communism is a new doctrine and is still on the tapis the old policy has to be reconciled with the new and the cardinal difference between democracy and communism though still emphasized and commonly preached are being narrowed down by a process of natural human evolution with the result that the fanatics of the two are denouncing both capitalism and monopolies. Still they are involuntarily and to some extent inconsistently working on the way of modernizing and moderating the excesses of both extreme systems of capitalism and communism. The time will soon come when the two systems would so blend as to become indistinguishable, except to the theorist who would like Karl Marx remain apart from human psychology and action.

The advent of the Labour Party in England and in some of the Commonwealths, and its reaction throughout the world, is eradicating some of the evils of plutocratic monopolies. Even in a country as advanced as America, a struggle is proceeding between monopolies and popular rights. The words democracy and communism have become pass-words for the general public who neither appreciate nor even understand the true principles of human life when it is brought face to face with the practical realities of human nature. In India, the political apogee of nationalization of private economy has become confused, though if a judicial view be taken of nationalization, it would introduce the evils of the Marxian doctrine of communism.

Servants of the State cannot be expected to work for their wages, when they have means of aggrandising themselves by imperceptible corruption and indolence. There is no spur of self-advancement in proceeding to carry out the national purpose of national good. A short analysis of any of the nationalized and privately owned ventures would clear up the main factor which is a fulcrum of human action.

Human society has always been imperfect and would continue to so remain till we reach the paradise of human perfection. That is a far cry in the present century and though the apostles of nationalization, communism and democracy all concentrate their eyes on such an apotheosis they would never reach the ideal goal of human happiness, such happiness as we dream of, but such happiness is impossible in human societies—in which the brain power is so unevenly divided and most of which is so wantonly dissipated.

While there is a venomous tug-of-war proceeding between democracy and communism, the leaders of the two are re-shaping their own constitutions to create new factors for popular *en masse*, the fact being that while the West is fighting for democracy, democracy is still amorphous and re-shaping itself, so the same is equally true of communism. The fact is that neither side is quite sure of the ground under which it treads.



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PRODUCE OR PERISH

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By Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, M.A., of Cossimbazar,

*Ex-Minister, Government of Bengal**

Since the termination of the War the problem of food supply has engaged the anxious consideration of thinking people in almost all countries of the world. There is an acute food shortage everywhere, and the main reason for this will no doubt have to be found in the wide-spread destruction, devastation and general unsettlement caused by the War itself. But there are also much more fundamental forces in operation resulting in this general uncertainty and the dislocation of living conditions. As a well-known publicist tells us, the world's population is today 8 per cent larger than it was before the War while the world's total food production is more than 6 per cent below the pre-war level. Coming nearer home, we know that India also had her share in this general dislocation of life caused by the War and all its accompanying evils. We also know that while our population goes on climbing steadily at the rate of 1·2 per cent every year, our food production actually indicates a declining rate, the adverse balance being met by precarious imports from abroad. Available statistics for the last few years tend to show that though imports from abroad had become available to us in quantities exceeding pre-war average figures, the yield of crops in India itself suffered to an unusual extent for two successive years due to adverse seasonal conditions. This will be seen from the following figures:

Yield of Cereals

(All-India figures in lakhs of tons)

Average 5 years ending	Rice	Wheat	Jowar & Bajra	Total (Four cereals)	Difference from average
1943-44	282	106	112	500	
1944-45	301	108	109	518	+18
1945-46	284	92	88	464	—36
1946-47	302	81	85	468	—32

These figures no doubt indicate an exceptional shortage in our food production, and one should not wonder that the organisation for internal procurement of foodgrains experienced a rather unusual strain within recent times. Then again when India looked abroad for the procurement of foodgrains, it was found that the allocation of foodgrains by international bodies have fallen far short of the minimum needed to maintain even a 12 oz. ration throughout the country. Over and above this, these food imports had to be obtained at unreasonably high prices, causing an abnormal strain on the country's limited foreign exchange resources and involving heavy expenditure on food subsidies.

It is true that it is not for the beggar also to play the part of a chooser. But if we recall how India responded generously to the grim needs of the United Nations during the War, and ungrudgingly opened her granaries for their use, we might have reasonably enough put forward a claim for a much better treatment in this matter of food supplies. However, the essential lesson that comes out of this food-import episode should not be lost on us. For her very existence, India must concentrate with an iron determination on the production of food requirements, all by herself, so that the goal of self-sufficiency is reached as early as possible. There is a smug self-complacency in some quarters that we have after all the food rationing system which would anyhow solve all our problems in this regard. But we shall have to remember that rationing is only a means to an end, an emergency measure to tide over a temporary crisis. Moreover, rationing involves a privation and sacrifice on the part of the individual, which can only be worth-while if forces are set in motion enabling the nation to do away with this self-imposed curtailment of the freedom of choice. Hence the very imposition of a rationing system also implies that the Government must have a well-thought-out long-term plan for speeding up food production and an immediate programme of a production drive.

It is rather distressing to note that in the past, the Government of the country did not take up quite seriously this constructive aspect of food policy. And this lack of seriousness is now reflected in the fact that so far as food production is concerned all the available statistics indicate a much worse position today. The Grow More Food Campaign undertaken by all the Provincial Governments on the initiative of the Government at the Centre proved to be more or less a fiasco.

With the dawn of freedom, our problems have also multiplied. Apart from the fact that there is a tendency in our country for the growth of population to outrun the increase of food supply, there has been a tremendous problem of congestion of population in different localities, due to vast migrations of refugees from Pakistan and other affected areas. Then again, thanks to the Partition of India, a good portion of fertile and well-irrigated tracts of land have passed away from our hands. In Bengal, for example, we know that our position as regards food production has been dangerously affected due to the major paddy-growing areas being made over to Eastern Bengal. In short, as a result of partition there is now the sad legacy of less food but more to be fed. And the problem further multiplies as there is a steady influx of refugees from Eastern Pakistan as also Western Pakistan. The essential point, therefore, is that we must now have a vigorous policy of increased food production, and that this must be planned and geared up in such a manner as to make it adjustable to the consumption requirements of our increasing population, leaving at the same time a comfortable margin for the displaced

* Author of *Rationale of Food Crisis.*

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millions seeking refuge in the territories of the Indian Union. It is not sufficient to provide relief to the refugees; nor is it sufficient to provide alone for their rehabilitation and resettlement. The essential test of our competence to handle this colossal problem, so far of course as the economic implications are concerned, is to find a permanent solution of their food problem on a satisfactory basis.

Having due regard to the existing background of the Indian scene, the sentiments expressed by Pandit Nehru in his recent broadcast speech on the production crisis acquires a rather grim significance:

> "We talk of freedom, but today that political freedom does not take us far, unless there is economic freedom. Today, we have, in addition, to face tremendous problems of vast migration and large colossal number of refugees. They are not incapable of producing, but circumstances have forced them into this unhappy position. So we have to think of production as an urgent problem even more than what we have otherwise done."

We must realise by now that there is no longer any room for handling the food situation in a complacent or long-winded fashion, usual with the previous Government. It is refreshing to note that some of the Provincial Governments are showing signs of a new responsibility in this regard, and that at least one of them has come forward with a Grow More Food Drive with definite targets and a time-schedule to realise estimated increases in the production of cereals. But the main fact is that we must not repeat the mistakes of the past or make a defective approach to the problem in the absence of reliable data. In Bengal, for example, the root cause of agricultural deterioration was never gone into, or taken into serious account in any programme connected with the Grow More Food Drive. Yet a commonsense view of the situation is that any such scheme is sure to come to grief unless the basic factor of the deterioration of our river systems and the absence of irrigation facilities is duly considered and provided for. In Bengal, even the few earlier canals that were taken up, were not irrigation canals proper, but were undertaken either for navigation purposes or simply to combat famine and thereby provide relief to the famine-stricken people. It may seem strange, but it is true to say that the only canal made for irrigation purposes was in respect of the Damodar, and that even here a faulty approach to the problem of canal rates as also a faulty execution of the canal works robbed this beneficent measure of much of its value.

If, therefore, we are to ensure success for the Grow More Food Drive in Bengal, we must go into the root cause of agricultural deterioration and take up at the same time a matter-of-fact and practical view of the situation. Our immediate task in this respect should be to collect the data of—

1. available cultivable land not under cultivation;
2. lands not under cultivation but which can be made cultivable;
3. lands which can not be improved;
4. lands were there are actual facilities of irrigation;
5. lands other than food crops grown, but which can be converted into food-crop-growing areas, and
6. areas specially suitable for intensive cultivation.

Due care must be taken to ensure accurate statistics made afresh by proper experts to avoid the unfortunate consequences of ill-founded statistical data of the production per acre leading to the last Bengal famine and the unpleasant happenings of the recent jute forecast.

To draw up a bold and definite programme for increased production the cultivators of the Province are found faced with an array of difficulties. Apart from usual primitive and outmoded habits of life, they suffer from all kinds of handicaps in respect of suitable irrigation facilities, supply of manures and fertilisers, adequate marketing facilities, etc. In Bengal, large areas produce only one crop and this is due to the conservative habits of the people as also to absence of irrigation facilities and consequent deterioration in soil fertility. Of late, in Bengal, the average rainfall has also deteriorated due to ruthless deforestation specially during the last War and so some means of irrigation other than depending on rainfall have become much more indispensable.

There are various methods of irrigation practice in Bengal, *e.g.*,

1. artificial irrigation by drawing water from *Beels* and other water sources by improved methods;
2. well irrigation for a limited area;
3. tank irrigation from tanks.

Unfortunately, however, all old irrigation wells and tanks in Bengal have deteriorated as they have not been improved in proper time and the Tank Improvement Bill with all its promises lost its efficacy on the people as it was not taken up seriously. The Damodar Canal has, however, all along been helpful in irrigating the areas lying within its ambit to a great extent and its utility has been very much appreciated of late by the public in the years of continued drought. It is, however, refreshing to note that there is now an overwhelming general demand for its extension and an amicable settlement regarding the rate has also been reached between the Government and the public which, I hope, will help the people of other areas to appreciate the manifold benefits of canals. In the Punjab where rainfall is scarce and capricious and people do not depend on it, canal irrigation has been very much successful in the resulting rise of the standard of living of the people and in the indirect returns to the State by fetching a very decent income from irrigation. In the U. P., the portion which adopted canal irrigation has proved eminently successful. I had the special opportunity of studying at first-hand myself the canal systems of Mysore executed on scientific lines where they have proved a great boon to the cultivators and they do not know what is failure of crops. There are other portions of the State where the construction

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permanent canals has proved to be the only safe and reliable system to get a sure production. It is a welcome feature that the Government of West Bengal budgeted this year for 86 lakhs of rupees for several irrigation projects in agricultural areas including re-excavation of irrigation tanks. The multipurpose scheme in respect of the Damodar Valley has already been taken up and I am glad to learn that the first sod in respect of the Mor Scheme has also been cut by the Hon'ble Minister-in-Charge. This would introduce a much-needed agricultural prosperity in an area neglected in the past and one can easily hope that the Darakeswar Project will also be taken up as early as possible so as to complete the picture in this area.

To assist in increased production, the district agricultural farms should rise up to the situation and give the cultivators proper training how to grow more food with minimum cost by improved appliances. And the necessary effort of the Government to start an Agricultural College in West Bengal to secure requisite trained staff for improved agricultural activities at the cost of 2 lakhs of rupees is a move in the right direction. Again, adequate provision must be made for the regular supply of artificial manures and improved fertilisers. The Government measures so far adopted in the form of compost and other varieties to improve the fertility of the soil failed to achieve the desired purpose for its want of popularising the same. It is really unfortunate that for absence of any fertiliser or manures some lands have got to be kept fallow which means less production. So vigorous efforts must be made immediately to supply better manures to improve the yield per acre. With improved production, facilities for marketing will have to be arranged to ensure better returns to the peasants direct and provisions should be made for the improvement of roads for interlinking the paddy-growing areas with the market.

Along with the Grow More Food Drive the growing of vegetables should receive equal attention and encouragement and the huge plots of land suitable for such purposes and lying within reasonable distance from the market should be used for growing vegetables. Adequate propaganda work should be made in the direction and if the means of transport be improved vegetable growing may be encouraged in the interior and people will then have a natural inducement for it.

In short, for the increased production of agricultural lands in West Bengal there must be an all-out drive for improving the river system, increasing the number of canals in suitable areas and for small areas improvement of tanks as well. With the availability of cheap electricity in future as a result of the adoption of hydro-electric scheme, tube-well irrigation may be introduced in suitable cases for limited areas. But canal irrigation represented by far the most regular, well-defined and controlled system of irrigation, for besides helping intensive cultivation on suitable areas, canals will not only be able to irrigate during the rainy season but also in winter help growing the winter crop and other suitable crop according to the suitability of the land.

The food problem is one of the most vital problems with us today. The people of West Bengal live in a state of starvation and they are diminishing every day in vitality and potentiality. There is urgent need for them to lead a healthy normal life and unless they have a secure and solid food front to get nursed back to physical fitness they cannot evidently be expected to play the vigorous role of a free citizen in an Independent India. Produce or Perish !

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AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES OF EAST AND WEST BENGAL

By INDU BHUSAN GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

Undivided Bengal

As an undivided unit, Bengal enjoyed the monopoly in supply of raw jute (producing about 92 per cent of India's total supply), contributed about 32 per cent of India's total rice production, 22 per cent of raw cow-hides and 11 per cent of raw goat-skins, 20 per cent each of tea and raw silk, and about 23 per cent of India's raw tobacco. The geographical location of Bengal, its climate and the splendid river system have all combined to make the soil highly fertile and the province is endowed with extensive agricultural resources. The total area under cultivation in united Bengal was over 30 million acres, of which about 2 million acres were irrigated. The per capita cropped area worked out at about 0·67 acre. The forest tracts covered an area of 4·5 million acres and the province had about 4 million acres of cultivable wastes and about 956,000 acres of current fallows. According to the census of 1941, Bengal was the most populous province of India with a population of about 60·3 million and having a density of 742 per square mile. The province covered an area of 82,876 square miles. Over 68 per cent of the population was engaged in agriculture, 10·5 per cent in industry, 6·2 per cent in trade, 2·3 per cent in transport, 2 per cent in public administration and liberal arts and the remaining 7·6 per cent in miscellaneous occupations.

The Partition—Economic Consequences

With the creation of the Dominions of India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947, the former province of Bengal was divided into two separate provinces, West Bengal, which belongs to the Dominion of India, and East Bengal, which is part of the Dominion of Paki-

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stan. The partitioning of the province has brought about certain fundamental changes in the relative economic position of the two units. East Bengal remains a predominantly agricultural area, while about 92 per cent of the large-scale production is confined to West Bengal. East Bengal is favourably placed in respect of cottage and small-scale industries like hand-loom cotton weaving, jute weaving, the button industry, the conch-shell industry, etc. The mineral resources of East Bengal are, however, very poor, while West Bengal is rich in coal, iron ore and certain other minerals. East Bengal's hydro-electric power resources are extensive provided they can be tapped successfully.

Now that the respective Governments of East and West Bengal are to follow individual lines of agricultural and economic policy, it is essential to have a proper estimate of the various agricultural resources of the two units. The inadequacy of statistical data in our country is a handicap to this line of inquiry but any State planning requires a complete and clear picture of the country's resources before any programme of development can be fixed on scientific lines. Collection of data relating to each sector of national economy, its appropriate tabulation and rational interpretation can only indicate the lines along which action should be directed. The extreme importance of statistics in the realm of State planning is now increasingly realised by our Government and it is hoped that early measures will be adopted to secure integration of both agricultural and industrial statistics in the provinces and States.

In the following pages I have attempted a general assessment of the agricultural resources of East and West Bengal, based on the latest available statistics, which may be of some interest to people in trade and to the general public. The article presents merely a summary of economic facts, with no attempt at future planning.

Area and Population

East Bengal, as constituted under the Boundary Commission Award (Radcliffe Award—1947), comprises 16 districts of the former united Bengal together with the district of Sylhet from the province of Assam. The total area of the province is about 54,100 square miles, representing about 65 per cent of the total area of undivided Bengal, with a population of about 41,800,000. The average density of population is 792 per square mile and the percentage of Muslims to the total population is about 71. West Bengal covers an area of about 28,700 square miles with a population of over 20 million. Of the total population, about 75 per cent are Hindus and the number of Muslims is believed to be slightly under 5 million. The average density of population is 756 per square mile. About 70 per cent of the total cropped area of undivided Bengal has gone to East Bengal.

Chief Crops—Rice

United Bengal contributed about one-third of India's total rice production, containing about 34 per cent of the total acreage under rice. Rice constitutes the staple food of the local people and it occupies the largest cultivated area in both East and West Bengal. The average annual production of rice in East Bengal is calculated at 6¼ million tons, while West Bengal produces about 3½ million tons. With the partition, about 70 per cent of the acreage under rice in undivided Bengal has gone to East Bengal.

According to the 1947-48 crop forecasts, the total production of rice (*aman, aus* and *boro*) in West Bengal is estimated at 3,202,730 tons and that of East Bengal at 6,107,370 tons. Both the provinces will face a heavy deficit in rice during the year 1948. Although the largest rice-producing areas are found in Bengal, the province as a whole is deficient in respect of food supplies. However, considering the total area available for cultivation and the culturable wastes in East and West Bengal, it is probable that with improved and more intensive cultivation and better irrigation facilities both the provinces can attain self-sufficiency in the matter of rice supplies. It is estimated that there are about 2,100,000 acres of culturable wastes in East Bengal and 1,625,000 acres in West Bengal. The current fallows in the respective provinces are estimated at 488,000 acres and 468,000 acres.

The following table shows the total acreage and estimated yields of rice in the two provinces according to the latest official statistics :

East Bengal

	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
Winter rice (*aman*)	13,355,500	4,738,800
Autumn rice (*aus*)	4,803,500	1,200,000
Summer rice (*boro*)	464,000	168,570
Total	18,623,000	6,107,370

West Bengal

	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
Winter rice (*aman*)	6,500,000	2,805,000
Autumn rice (*aus*)	1,415,100	379,000
Summer rice (*boro*)	36,000	18,730
Total	7,951,100	3,202,730

Of the 497 rice mills in undivided Bengal, about 79 are in East Bengal and 418 in West Bengal. These mills are capable of milling about 85 per cent of the total marketable surplus of paddy in both the provinces. The majority of the mills in East Bengal are primitive in type with a limited milling capacity.

Jute

Jute is the principal commercial crop of Bengal. As an undivided unit, Bengal was the only exporter of this fibre to the whole world and produced over 90 per cent of India's total supply. During the last few years, united Bengal exported, on an average, raw jute worth Rs. 10 crores and jute manufactures worth Rs. 8 crores per annum. The division of the province has placed East Bengal in a much more favourable position in respect of the supply of raw jute, the province contributing about 92 per cent of Bengal's total

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duction. According to the 1947-48 crop forecasts, the total area under jute in undivided Bengal was 2,287,845 acres (representing 50 per cent of the acreage in 1940), of which about 90 per cent or 2,058,670 acres were in East Bengal and 10 per cent or 229,175 acres in West Bengal. The estimated yield of raw jute in 1947-48 is about 6,842,605 bales (400 pounds each) for East Bengal and 549,470 bales for West Bengal. The following table shows the total acreage and yields of jute in the two provinces:

1947-48 Crop Forecasts

	Area (acres)	Yield (bales of 400 pounds each)
East Bengal	2,058,670	6,842,605
West Bengal	229,175	549,470
Total	2,287,845	7,392,075
Total of Indian Union	645,685	1,695,970
Total of Pakistan	2,058,670	6,842,605
Total (India and Pakistan)	2,704,355	8,538,575

All the 104 jute mills of the former united Bengal are located in and around Calcutta, and West Bengal accounts for about 57 per cent of the world's total looms engaged in the manufacture of jute textiles. There are no jute mills in East Bengal and the province has only 20 to 25 jute baling presses with an estimated daily production capacity of 5,000 to 6,000 pucca bales. In spite of the virtual monopoly enjoyed by East Bengal in respect of raw jute supply, the province has very limited facilities for direct export to foreign countries. Jute is more important as an item of export and foreigners are interested mostly in jute manufactures. Most of the supplies from East Bengal are sent to Calcutta for foreign shipment either as raw jute or as hessian and gunny bags. This has put West Bengal in a position of clear advantage.

The total annual consumption of raw jute by the mills in West Bengal is estimated at 6,000,000 bales, while the supply from the province does not cover more than 9 per cent of the requirements. The local production is hardly sufficient to meet the essential domestic needs, and it is doubtful if West Bengal will be able to produce any exportable surplus of jute within the next few years. Under the present scarcity of food supplies, it is not advisable to encourage unregulated extension of jute cultivation in the province but immediate steps should be taken to increase the yield per acre. With improved methods of cultivation, better seeds, use of fertilisers, consolidation of holdings on an economic basis and reclamation of the culturable wastes and current fallows, the province can expect to become at least self-sufficient in the matter of jute supply.

Tea

United Bengal contributed about 20 per cent of India's total production of tea, having about 26 per cent of the total acreage. Assam and Bengal together accounted for more than 80 per cent of India's total crop. On an average, Bengal exported tea worth over Rs. 20 crores per annum. East Bengal (excluding Sylhet) does not account for more than 3 to 4 per cent of Bengal's total supply of tea. With Sylhet, however, the position of East Bengal has improved considerably, the area under tea in the province now being 74,112 acres (about 41 per cent of West Bengal's total acreage). The following table shows the estimated acreage and yields of tea for the two provinces during 1947-48:

	Area (acres)	Yield (pounds)
East Bengal	74,112	41,700,000
West Bengal	180,000	110,000,000
Total	254,112	151,700,000
Total of Indian Union	766,435	543,300,000
Total of Pakistan	74,112	41,700,000
Total (India and Pakistan)	840,547	585,000,000

West Bengal is, however, more fortunate in having some of the most productive tea gardens of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts. The better liquoring teas are also grown in this province.

Tobacco

Undivided Bengal produced about one-fourth of India's total raw tobacco, containing about one-fifth of the total acreage under the crop. The north Bengal zone—the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri together with Cooch Bihar State—includes nearly four-fifths of the tobacco area in Bengal. In 1943-44, the total area under tobacco in Bengal was estimated at 300,000 acres with a total yield of about 110,000 tons. East Bengal is favourably placed in respect of the supply of raw tobacco, containing more than two-thirds of the total acreage of undivided Bengal. The following table shows the estimated acreage and yields of tobacco in East and West Bengal for 1946-47:

	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
East Bengal	112,200	43,500
West Bengal	55,000	21,000
Total	167,200	64,500

Of the three tobacco factories in undivided Bengal, all are in West Bengal.

Oilseeds

The area under different oilseeds in undivided Bengal was about 8 to 9 per cent of the total acreage in India. The province exported oilseeds worth Rs. 2 crores per annum. Linseed, mustard and sesamum (*til*) constitute the principal vegetable oilseeds produced in Bengal. East Bengal is better placed in respect of the supply of oilseeds, containing about 62 per cent of the total acreage. However, due to the inferior qualities of the seeds and their low oil content, the oil mills of Bengal depend to a great extent on imports from other provinces. It is estimated that over 140,000 tons of

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rape and mustard seeds are imported into Bengal per annum. This handicap can probably be removed by introduction of better varieties of seeds and demarcation of suitable zones for their economic production. The following table shows the estimated acreage under different oilseeds in East and West Bengal according to the 1947-48 forecasts :

Area Under Oilseeds

(acres)

	East Bengal	West Bengal	Total for Bengal	Total average yield for Bengal (tons)
Linseed	107,000	42,100	149,100	30,000
Rape & Mustard	415,500	144,500	560,000	130,000
Sesamum (*til*)	84,200	10,200	94,400	33,000
Groundnut	400	3,000	3,400	1,000
Castor seed	..	..	2,400*	200
Cocoanut	..	..	13,500*	..
Total	507,100	199,800	822,800	194,200

There are about 170 oil mills in West Bengal including the small factories employing less than 20 workers. Of these, about 15 to 20 mills are run on an organised scale. East Bengal is unfavourably placed in respect of vegetable oil production, the number of organised mills operating in the province being under five. There are, however, quite a number of oil presses (village ghanies) in East Bengal which are operated on a cottage scale. These ghanies are mostly engaged in crushing mustard seeds.

Sugarcane

Bengal is extremely deficient in respect of supply of sugar, being dependent for more than 80 per cent of its annual requirements on imports from other provinces. The two provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces together account for more than 70 per cent of India's total sugar production. The average annual production of sugar in undivided Bengal was about 20,000 to 25,000 tons (representing only 2 per cent of India's total), while the actual production in 1946-47 amounted to 18,678 tons Low yield per acre, poor recovery of sugar per cent cane and inferior varieties of cane grown in the province are responsible for low production. According to the 1947-48 crop forecasts, the total area under sugarcane in East Bengal is estimated at 224,500 acres while West Bengal's acreage is placed at 54,500 acres. East Bengal contains about 80 per cent of the total acreage under sugarcane in undivided Bengal.

Of the nine sugar factories in Bengal, six are in East Bengal and three in West Bengal. There are good potentialities for developing the sugar industry on successful lines in both the provinces. The West Bengal Government is understood to have obtained sanction from the Government of India for establishing additional sugar factories in the province. At present, West Bengal does not produce more than 14 per cent of its requirements and the situation in East Bengal is no better.

* In the absence of separate figures, the totals for undivided Bengal are shown : the estimates relate to figures for 1943-44.

Wheat

Bengal does not contribute more than 0·5 per cent of India's total supply of wheat. Before the partition Bengal imported about 222,000 tons of wheat every year from outside. However, the per capita consumption of wheat in the province is very low, being only 12 pounds per annum. According to the 1946-47 crop forecasts, the total area under wheat in undivided Bengal was 192,300 acres, of which about 75 per cent or 144,225 acres were in East Bengal. The total annual production of wheat in East Bengal is about 30,000 to 35,000 tons, while West Bengal produces only 10,000 to 12,000 tons. The flour mills in both the provinces are dependent on imported wheat to a great extent. There are about ten flour mills in West Bengal, while the number in East Bengal is negligible. Some recent arrangements have, however, been made in East Bengal for milling atta and flour.

Fruits and Vegetables

Bengal grows mostly the perishable varieties of fruits including mangoes, bananas, oranges, pineapples, guavas and plums. The province is deficient in respect of supply of dry fruits. The famous 'Malda' mangoes are found in East Bengal while the 'Darjeeling' oranges are grown in West Bengal. Prior to the inclusion of Sylhet, East Bengal had little acreage under oranges but with Sylhet the province has now a large supply of this fruit. According to the 1943-44 crop statistics the total acreage under fruits and vegetables (including root crops) in undivided Bengal was about 934,000 acres, of which more than 60 per cent were in East Bengal. West Bengal, however, contributes about 60 per cent of the total potato production of Bengal. In the absence of separate statistics, the following table showing the extent of fruit production in undivided Bengal may be of some interest :

	Area (acres)	Yield (maunds of 82-2/7 pounds)
Mangoes	137,406	19,206,000
Bananas	110,100	55,050,000
Oranges	2,000	410,000
Other citrus fruits	475	47,500
Guavas	500	22,500
Pineapples	4,660	233,000
Plums	25	3,125

Source : *Report of the Bengal Industrial Survey Committee*, published by the Government of West Bengal, 1948.

West Bengal has good potentialities for developing the fruit preservation industry but at the present time the industry is small compared to that of the United Provinces or the Punjab (East and West).

East Bengal has extensive supplies of fish, eggs and poultry. A considerable percentage of these commodities in the Calcutta market comes from East Bengal. The Government of West Bengal has, however, launched a four-year scheme of pisciculture in every union or sub-division of the province. The scheme will cost the Government about Rs. 4½ lakhs and when completed

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it is expected to make the province self-sufficient in the matter of fish supply. The province has also good potentialities for developing coastal fisheries along the Bay of Bengal.

Cotton

Bengal is at a disadvantage in respect of cotton supply, its production being only 0·4 per cent of India's total. In 1940-41, the acreage under cotton in Bengal was 81,000 acres and production amounted to 29,000 bales. India produced about 4·5 million bales of cotton in 1946-47, of which Bengal's share did not exceed 29,000 bales. About 70 per cent of the total acreage under cotton in undivided Bengal has gone to East Bengal but the quality of cotton produced in both East and West Bengal is inferior and unsuitable for use by the local spinning mills. Before the war, most of the supplies from Bengal were exported to Japan. As only short-staple cotton is grown in both East and West Bengal, the textile mills and handlooms operating in the provinces are entirely dependent on imports from outside for their requirements of yarn.

Of the 39 textile mills of undivided Bengal, about nine are in East Bengal and the rest in West Bengal. Of the textile mills in West Bengal, about 14 are spinning mills and others are non-spinning. West Bengal has great potentialities for developing the cotton textile industry, while East Bengal has certain disadvantages in respect of power, labour and transportation.

Sericulture

Undivided Bengal contributed about 20 per cent of the total Indian production of raw silk, its annual production being about 300,000 pounds. Of the total supply from Bengal, about 70 per cent comes from Malda in East Bengal and the remaining 30 per cent from Murshidabad and Birbhum in West Bengal. Charkha silk comprises over 80 per cent of the total production. The following table shows the estimated production of raw silk and cocoons in the two provinces:

	East Bengal	West Bengal	Total for Bengal
		(pounds)	
Tasar silk	35,000	15,000	50,000
Charkha silk	175,000	75,000	250,000
Total	210,000	90,000	300,000
Cocoons	4,200,000	1,800,000	6,000,000

In 1946-47, the total acreage under mulberry in Bengal was estimated at 9,500 acres, of which over 7,000 acres were in East Bengal. The quality of silk produced in both the provinces is not properly graded and standardised. The most serious defect of Charkha silk is that it is not continuous which makes it unsuitable for weaving with speed machinery. The local weaving mills, therefore, prefer the imported silk from Japan, China, U.S.A. and other countries. Both provinces have scope for the improved cultivation of mulberry and production of better quality of silk with proper assistance from their respective Governments.

There are six silk weaving mills in West Bengal with about 700 power looms in operation. More than 3,000 handloom silk weavers are working in Murshidabad and Bankura in West Bengal. East Bengal has no silk-weaving factories.

Hides and Skins

Bengal is a primary centre for supply of raw hides and skins. The province contributes more than one-fifth of the total Indian production of raw cow-hides and 11 per cent of raw goat-skins. Of the total supply from Bengal, East Bengal contributes about 80 per cent of the raw cow-hides and 70 per cent of the raw goat skins, the largest supplies coming from Dacca and Chittagong. In the pre-war days when there were not many export restrictions, Bengal exported raw hides worth Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 lakhs and goat skins worth over a crore of rupees per annum. The following table shows the estimated production of hides and skins in both the provinces:

	East Bengal	West Bengal	Total for Bengal
		(number of pieces)	
Raw cow hides	5,144,000	1,286,000	6,430,000
Raw goat skins	2,117,500	907,500	3,025,000

As there are no presses for baling hides and skins in East Bengal and the port facilities at Chittagong are limited, most of the supplies from East Bengal are sent to Calcutta for foreign shipment. There are about 300 tanneries in Bengal including 256 small Chinese cottage tanneries. Of these, about 15 or 16 are fairly organised and 5 or 6 are run on a large scale. Almost all the tanneries are in West Bengal.

Projected Developments

The Governments of both East and West Bengal have announced extensive plans for the improvement of agriculture in their respective provinces. Abolition of the zamindari system, State development of waste lands, and construction of irrigation facilities are planned for the near future. With the abolition of the zamindari system, the Government of West Bengal proposes to take over all the agricultural lands in the province and introduce co-operative farming. The East Bengal Government proposes to establish peasant proprietorship of all agricultural lands, as opposed to State ownership envisaged so far. There is no artificial irrigation system in East Bengal; the rivers Brahmaputra, Padma, Meghna, Dhaleswari and Lakshya with their tributaries provide natural irrigation. The Government, however, intends to start work on a multi-purpose scheme, known as the Karnafuli project, in Chittagong. The West Bengal Government, in alliance with the Governments of Bihar, Orissa and Nepal, is interested in early completion of the various multi-purpose schemes like the Damodar-Kosi project, Mahanadi project, and the Maurakshy Reservoir project. The West Bengal Government has also prepared a scheme for the erection of a barrage across the river Ganges with a view to improving the crop conditions of central

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Bengal on either side of the Bhagirathi and to resuscitate the dying rivers Bhairab, Jalangi, Mathabhanga and Ichamati of central Bengal. Most of these schemes are incorporated in the Government of India's national development projects and the Central Government will contribute substantial financial aid. The multi-purpose projects, when completed, will provide extensive irrigation facilities to West Bengal and will make possible scientific pisciculture and afforestation on a wide scale. The hydro-electric resources of the province will also be immensely increased. A full-fledged agricultural college is to be established in West Bengal some time this year.

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MAHATMA GANDHI'S PLACE IN HISTORY

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WHEN the historian of the future would appraise the greatest men of world history and evaluate their place in creative thought and activity, he will surely find no name standing out more spectacularly and convincingly than that of Gandhiji who even in his own lifetime came to be looked upon as an *Avatar* or the greatest man of his age. He was not merely the greatest man, but the noblest and saintliest man too, and as the sorrowing humanity has now begun to realise, the conjunction of the highest greatness and the loftiest nobility is scarcely witnessed in history and unfortunately too little understood and honoured. His death is, therefore, an irreparable loss to the world as a whole.

The real supremacy of Gandhiji lay in the remarkable integration of life that was witnessed in his whole career. He never stood apart as a lofty apostle. If he was truly a Mahatma, he remained a man of the people amongst the people. It was his sterling nobility no less than his absolute oneness with the poor and oppressed humanity that won for him the unbounded faith and affection not only of his own followers but of all people who knew him. A torch-bearer of humanity, he was universally loved for his noble simplicity and purity of soul which came to him through a continuous cleansing of the spirit by means of sacrifice and prayer. Like a Sannyasin he denied himself all earthly possessions and had the supreme pleasure of having all and owning nothing. And, his humanity to man and to all sentient beings knew no barriers of caste, creed or nationality. He refused to make any distinction in his relationships with Hindu or Muslim, Christian, Parsee, Buddhist or Jew, or people of any other denomination. He treated all as his friends and regarded humans and sub-humans as parents of the same Truth which is God. Who will forget his sympathies and sacrifices for his fellow countrymen in South Africa or in India, for the down-trodden Harijans, for the submerged women, for the sub-humans, and for the unfortunates of all creeds and races? He was in the truest sense of the term an internationalist and was the highest type of the humanized man.

That Gandhiji had a rich and composite personality is well known. It would not have been a complicated affair, if he had merely been a Buddha, a Chaitanya or a Kabir. There was in him the moral grandeur of all such saints. There was also in him the practical leader of the world who could come down from the lofty heights to guide the footsteps of the ordinary mortals. Thus, it would not have been as beautiful or as valuable, if he had just been a saint or a teacher of mankind. It was the wonderful blending in him which was the fundamental feature of his character. What he meant to humanity, and also what he achieved for humanity, was due to the fact that he was more than one. The blending was not merely one of modes of life, but was one of the ancient Aryan culture and the modern civilisation. As a great link between the two, he could be a great reconciler. The name of one who could bridge the spiritual and the temporal, as well as the East and the West, was bound to pass the connotation of a mere humanist to the connotation of a way of life or an institution that can save the weary humanity of today.

The principle of non-violence which is Gandhiji's greatest contribution to the world is nothing which is strictly original, for it has existed in India for centuries. But, his originality lay, firstly, in that he applied the principle unlike his ancient and medieval prototypes, to the political sphere and to inter-group and inter-national relations, and, secondly, in that he emphasised it against the demoralising influence

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Western militarism. Thus, he gave to the unarmed masses a strength not of bullets and bombs, such as the mighty oppressors possessed, but the soul-force inborn in every human being which the world of today has yet to understand and which carried to its logical conclusion can abolish war for all time. To return force for force is to degrade oneself to the level of a brute who appreciates strength only in terms of death and destruction, while the power of non-violence is the power of life and of the soul which cannot be enslaved or destroyed. It was on the basis of this philosophy of non-violence that Gandhiji struggled to free the soul of India and turn his countrymen who were slaves into real men again, their heads raised high and fit to fight for their ultimate fulfilment without recourse to physical violence. Fear was conquered by soul force, and people in India achieved a new dignity born of truth and fearlessness. The free India of today symbolises the triumph of Gandhiji's power of non-violence as a practical political weapon ; it also reveals the glory of man's soul-force. It was by this soul-force that Gandhiji induced thousands to court jail and other sacrifices and it is this very force which can still rescue the present civilisation from its impending doom.

To Gandhiji belongs the supreme glory of sacrificing his own life for the fulfilment of his mission. It it requires two to create a trouble, and if one steadfastly refuses to be one of the two, there cannot be any quarrel. And, if there is violence from one side, the other side can meet it more effectively by refusing to resist with violence. It is this doctrine, theoretically as old as civilisation, which Gandhiji applied to the conduct of human affairs, not unlike Buddha who had said, "If hatred responds to hatred, when and where will hatred end ?"

It was one of the turning-points in world history that Gandhiji chose the path of suffering and *satyagraha* in the cause of justice for his countrymen. He had been to South Africa on a professional visit to work as a lawyer in a big case. So far he had only a vague idea of the colour bar and of the disabilities under which his fellow nationals laboured there. But, as he journeyed from Durban to Maritzburg he experienced it in all its repulsive brutality. He had a first class ticket, yet he was forcibly pushed out of his compartment simply because he was Indian. That was a cold winter night and Gandhiji made the great choice of his life while he sat shivering on the open railway platform. He could have returned to India, and passed his days as a lawyer, but he refused to do so. He chose to fight against racial disabilities not by force of arms but by moral force, and thus developed his technique of *satyagraha* which when translated to the larger sphere of Indian politics wrought the miracle of a transformation of a middle class political agitation into a mass awakening which incidentally is the biggest revolution known to world history.

In Gandhiji's view *Swaraj* was not merely the end of foreign domination. It was the moral regeneration of the people. His constructive programme was only a means to that end. His Khaddar programme was the poor peasant's salvation, for it summed up the reawakening of his creative genius. His fight against untouchability and the drink evil was meant to promote the moral and social welfare of the people. His educational ideas reflected in the Wardha scheme was for the cultural rearmament of the common people. Last, but not the least, the communal unity programme which he propagated till the last minute of his life was for the development of a truly secular state in India. Above all, he sought to make religion and prayer a part and parcel of the nation's life, for he believed that these can not be divorced even from politics and that no work, however great, will really prosper unless it has a moral backing. For a complete fulfilment of this moral discipline, he inculcated the vow of truth, the doctrine of *Ahimsa*, the vow of Brahmacharyya, the vow of the control of the palate, the vow of non-thieving, the vow of *Swadeshi* and *Khaddar*, the vow regarding the untouchables, the vow of fearlessness and the vow of national education. Thus, through this all-comprehensive programme of Swarajya, Gandhiji sought to raise politics to the dignity of a religion and uplift mankind through an ethical and humanitarian revolution. It may be that the world is not yet ready for this moral revolution, yet it is the richer for having witnessed the first application of this moral ideal under modern conditions of strife and violence.

Gandhiji's contribution to Indian politics has been as spectacular as it has been momentous. He created a general will and made India a nation. He gave it a new shape by creating a mass movement which functioned both horizontally and vertically. To him more than to any other single individual may be attributed the newly won freedom of India and he has justly been called the Father of the Nation—the great liberator of India as also of Asia. To him may also be attributed the great miracle of making his countrymen worthy and capable of this freedom. His was the word which swayed India's leaders and India's masses, and it was he who stemmed in a truly heroic fashion the tide of communal hate and violence that rushed in the wake of India's partition. His faith in communal unity did not falter in the darkest hour of his life. The fasts he undertook so often in his life was a *tapasya* of the highest order for the good of the misguided humanity.

Statesman and apostle, humanist and Yogi, Mahatma Gandhi came and opened up a new path for India and the world. The power which he released through his life of sacrifice and martyrdom is imperishable. He has taught us that the forces of destruction will overtake those who rely upon them, and that life and freedom can be ours only if we could revive the moral spirit in us. His own autobiography is a wonderful revelation as to how the moral spirit can triumph over the body. Through his life and also his death, he has shown us in action the ideal of humanity to come.

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PRINCIPLES OF A GANDHIAN CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

By KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.

In the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi our Swaraj to be real must begin at the bottom.[1] He believes that every village in our country should be a Republic or Panchayat having full powers, even those of defending itself against the whole world. This does not mean that every village in India will be completely self-sufficient and even isolated from the rest of our country or the world. In the words of Gandhiji himself :

> "In this structure composed of innumerable villages there will be ever widening, ever ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units."[2]

We may be eager to build up for India a constitution based on these ideas. But there is a difficulty that nowhere in the writings of Mahatma Gandhi do we find a complete picture of the position of the village in the future constitution of India. During the last thirty years of his life he was mostly engaged in a life and death struggle to make the British quit India, so that he found little time to give us that picture. In a sense, he had even not the intention to do so. For as a Satyagrahi, he believed :

> "The very nature of the science of Satyagraha precludes the student from seeing more than the step immediately in front of him."[3]

Recently in a booklet named *Gandhian Constitution for Free India* and published in January, 1946, Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal made an attempt to give some idea as to what Gandhiji had in his mind in relation to the future constitution of our country. It is necessary to examine this brochure carefully, for Gandhiji said in a foreword to it that Principal Agarwal had done what for want of time Gandhiji himself had failed to do. "There is nothing in it," says Gandhiji, "which has jarred on me as inconsistent with what I would like to stand for."[4]

The central theme in the speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi in respect of Swaraj is his passionate zeal for the restoration of the village republics of India. Principal Agarwal has aptly described this idea as 'villagism'. Gandhiji in his usual mystical way has often described his ideal as the realisation of Ramrajya. But what is Ramrajya in our times, when Ramchandra, the illustrious son of Dasaratha, is no more? In the words of Gandhiji himself :

> "It can be religiously translated as kingdom of God on earth. Politically translated, it is perfect democracy in which inequalities based on possession and non-possession, colour, race or creed or sex vanish. In it land and state belong to the people, justice is prompt, perfect and cheap and, therefore, is freedom of worship and of speech and the press—all this because of the self-imposed law of moral restraint. Such a state must be based on truth and non-violence and must consist of prosperous, happy and self-contained villages and village communities.

An analysis of these words will show that Gandhiji has pinned his faith on the high ideals of equality, justice, fraternity, truth and non-violence, all to be realised in actual life in the village communities of our country. No one can seriously dispute about the value of all these ideals. We have always heard of these ideals from the most ancient days down to the present day, though the inevitable imperfections of human nature have always put some limits to their realisation in actual life. The thing that needs here careful study is Gandhiji's insistence on the restoration of the village republics of our country.

This villagism surely does not mean medievalism. The essential thing about the village life in medieval India is generally, though wrongly, supposed to be the isolation of the villages from the rest of the country and the world. Gandhiji is opposed to this idea of isolationism, because this is neither possible not desirable. As Principal Agarwal says :

> "In Gandhiji's scheme the villages of our country should be properly co-ordinated to the Taluka, the District, the Province and the All-India centre through the Taluka and District Panchayats, Provincial Assemblies and the Federal Parliament."[5]

Indeed, if we suppose that Gandhiji accepts the scheme proposed by Principal Agarwal, then we shall have to say that according to Gandhiji in his ideal constitution for India the President of the lowest Panchayat shall be the ex-officio member of the next higher Panchayat or Assembly. Thus under this scheme "even the President of the All-India Panchayat shall be the president of his own village Panchayat as well;"[7] he shall at the same time be a president of the Taluka, District and Provincial Panchayats. In fact Gandhiji wants to develop on modern lines our village

1. *Harijan*, July 28, 1946.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *History of the Congress* by B. Pattabhi Sitaramyya, p. 955.
4. Foreword to the *Gandhian Constitution for Free India.*
5. *The Hindu*, June, 1945.
6. *Gandhian Constitution for Free India*, p. 68.
7. *Ibid*, p. 101.

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which have existed from the prehistoric times in our country but are now in a dilapidated condition. This going back to villages is not to become primitive or medieval:

"It is," as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has said, "the only way to keep up a mode of existence that is instinctive to India, that supplied her once with a purpose, a faith and a meaning."[8]

It is therefore wrong to suggest that Gandhiji wants to put the hands of the clock back and take us to medieval times. What he wants may be described in modern parlance as decentralisation. Though he wants to concentrate most of his attention at the present moment to the urgent task of resusciating the village republics of India, he is not negligent about the relationship of the villages to the rest of India and, indeed, to the whole world. According to Gandhiji, there can be no real conflict between the interests of the village and those of the country, the world or even of the whole universe. All that Gandhiji wants is that the basis of our material existence should be the village or the locality in which we live and that there we must try our best to live a life which is in harmony with all the rest in the universe. For practising and realising the high ideals of inter-nationalism and universalism we need not go from one part of the world to another. If we really serve our neighbours and countrymen, we will, in effect, be serving all other conceivable interests, for in spite of apparent conflicts before our eyes we are living in a universe which is essentially harmonious. Gandhiji's patriotism is only apparently exclusive in the sense that in all humility he confines his attention to the land of his birth. But it is really inclusive in the sense that his service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature, for he wants to identify himself with everything that lives.[9]

There are historical, political, economic, socio-logical, military and cultural reasons for this scheme of decentralisation. An emphasis upon the local auto-nomy of the villages and other self-governing institu-tions is quite in keeping with the historical traditions of ancient India. The institution of local self-government, said late Romesh Chandra Dutt, was developed earliest and preserved longest in India among all the countries of the earth."[10] The Vedas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Vishnusmriti, the Sukras, the Arthashastra of Kautilya, the Nitisara of Somacharyya, all make mention of the village commonwealths of our country. Megasthenes, the Greek traveller, Hieun Tsang and Fa Hien, the Chinese travellers, and many other historians have all spoken very highly of our village systems. Many religious and political storms passed over the country with the invasions and depredations of the Scythians, the Greeks, the Saracens, the Afghans, the Mongolians, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the French and the Danes, but the rural republics of India continued to flourish in our country till the rise of the East India Company to political power.

> "The independent development of local government," says Dr. Radha Kumud Mookherjee, "provided, like the shell of a tortoise, a haven of peace where the national culture could draw in for its own safety when the political storm burst over the land."[11]

When, however, the British Government deliberately introduced the Ryotwari system as against the Mahalwari system, a serious death-blow was dealt to the corporate life of the village republics. The centralisation of all executive and judicial powers in the hands of the British bureaucrats only added to the speed of the deterioration of the powers and influence of the rural functionaries. If, therefore, we try to revitalise the rural life in our country, we will simply be following the footsteps laid down for us by the history of the last few centuries in our country.

Many modern political thinkers, including Joad, Cole, Huxley and Laski, are strongly in favour of decentralisation. On the political plane we can easily accumulate arguments in favour of decentralisation. Local needs are better understood by local people than by persons living at a distance. In a crowded state of modern times the central government can rarely find time enough to discuss all the details of local problems. Experiment in new schemes of legalisation, laws relating to prohibition, for instance, is possible and effective only in a decentralised local area. Local autonomy gives colour and vigour to the local people and thus adds to their diversity. It also trains people in the art of self-government and makes their obedience really creative and revivifies their faith in social action. Effective decentralisation involves that there will be direct election only for the village panchayats and indirect election for the rest of the panchayats. The scheme of indirect election suggested by Principal Agarwal is that the president of the lower panchayat shall be the ex-officio member of the next higher panchayat. This system of election will obviously combine the advantages of both direct and indirect elections. It will avoid waste of money, time and energy involved in direct elections specially in a vast country like ours. It will automatically put a check on the unhealthy activities of the political parties, which under elections through large constituencies increasingly tend to be rigid and crystallised. There will be little room for corruption and bribery; for in village elections personal acquaintance will certainly put these things at a discount, and in case of all other higher assemblies, elections will be mostly in the hands of persons of status and responsibility and therefore not easily subject to temptations. Under such a scheme we are not likely to see those election meetings of our

8. S. Radhakrishnan, *Mahatma Gandhi, Essays and Reflection on His Life and Work*, p. 27.
9. Ray Walker, *Wisdom of Gandhi*, p. 155.
10. R. C. Dutt, *Economic History of India*.
11. *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 10.

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times which have been described by Mr. Bernard Shaw as :

> "Scandalous and disgusting spectacles at which sane and sober men yell senselessly until any dispassionate stranger looking at them would believe that he was in a lunatic asylum of exceptionally dreadful cases of mental derangement."[12]

Under the scheme, moreover, it will not be difficult to secure the responsibility of the representatives to their constituencies, for each of the constituencies here suggested will be very small and therefore capable of acting, whenever necessary.

There is also an economic justification for the principle of decentralised government specially in a country like ours. It is obvious to anybody that large-scale production in economies in our times has led to large-scale government, that is, to centralised government. If we want to introduce the principle of small-scale production on a cottage industry basis, we will be automatically urging for a scheme of decentralisation. India at the present moment has a surplus of human energy not fully employed. If we want to give employment to all our people in India and Pakistan who number 400 millions at present, we cannot possively solve our problem by mechanical large-scale production alone. It has been estimated that there are only about 2 million workers employed in the heavy and large-scale industries in our country. If following the Bombay planners, we wanted to expand, say, five times the heavy industries in our country, these would give employment to only about 10 million people. But what about the remaining 390 millions? All of them cannot be farmers, for this would mean an excessive subdivision of land ; and only a small addition can be made to the professional class. Even the farmers in our country are not fully employed; they are badly in need of supplementary industries to add to their small incomes. All this leads us to the inevitable conclusion that however much we may like to develop heavy or "key" industries, for the present, at least, we must concentrate our attention to the principle and policy of cottage-industrialisation and consequent decentralisation. Even Gandhiji does not seem to be entirely against the principle of large-scale production in spite of its obvious evils of mechanisation. To the question whether cottage industries and large-scale production can be harmonised, he said :

> "Yes, if they are planned so as to help the villages. Key industries, industries which the nation needs, may be centralised. Under my scheme nothing will be allowed to be produced by cities which can equally be produced by the villages. The proper function of cities is to serve as clearing houses for village products."[13]
>
> "Mechanisation," says Gandhiji, "is good when hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India."[14]

Gandhiji, therefore, is not wholly opposed to the principle of large-scale production. What he emphasises is that the present circumstances in India want us to concentrate more of our attention and energies to the development of cottage industries.

There are other arguments also in favour of cottage industries.

> "A product," says Henry Ford, "that is used all over the country ought to be made all over the country to save transportation and to distribute buying power more evenly."[15]

Besides, we can easily see that "small units capable of diversified production and quick adaptation are more economical than large units."[16] It may also be remembered that uncontrolled large-scale production in the search for external markets creates consciously or unconsciously an atmosphere for war which means huge loss for the whole human race.

From the point of view of the defence of India also we can make out a case for principle of decentralisation. If the national economy is wholly based on centralised industries, its dislocation can be easily brought about by means of air-bombing by any enemy. The defence of China against Japanese aggression was greatly helped by her industrial co-operatives which made almost all the Chinese villages self-sufficient in regard to the necessities of life by spreading a network of cottage-industries all over China.

We must not also neglect the cultural and sociological sides of decentralisation. The principle of decentralisation will encourage the virtues of simplicity, humanity and sanctity of labour. Those among us who do not like the complexities of modern city-life will find a suitable atmosphere in the decentralised villages where they may pursue the spiritual ideal of simple living and high thinking. And, needless to say, we must have some among us who like Prof. Einstein will surely say, "Possession, out-ward success, publicity, luxury—to me these have always been contemptible."[17] Village life with its simplicity can also give a deeper opportunity of coming into very intimate contact with our neighbours and this will greatly help the spirit of humanity in us. Sanctity of physical labour is emphasized by the scheme of decentralised cottage industries and it cannot be denied that this emphasis is a great necessity in our country. The principle of decentralisation will also train us in the virtue of non-violence. Non-violence essentially means love, capacity to feel for others, and thus develop a will which is in fact a general will looking to the common good of all. Simplicity, respect for human lives and sanctity of physical labour which will be emphasised

12. *The Political Mad-House in America and Required Home*, pp. 25-26.
13. S. Radhakrishnan, *Mahatma Gandhi, Essays and Reflections.*
14. *Harijan*, November 16, 1934.
15. Henry Ford, *Today and Tomorrow*, p. 109.
16. Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, p. 342.
17. *I Believe*, p. 70.

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in our small village republics may go a long way to teach us the principle of non-violence.

Under Gandhiji's scheme of decentralisation we shall have from the sociological point of view open-air rural life in place of modern congested cities. The busy and noisy life in the cities often causes a serious strain upon our nerves and may even lead to a complete breakdown of health. To prevent such things we must develop our villages where villagers will live in peaceful and health-giving circumstances and which urban people may occasionally visit to gain joy and vigour.

These are the general arguments in favour of the scheme of decentralisation suggested by Principal Agarwal. But anyone can easily see that decentralisation by itself will not do. Unless decentralisation is supplemented by a corresponding scheme of centralisation, it may easily degenerate into disintegration. If there are historical, political, economic, military, cultural and sociological reasons for decentralisation, it can also be seriously urged for similar reasons that there is also a good case for centralisation. The historical argument in favour of decentralisation is easily over-done. It means in effect that because we had some things in the past, we should have the same things in the present. But, in fact, new circumstances may require new things. In these days of wide and rapid communication, when scientific discoveries have enabled us to run over the land, swim through the seas and fly through skies, to urge the simple case of decentralisation without a corresponding scheme of centralisation is to fight for the lost cause.

Decentralisation may mean loss of uniformity in legislation which is no less useful than diversity to be encouraged by the principle of decentralisation. There is also an economic case for centralisation. Scientific discoveries lead to world-wide communications. world-wide communications lead to world-wide trade, and world-wide trade leads to world-wide government. This is the inevitable sorites of the 20th century. As soon as you accept large-scale industries,—and Gandhiji even does not propose their total rejection, —we must also accept large-scale government, that is, centralisation.

The military reason for centralisation is perhaps the most important. India as an independent state must have an army, an airforce and a navy. Even Gandhiji, the supreme visionary had to be a supreme realist and a practical idealist in this respect. As Gandhiji says :

"Alas ! in my Swaraj of today there is a room for soldiers . . . under Swaraj you and I shall have a disciplined, intelligent, educated police force that would keep order within and fight raiders from without, if by that time I or some one else does not show a better way of dealing with either."[18]

If this Indian defence is to be strong, it must be united and, therefore, centralised,—an argument which prompted many of us to hesitate to accept up to the last moment the Muslim League demand of Pakistan, involving a division of India into two states with separate arrangements for defence.

Again, if we want to enrich our local culture, we must have ingredients of it, not only from the different parts of our own country, but also from other parts of the world. There is also a sociological side for centralisation in this that if we want to improve human breed, there should be marriages not only between persons of different castes but also of localities, religions and nationalities.

All this is sufficient to show that while pleading for the new theory of villagism we must not overemphasise its value, nor give only one-sided arguments. When we want decentralisation and give arguments in favour of it we should be careful enough not to forget the necessity of centralisation and the arguments in favour of that. Life is not full unless it is centralised in certain respects and decentralised in certain other respects.

If the position of the village in the new Indian state is properly understood, I might now give a short description of the organisation and functions of the village republics as described by Principal Agarwal in his booklet *Gandhian Constitution for Free India.* There will be in every village or a group of small, neighbouring villages, a panchayat, ordinarily, of five persons elected for a term of three years and doing all the legislative, executive and judicial business of the locality, with the help of the village officers. Its main functions will relate to education, recreation, protection, agriculture, industries, trade and commerce, sanitation and medical relief, justice, finance and taxation. It will run a primary or lower basic school through the medium of a productive craft, maintain a library and a reading room and run a night school for adults. It will encourage folk songs, folk dance, and folk theatre, maintain a gymnasium, and a playing field, and arrange exhibitions and fairs. For the purpose of defending the village republic from thieves, robbers and other criminals and wild animals, the village authorities must maintain village guardians and impart regular training to all citizens in the technique of Satyagraha or non-violent resistance and defence. The village government will pay most of its attention to the smooth running of agricultural and industrial activities of the village, making proper arrangements for irrigation, consolidation of holdings and co-operative farming, supplying seeds and implements, checking soil erosion and reclaiming waste land, assessing rent of each agricultural plot and collecting it from the landholders, reviewing, scrutinising and if necessary, scaling down the debts and regulating their rates of interest, organising the production of Khadi and other village industries, running a co-operative dairy and a village tannery, organising co-operative marketing of village products and co-operative consumers' societies, supervising the imports and exports of the village, maintaining co-operative godowns and running the village banks. The sanitary and medical department of

18. *Young India*, May 7, 1925.

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the village republic should take charge of the drainage system, prevent public nuisances, check the spread of epidemics, make arrangements for pure drinking water and maintain a village hospital and maternity home. The village republic must provide cheap and speedy justice to villagers and make arrangements for free legal aid and information. For doing all these things money will be necessary and for this taxes may be imposed and donations encouraged.

To co-ordinate the social, economic and political activities of the villages there will be the Taluka Panchayats, the District Panchayats, the Provincial Panchayats, and the All-India Panchayat in succession. These authorities may do many other functions suitable to the locality. In the urban areas there may be Municipal Panchayats, subdivided into ward panchayats. The status and functions of the Municipal Panchayats may be similar to those of the District Panchayats. The functions of the higher bodies should be advisory and not mandatory, and restricted to guiding, advising and supervising and not commanding the lower Panchayats. So far there is no difficulty in the suggestions of Principal Agarwal. He aims at a five-tier constitution with the villages, Talukas, Districts, Provinces and the All-India centre as the respective units. This is somewhat similar to the three-tier constitution suggested by the Cabinet Mission in their statement of May 16, 1946 for the provinces, the groups and the All-India centre. But when he goes on to suggest that "the president of the lower Panchayat shall be the ex-officio member of the next higher Panchayat,"[19] that "even the president of the All-India Panchayat shall be the president of his own village Panchayat as well,"[20] and that the All-India President "shall at the same time, be a member or president of the Taluka, District and Provincial Panchayats,"[21] I do not think that we should accept his contentions. It ought to be obvious that it is physically impossible for one man to be in charge of so many official posts if he wants to do the proper duties of his position; and if any one does occupy them, pressure of duties here, there and everywhere may simply make him fly from one part of the country to another.

I would suggest that the proper method would have been for the lower Panchayat to elect a special representative to represent its interests to the next higher body. This representative will be in the position of an ambassador of a smaller state to a higher state, though every village, Taluka, District, and Province may, whenever necessary, send its representatives to similar bodies in other parts of the country on a footing of equality.

I hope many will agree that the principles here suggested represent vital improvements over the constitutions that are in existence today in different parts of the world. I may here emphasise three important aspects in respect to which our principles differ from those in other countries. First, our emphasis is on decentralisation or villagism while others emphasise centralisation or nationalism. Secondly, we suggest a modification in the modern theory of federalism, for while simple federalism implies what may be called a two-tier constitution we are thinking in terms of a five-tier constitution. Thirdly, under the constitution that we have suggested we are not likely to see the evils of the modern party system, such as, one-sided propaganda during elections, opposition to the policies of the government for the sake of opposition itself, inclusion of able and important men from the government on account of their belonging to a different political party, etc. This third aspect need to be emphasised because party organisations are becoming increasingly rigid and even violently conflicting, so much so that members of the administrative and judicial services are definitely prohibited from having any connexion with any political parties. Under our scheme the situation would be completing otherwise. Needless to say there is in our scheme no trace of a suggestion in favour of the Communist doctrine of the dictatorship of a single political party. But we are also no supporter of the Anglo-Saxon model of politics in which there is opposition for the sake of opposition itself.

I have here given a short idea of a constitution for India drawn up from the bottom. I know that there is almost no chance of this idea being immediately accepted by our present constitution-makers, though most of them often speak so much in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, who, in fact, is the main inspirer of this ideal. However let us try our best to popularise the cause. A day may come when the whole country, nay, the whole world may be eager to accept this basis of an ideal constitution based on the Gandhian Ideals of truth and non-violence.

19. *Gandhian Constitution for India*, p. 101.
20. *Ibid*, p. 101.
21. *Ibid*, pp. 101-2.

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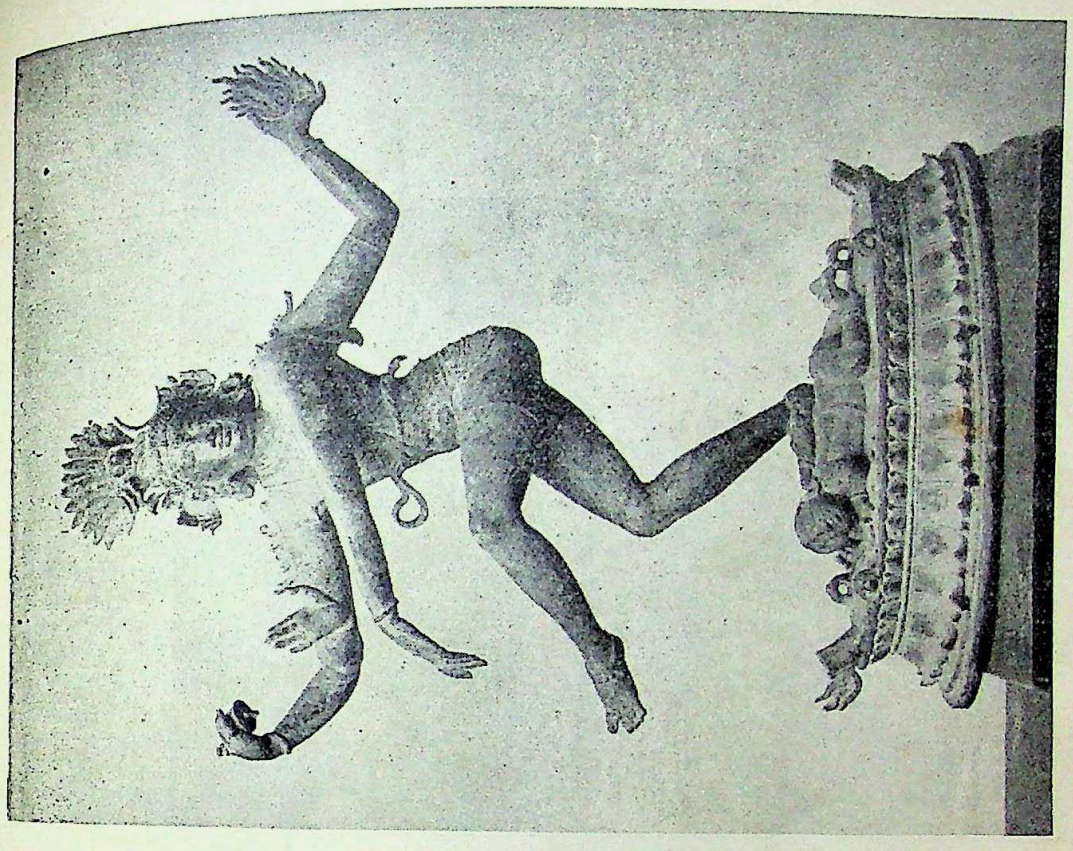
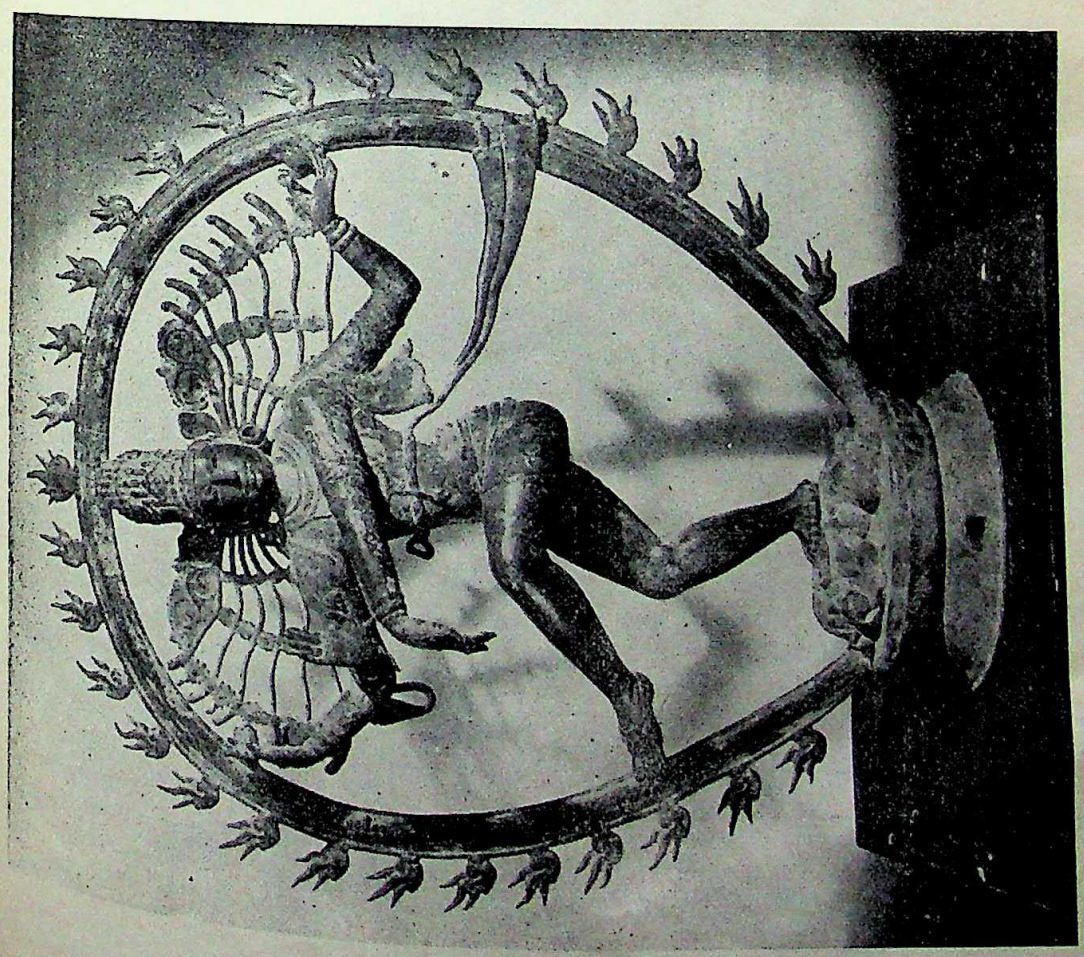


Nataraja (bronze), Madras Museum



Nataraja (bronze), Madras Museum

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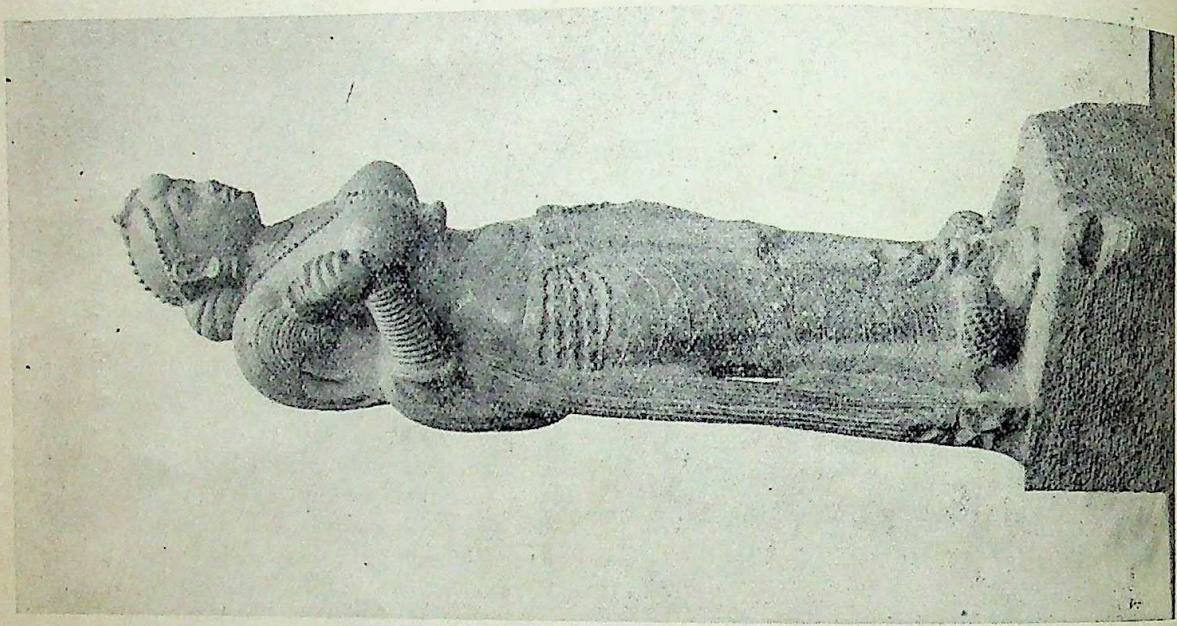
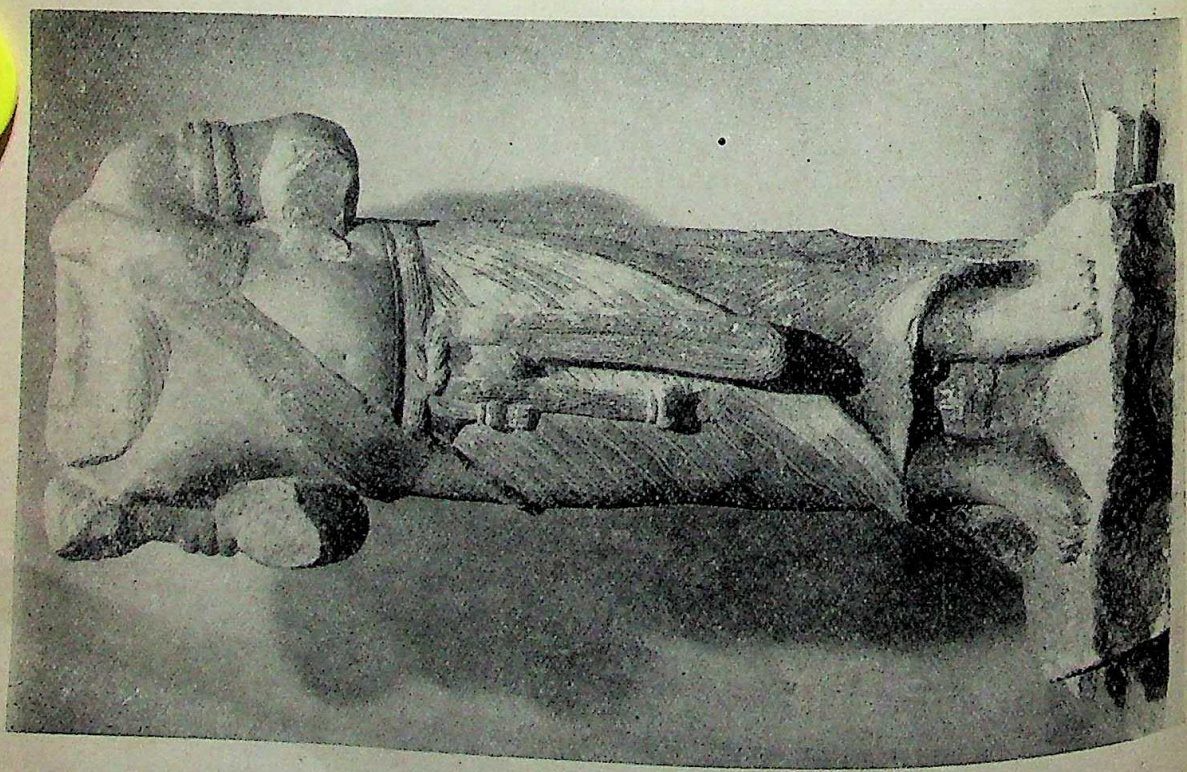


Chauri-bearer (stone), Patna Museum



Yaksha (stone), Indian Museum, Calcutta

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THE ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The Royal Academy of London, the official British institute for the display of the visual arts, devoted its annual Winter Show to a comprehensive Exhibition of Indian Art lent by the Indian and Pakistan Governments. By the co-operation of a British Committee appointed by the Royal Academy and a Committee of Indian experts appointed by the Indian Education Department, presided over by the Hon'ble Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, valuable monuments of old Indian sculpture and masterpieces of Indian painting from public and private collections were chosen and lent for the Exhibition which was opened in London on the 19th November, 1947. Though the India Society, London, has occasionally arranged for Exhibitions of Indian Art, principally representing modern Indian painting in its various phases, nothing like a really representative show of ancient Indian Art in all its phases and schools had been attempted before. And from various points of view, the recent Exhibition sponsored by the Royal Academy has been of great interest and significance.

The Exhibition has almost synchronized with Indian Independence and the cessation of British Dominion in India. The history of the cultural relationship between India and England is a doleful story of tragic significance. Throughout the long period of about two centuries, the relationship between the two great nations has been one of ruthless political domination and sordid commercial exploitation which has not only worked out the systematic economic ruin of India, but a slow but sure strangulation of Indian art, culture, and civilization. No serious attempt had been made, at any time, during this period of subjection, to foster the growth and development of Indian arts and crafts, the traditions of which cover an uninterrupted period of about five thousand years, and the flow of which stops abruptly from the date of the establishment of the British rule in India. The British rulers and missionaries, no doubt, to further their own ends, had given to India various educational institutions, public and private, which have quickened interest, on the part of Indians, in English language and literature, and through the latter, knowledge of European culture and civilization had spread in India, hitherto wholly engrossed in her own traditional culture and philosophy of life. Indians have assimilated the best lessons of English literature if not of English culture, in a manner, unprecedented in the history of any other non-English-speaking people in any part of the world. The interest which Indian nationals had developed in English literature and culture, had hardly been reciprocated by cultured Englishmen. These dark clouds are relieved by the tiny lamps that three Englishmen lighted to explore the hitherto unknown but extensive continent of Indian art and culture, generally ignored and disdained by the average Britisher in India, armed in his racial arrogance which engendered the belief that India had nothing to offer in the sphere of culture worth his serious attention. The three Englishmen who shed their racial prejudices to focus their attention on an unbiased study of Indian culture, are glorious names which elevate the cultural relationship to a respectable level—Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, E. B. Havell, the great English champion of Indian Art, and Sir John Woodroffe, the most sympathetic exponent of the basic tenets of Indian life and philosophy and one of the founders of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. Two other names deserve honourable mention in this connection, the late Sister Nivedita (Mrs. Margaret Noble) and Dr. James H. Cousins, whose deep and abiding interest in Indian Art have made valuable contributions towards a mutual cultural exchange, leading to a sympathetic understanding and appraisal of the achievement of Indians in the domain of the visual arts.

Various French and Dutch publications, during the last thirty years, have recorded the appreciation of the merits of Cambodian, Siamese and Indo-Javanese Art on the part of French savants and connoisseurs, but the continental Art of India, the source and pivot of its colonial branches, had *not* received adequate attention on the part of European connoisseurs. And one is tempted to refer in this connection to the interesting fact that an almost contemporary appreciation of Indian Moghul painting by Queen Maria Theresa of Austria is on record in the decoration of her Schonbrun Palace, a room of which was covered with a series of Moghul miniatures imported from India. To this a recent parallel is afforded by the decoration of the India Office in London by a group of contemporary Indian painters.

Anyhow, the recent exhibition organized by the Royal Academy is the first serious tribute paid to the merits of Indian Art, hitherto ignored or denied by a group of British archaeologists and antiquarians in India, unable to shed their racial prejudices and somewhat obsessed by their exaggerated belief in the Greco-Roman standards in Art, which prevented an unbiased understanding and appreciation of the highly original qualities and merits of Indian Art, which E. B. Havell championed throughout his life.

The most typical of the English attitude towards Indian Art is recorded in the tirade of John Ruskin, in the insult offered to the image of the Buddha by Sir

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George Birdwood, the Victorian "authority" on Indian Art, and in the apathy and the positive distaste of Indian Art admitted by Roger Fry, the foremost English critic, in his *Last Lectures*.

Such being the doleful history of English understanding of Indian Art, one is naturally curious to ask: Has there been a change of heart conducive to an unbiased appreciation of India's aesthetic achievement? The reactions to this magnificent display of Indian masterpieces can be most conveniently judged from the extracts from criticisms which appeared in the London Press, some of which are set forth below:

"The sculpture is inevitably disappointing. Reft from its architectural background, most of it on a very small scale, it would have stood more concentrated grouping than it has received, and it is little helped by a background which fails to show it up. Even in its own surroundings and seen on the scale of Ellora, Madura, or Seven Pagodas, Indian sculpture is not easy to appreciate, probably because it is impersonal in style, and the individuality one looks for in European sculpture is suppressed here and subordinated to an abstraction. Indian sculpture bears perhaps to European much the same relationship as the ballet bears to the drama; it is generalized, and individuality is absent." (*Nature*, London).

"Prominent among representative pieces in the exhibition is the head of a horse from Konarak, in Orissa, that shows the Indian genius for creating three-dimensional forms. But perhaps the chief glory of this period are the bronzes, the average quality of which at the exhibition, is, if possible, superior to that of the stone sculpture. Foremost among them is a Dancing Siva from Madras Museum, undoubtedly, the finest bronze from Asia, and some think in all the world, a supreme example of the rhythm and vitality that make the greatness of all Indian sculpture." (*Broadcast in the B.B.C.'s Far Eastern Service*).

In course of an appreciative review of the Indian paintings, Basil Gray is led to comment on a late but charming drawing from Orissa, which is worth quoting:

"I suggest that the painting at the Royal Academy should not be thought of as the poor descendant of the classic wall-paintings, but as a new school with a vision and content unique in history, revealing fresh achievements of the spirit of man." (*The Listener*, London).

The comments of F. G. Mories are in many respects remarkable and worth quoting:

"The exhibition now on view at Burlington House is in many respects the most impressive show I have ever seen. It is awesome by its dignity; a dignity which appears to be the outcome of a prolonged religious ecstasy and the slow evolution of a deep-rooted tradition. Sculpture at its best, here it is superlative, lacking the wide chromatic scale of painting, has to make its appeal through pure form, and form as it appeals to me in these Indian masterpieces is severe. The word "severe" meant originally to the Greeks worshipful, and surely we are bound to feel the element of worship conveyed by these images of gods, prophets and pietists whose such are depicted. . . . For us of the occidents these oriental and sacred figures cannot have the religious appeal they had to those for whom they were made. Nevertheless we may sympathise even when our sympathies are not the same: the sense familiar by meditation awakens in us the family feeling inherent in mankind. To a Christian continent, with its religious roots in the East, the disparity is not so great as may at first appear. However that may be, the permanent interest to art lovers is the aesthetic, and in this Indian Exhibition there is a volume of work so rich in artistic content that many visits will be necessary to those people who want to assimilate it at all." (*The Schoolmaster* and *Woman Teacher's Chronicle*).

Stuart Simmonds has made very piquant comments which we quote:

"The bronzes typify the incredible vitality of Indian Sculpture. These anonymous craftsmen, everywhere restrained by strict iconographical conventions, were yet free to draw upon life for their rhythms. For them the laws of sculpture, painting, music, and the dance were directed towards a single end. They worked with unequalled grace and lightness of touch, and by remembering the flesh and blood of the living being, they achieved, while working at their religio-symbolic figures, that mysterious sense of life which marks off the true work of art from the work of the intellect alone." (*Isis*, Oxford).

Sir Richard Winstedt, Vice-Chairman of the Royal Academy Exhibition, has said:

"I think Britain has a lesson to learn from Indian Art."

Mr. Noel Baker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, has made certain remarks which are pregnant with meaning:

"British people have a new and vivid interest in India and Pakistan which they have never had before. The exhibition would be one factor in helping them to get back to a saner conception of what human life is for. Contingents must work in a new relationship of freedom, equality and co-operation if civilization were to be saved and mankind given the destiny it ought to have."

A writer in the *Great Britain and the East* has remarked:

"Full appreciation of India's cultural heritage by the Indians themselves has not always been apparent in the turbulent history of that mighty sub-continent. Today, however, there is a new awakening—not only by the peoples of India, but by the peoples of the West—to the glories of India's arts, and this re-valuation must be carefully fostered and preserved at all costs."

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MAHARANA PRATAP SINGH

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By Prof. S. K. BANERJEE, M.A.

Rana Pratap Singh, the eldest son of Rana Udai Singh by his first wife, was probably born in the fort of Kumbhilmir in 1540 A.D. During the life-time of his father, Pratap had no opportunity of displaying the manly qualities which became prominent in his later career. His father who was a slave to his youngest queen, selected Jagamala, the step-brother of Pratap, as his heir to the throne. Like Sher Shah, Pratap was neglected by his father and despised by his step-mother and so he was thrown on his own resources in his youth. But fortunately, Pratap had admirers and supporters, especially his mother's relatives who were not ready to see Jagamala on the throne of Chitore at a time when the perils of the kingdom demanded a strong man at the helm of the State.

After the demise of Rana Udai Singh, though Jagamala sat on the throne of Chitore for a few hours, the Sardars placed Pratap on the throne on 28th February, 1572.

After his accession to the throne Pratap turned his attention to the internal organisation of the empire. He knew that the trial of strength with Akbar was inevitable; but he should get time. Fortunately Akbar was engaged in the Guzrat campaigns and so he was allowed much-needed respite. Akbar wanted to secure the submission of Pratap without appealing to arms and that was why he sent Kumar Man Singh and Raja Bhagawan Das to Udaipur to persuade Pratap to acknowledge his supremacy. Pratap was not less shrewd than his rival and he played his cards well. He entertained his guests and by shrewd diplomacy he was able to make Akbar believe his good and friendly intentions. During this time he did not remain idle but was preparing himself for the coming storm. He knew that the evil day that was to come, was not far off. He at once took steps to organise his Government and devised regulations to make his army more efficient and better equipped. He repaired and strengthened the fortresses and decided like Shivaji to adopt guerilla warfare against the Mughals.

Akbar who was a strong annexationist, and was the embodiment of the political principle preached by Kautilya—"Whoever is superior in power shall wage a war"—could not endure the existence of a strong independent kingdom in Mewar. He knew that the Rajput Chiefs who had been deprived of their independence sullenly brooded over their losses and they were ready to spring at the smallest opening for revolt. Honour and prestige of the empire demanded that the picture of independence should be wiped off from the memory of the Rajputs. In other words, the Crown of Mewar—the symbol of Rajput independence—must kiss the feet of the Mughal emperor. Dr. V. A. Smith puts in a nutshell the *casus belli*:

"His (Rana's) patriotism was his offence. Akbar had won over most of the Rajput chieftains by his astute policy and could not endure independent attitude assumed by the Rana, who must be broken if he would not bend like his fellows."[1]

Akbar was determined to destroy Pratap, but Pratap was not the man to fail or falter in the face of difficulties and in grim earnestness he set himself to the task of dealing with the situation in a bold and decisive manner. He resolved to uphold the honour and dignity of his house by sacrificing himself in the service of his Motherland.

In 1575, Akbar sent Man Singh and Asaf Khan against Rana Pratap. They arrived at the pass of Haldighat where the Rajputs and the Mughals were to engage one another in a death grapple. The Rana came out of the mountains with his followers and caused the Rajputs on the Mughal side to flee away like a flock of sheep. The battle—a ferocious hand to hand struggle—raged from early morning to midday ending with the defeat of the Rana. Pratap retreated into the hills but the Mughals did not venture to pursue him.[2] The battle of Haldighat like the battle of Thermopylae was one of the few events in history in which defeat was more glorious than victory and Rana Pratap immortalised his name by fighting against the overwhelming number of the Mughal army.

Pratap's spirit was not damped by the defeat. He detected his mistakes; he changed his tactics and decided not to fight face to face with the Mughals. He fortified every pass of the Aravalli and these were entrusted to the Bhills. Then the hide and seek game was started between the Rajputs and the Mughals and the latter being harassed by the Rana's army left Mewar. Akbar could not conquer Mewar even by sending three expeditions in a year. In the next year (1577) Akbar made vast preparations to humble the pride of the Rana and Abul Fazl records that Shah Baz Khan was appointed to command the force and the execution of the task was committed to him.[3] The Mughals captured Kumbhilmir and ranscaked Udaipur and Gogunda, but Pratap did not bend. Shah Baz Khan being tired and disgusted left Mewar. After the dparture of Shah Baz Khan, Pratap recaptured most of his places. Akbar sent two other expeditions against the Rana, one in 1578 under Shah Baz Khan and another in 1584 under Jagannath Kachchhavaha, but to no purpose. Pratap soon recovered all Mewar except Chitore and Mandalgarh and spent his last 11 years in peace and tranquillity. He breathed his last in 1596.

Tod in his book, *Annals of Rajasthan*, has recorded many incidents, to wit: Sakta Singh was rebuked by Prince Selim in the Mughal camp after the battle of Haldighat; Pratap Singh was reduced to a state of abject misery to such an extent that he had to take shelter with the Bhils and once Pratap expressed his

1. *Akbar, the Great Mughal*, p. 151.
2. Lowe's *Translation of Muntakab-ut-Tawarikh*, II, p. 239.
3. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 307.

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desire for entering into a subordinate alliance with the Mughals when a wild cat made off with the grass cake, kept for his belly-pinched daughter; but these are nothing but cock and bull stories. Selim at the time of the battle of Haldighat was a boy of six years and so it is quite impossible that he could then rebuke Sakta Singh. As regards the second incident, it may be said that even in his worst days Pratap was the master of the territory extending from Kumbhilmir in the North to Wrishavpur in the South (about 90 miles) and from Devari in the East to Sirohi in the West—about 70 miles. This area was fertile and so there is no reason to think that Pratap's family had to live on grass. Pratap swore, says Tod, that so long as Chitore would not be recovered he and his descendants would not take meal on gold and silver plates, would pass nights on grass and would wear beards. Gouri Sankar Ojha opines that these are invented stories. The present fashion of wearing beards and whiskers among the Rajputs dates from the time of Farukshiyar and not earlier.[4] Ranas of Udaipur never keep grass under their bed.

Rana Pratap's reign, full of strenuous activities extending over a period of 20 years, is unique in the annals of Rajputana.

> "Had Mewar" says Tod, "possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor the retreat of the ten thousand would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar."

Pratap Singh was born in an aristocratic family of Rajputana and was of noble descent on both sides. His was a full stature of growth and manhood which was tall, stout and well-proportioned; commanding was his figure. He stood as the finest example of *mens sana in corpore sano*. He fought many battles but it is said that he had no sign of wounds in his body.

Pratap Singh was one of the greatest personalities of medieval India. He was the embodiment of the spirit of Rajput independence. He had before him the heroic deeds of his ancestors who had held aloft in their time the banner of freedom and so while his fellow prince "vied with one another in promoting the glory of the empire," he vowed, in the words of the bard, "to make his mother's milk resplendent." The be-all and end-all of his life was to preserve the honour and prestige of his race. But this was not an easy task because he had to measure his sword with Akbar who in the words of Dr. V. A. Smith, at this time, "was the most powerful in the world . . . and was immeasurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth.[5] But nothing could daunt his heart. The strength of his purpose made him steady like a rock unshaken by winds. All attempts of Akbar foiled before the grim determination of Pratap and the latter performed his sacred duty by planting the tree of freedom in Mewar. He gave the freedom-loving Rajputs independence and appeared to his countrymen as the star of a bright hope before whom all dark and ugly shadows vanished away.

His personal magnetism was great which enlivened his followers and made them cheerfully perform their heavy duties. His patriotism and self-sacrifice helped Mewar to regain that moral supremacy over Rajputana which she had lost at the battle of Khanwah where Rana Sangram Singh was defeated by Babar. It was the strength and vigour which he injected into the life of his countrymen that defied the might of Akbar. His unselfish patriotism strengthened the Rajputs at home by swelling the tide of common sentiment and patriotic fraternity in the bosom of every individual citizen of Mewar. The great Hindu-awakening which destroyed the vitality of the Mughal Empire in the 17th century was to a great extent the result of Pratap's work. He stands in the same political relation to Rana Raj Singha as Philip of Macedon is to Alexander.

Rana Pratap was a hard-working ruler and the trials and adventures of his life had strengthened every fibre of his body and developed in him the qualities of patience, courage and self-reliance. His indefatigable industry and minute attention to details are well worthy of a Shivaji or a Peter.

Pratap was a king, but he never played the king. He did not consider it *infra dignitatem* to work with his soldiers. He did not hold the throne for personal enjoyment and luxuries but he cherished a lofty ideal of kingship. If the Grand Monarch Louis XIV claimed, "I am the State", Pratap like Alfred and Frederick the Great said: "I am the first servant of the State." He was a real shepherd of his people. Like Sher Shah he followed the maxim that "it behoves the great to be always active."

Pratap Singh was a statesman of no mean order. The task of a statesman "is not merely to envisage a great purpose but also to see how far his resources can carry him." Pratap had the gift of grasping quickly the possibilities of situation and he knew his limitations.

He was a great soldier and in his campaigns there was a rare union of caution and enterprise. Though he had to wage wars in order to realise his aims, yet he was not a man of cruel nature or of blood-thirsty temperament. His chivalry and kindness to the women of Khankhanan Abdur Rahim (as related by Rajput historians) were not unworthy of an Alexander.

The name of Pratap is a household word today not only in Rajputana but also all over India. So long as the freedom-loving people of the world will worship the patriots, the name of Pratap will remain shining like a star. He was a patriot of unequalled integrity and brilliance, a man of the people, full of fire and daring who infused thousands with electric throbs of *amor patriae* that were in his soul. His career will instil hope and enthusiasm into the hearts of Indian patriots and make them cheerfully perform their sacred duties without failing or faltering before a formidable enemy.

4. *Rajputaneka Itihasa*, Part III, p. 772.
5. *Akbar, the Great Mughal*, p. 148.

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NATURE'S MOST AMAZING ANIMAL

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

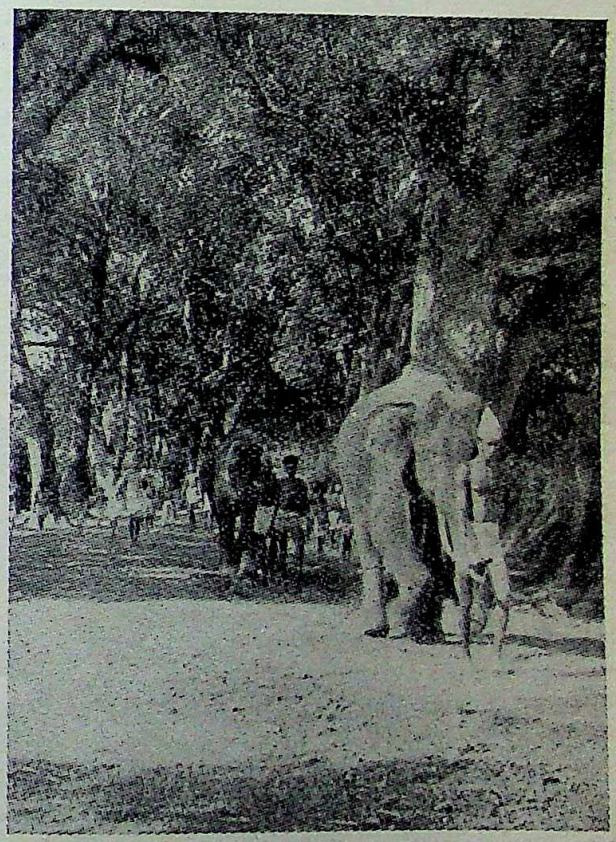
Elephants have from time immemorial excited great and popular interest, always unsurpassed by the interest excited by other animals. Among the many wild animals of the world, that which after capture turns out to be very useful to man, is the elephant. Both in times of peace and war, elephants have been known to be willing workers. The elephant has always been one of the wonders of the world, amazing in its aspect and full of delightful and surprising qualities alike of the head and the heart. The remarkable degree of intelligence it possesses and its huge size and conformation have won for the elephant an exalted position.

History eloquently testifies to the part played by elephants in war. Hasdrubal is said to have used elephants driven by Indian *mahouts* at the battle of the Panormos in 251 B.C. In the Second Punic War, Hannibal and Hasdrubal both made great use of the elephants. It is recorded that at the battle of Raphia the Libyan elephants of Ptolemy failed against the Indian beasts of Antiochos. Hannibal's army which forced its way through the mighty Alps had a number of war elephants. The ancient Carthagenians used war elephants in many of their battles. Greek historians speak of Indians as accomplished masters in the art of capture and training of wild elephants. The miracle of domesticating the elephant was first achieved by the people of India.

The two distinct species of elephants existing at the present time are the Indian and the African. The Indian elephant is easily distinguished from its African brother by the size and shape of its ears, the ears of the African elephant being four to five times bigger than those of the Indian and sail-like in appearance. The African elephant has fewer enamel plates in its molars and has a rounded skull like that of the ancient mastodon. The Indian elephant has complex teeth. Its forehead is marked by a depression or valley, separating the two rounded knob-like projections which part along the middle line. The Indian elephant is more attractive in appearance, and more useful to man.

Elephant carvings in Indian temples have won competent appreciation from art critics and naturalists. Elephants have an immense hold on the affections of the people of India. The Hindu God Ganesa or Ganapati is elephant-headed. He is invoked at the outset in all ceremonies and enterprises. The elephant is the famous and favourite *vahana* of Indra, the Lord of all Devas. According to Hindu mythology which is most colourful, Lord Indra rides on the back of his white elephant, named Airavata, which has four tasks a pair on each side. As such the elephant is regarded as a sacred animal. An ancient Hindu belief based on the scriptures is that the eight corners of the earth are borne by eight elephants known as the *Ashtadika-*

Of all the animals in Travancore the most characteristic and the oldest is the elephant which is also the undisputed master of the forests. Elephants move about in large herds along the cardamom hills of North Travancore. Very seldom is a solitary elephant seen in the wilds. When one does come across a single elephant, the experience might well be a death-dealing affair. Ordinarily an elephant is not a killer. But there is an occasional 'rogue' elephant, one which turns bad, because of disease, or injury, fury or some other reason. There is no more dangerous beast in the world then than the 'rogue.' When an individual elephant breaks



An elephant under training being led by a decoy elephant

the laws of the herd, he is expelled and becomes the so-called 'rogue.' He is a social outcast and savage. The usual theory is that some old and cantankerous elephant is driven out of the herd, especially during the *musth* or rutting period, by a more powerful male and this ill-tempered fellow gradually turns out to be a confirmed 'solitary' and in the end becomes extremely dangerous to human life and property.

When in herds elephants are easily frightened and they scamper off at the slightest sign of danger. Elephants do not remain in one place for any length of time. They move about from spot to spot in search of food and drink. They are a set of black wandering

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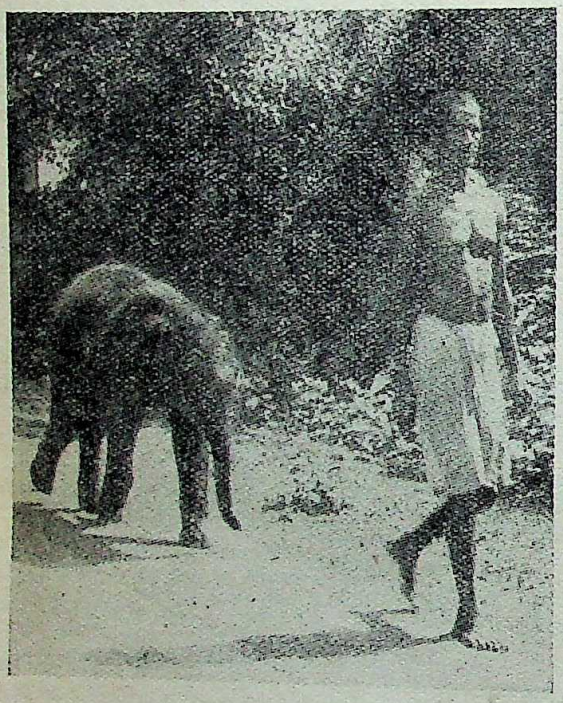
rogues. During the first month of the year, water begins to fail in the higher regions. Then elephants go in search of the coolest and thickest parts of the forests. So they descend to the lower regions, where there are rivers. Dr. Ludwig Schuster, a Natural Science scholar, who made a special study of African wild elephants and their ways, has observed that elephants during the hot season are able to divine the existence of water in parched areas and that they make pits in the earth with their tusks and thus get at water. With the approach of the monsoon elephants climb to the higher regions of the wilds. The summer resort of these lords of the forests is the upper region, and the winter resort the lower one.



A baby elephant following its mahout

In the month of September when grain ripens, these terrible denizens of the woods rush down to the low country and make devastating raids upon the corn-fields. The elephant in its wild stage is a dangerous enemy to man. It destroys his crops and even his life. Wild elephants cause great havoc on the cultivated area, partly because of their liking for the crops and partly owing to a sort of mischievous wantonness. During the season, the cultivators keep very vigilant watch at night; they sit and watch by big fires, which with the beat of tom-toms serve to scare away the marauders. The natives also erect a platform, out of the reach of elephants and keep watch from there. Such structures seen in the fields, are popularly known as *anamadams*, literally meaning elephant-huts. The marauders, when in company, are very easily kept off by the noise made by the tom-toms and gongs. But a single and experienced bull elephant, a clever rogue and long accustomed to such things, pays no heed at all to the deafening and frightful sounds created by the watchers. He roams through the fields at his pleasure and makes a sumptuous feast of the crops. In November, elephants which have descended to the plains rejoin their comrades.

It is said that every herd is led by a hero tusker of ripe age and vast experience who gropes his way along with a sapling to assure safety for himself and his followers. Hunters in the African wilds have stated that African elephant herds are led by cows among them. Mutual aid among elephants is highly developed. Prince Kropotkin in his interesting work *Mutual Aid* refers to the "compound families" of elephants, their mutual attachment, their deliberate ways in posting sentries, and the feelings of sympathy developed by such a life of close mutual support. According to Samuel W. Baker, the distinguished authority on wild beasts and their ways, elephants, combine in larger groups than the "compound family."

The Pit Method

Wild elephants are captured during the hot weather when they descend in groups to the lower regions seeking water. In places through which elephants usually pass, deep pits of fifteen feet depth and of the same diameter are very carefully dug by clever and experienced hands. The excavated earth is scattered at a distance to avoid suspicion, for elephants are very wary and keep aloof from danger.

The pits are wide at the top and narrow towards the bottom and are made in such a way that it would be extremely difficult for the unwary beasts that have fallen into them to climb out. The bottom of the pit has usually a diameter of nine feet. The mouth of the pit is concealed very carefully with dry sticks, leaves, grass and small shrubs, so that the whole place looks exactly like a part of the ordinary forest. Sometimes big herds of elephants are driven to roam about the vicinity of such snares. It is very difficult to locate a herd and to find out the way through which it would pass. Elephants do not, however, wander about through one and the same path always. Aged and experienced masters of woodcraft examine the grass and from the nature of its withering and the dryness of the elephant dung determine the course of the herd. The hill-men are experts in this line.

Watchers are appointed by the State to guard these pits and report whether any animal has fallen a victim to the snares. When an elephant treads over the pit the twigs and leaves covering the top give way and the animal fall down with a loud and frightful yell. So inhuman and barbarous this method is that in some cases the sudden fall dislocates or fractures the limbs of the animal. Watchers turn up and close the mouth of the pit with heavy logs of wood immediately after an elephant has fallen into the pit. For a few hours the animal is left unto itself unmolested and is free to make wild and frantic efforts to effect its escape but thoroughly overcome by fear, hunger, fatigue and

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want of space even to move about freely, the unfortunate beast find to its utter dismay all its incessant and spirited efforts defeated. Finally, the animal is completely exhausted. After having tried various methods of escape with no success, it gives up all attempts and patiently waits for things to happen. Very seldom does an elephant which has fallen into the pit manage to effect its escape.

A captured elephant being taken out of pit. On either side are seen two decoy elephants

Now, experts deputed for capture of elephants turn up and begin their operations. The most striking and interesting feature in this exciting affair is the use of the tame elephants known as decoys, without whose willing help it would never be possible for men to capture wild elephants alive. When the decoy elephants and their clever mahouts are ready, operations to capture the untamed wild elephant are set in full swing. First, a strong rope is adroitly dexterously put round the neck of the wild elephant in the pit. This is the most difficult part of the tough job. Then another large noose is thrown round the elephant's hind leg and tightened. Dry boughs, the undergrowth of the forest, and loose earth are thrown into the pit little by little. The wild elephant rendered helpless tramples on the material and when enough has accumulated so as to level the pit up, the wild victim appears at the top and finds itself to its awe and despair, surrounded by a team of decoy elephants and many men.

The ends of the strong ropes secured round the neck and legs of the captive animal are held firmly by the tame elephants. The wild elephant is placed between two strong and experienced decoy elephants and marched off to the nearest cage. If the beast thus captured is found to be too old or badly injured it is let off in the forest. Ropes are fastened around its neck. In this manner the proud and wild beast is taken prisoner and escorted by tame elephants. The capture is most interesting and extremely risky. With all the experience, intelligence and caution of the tame elephants and their mahouts sometimes the wild animal gets out of control. It is no wonder, therefore, that this exciting sport attracts large crowds of people. For many days and nights, the station where an elephant capture has taken place, is the busy centre of much activity, enthusiasm, mirth and uproar. The animal thus captured is immediately removed to a cage. The pit method is very popular in Travancore.

The captured elephant being conducted to the training cage by two decoy elephants

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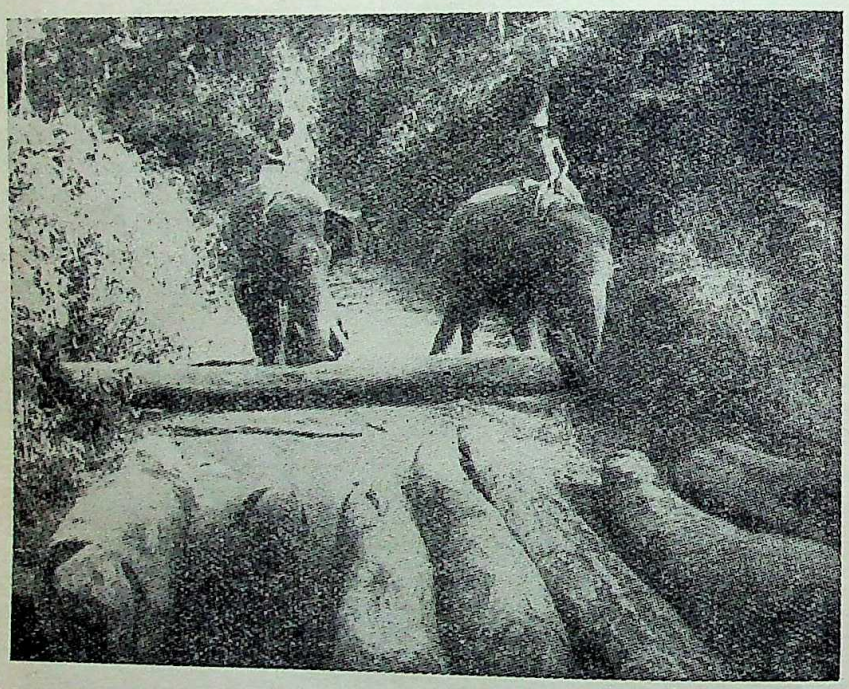
The Keddah Method

There is another method adopted to capture these denizens of the forest which is more popular in Mysore. It is known as the *keddah* method and is more risky than the pit method. On the way through which elephants usually pass, huge stockades built of massive teak tree stumps are erected. The enclosures are narrow at one end and broad at the other with a V-shaped entrance. Stout logs of strong heavy timber are driven deep into the ground very close to one another, forming an unassailable palisade. Inside it small trees and bushes are grown in abundance. At the entrance which is flung open and around the palisade, sugarcane, a food liked very much by elephants, is grown in clusters.



Elephants hauling timber

The whole place looks exactly like a part of the dense forest. The only entrance to the stockade is a big gate which can be opened and closed without much effort. The animals as they move about are attracted by the dainty food and eat their way into the *keddah*. Sometimes elephant herds are driven into the *keddah*. Daring and skilled forest folk, with drums, empty tins and other crude sound-producing instruments gather near a big herd and drive them helter-skelter. In this mad rush some elephants run right into the stockade. As soon as they are safe within, agile watchers barricade the entrance. The animals madly rush hither and thither and soon realise their plight. In fury they hurl themselves against the walls of the stockade but are pricked with goads and long bamboos and driven back by men posted round the *keddah*.

The most thrilling and dangerous part of the operation which follows is the "roping" of the elephants. Decoy elephants armed with iron chains and carrying on their backs mahouts dressed in black and green enter the stockade unnoticed. The decoy elephants in pairs entice the wild elephant to be roped and chained. With their trunks these tame [illegible] corner their victim. Then a mahout, as agile as a nimble monkey, with ropes and chains in his hand stealthily creeps under the feet of the tame elephants approaches the wild one unnoticed, passes a noose over its hind legs and disappears in the twinkling of an eye. With the help of the decoy elephants the skilled mahouts secure ropes and chains around the legs of the wild elephant. Ropes are secured round its hind legs and the ends are fastened strongly to the palisade. This requires very great skill. The mahouts who rope and chain the wild beast must be quick, active and careful. If they do not take time by the forelock and are slow for a second the wild elephant is sure to get at them and in the twinkling of an eye they will be hurled up in the air and dashed against the ground. Some mahouts have had hair-breadth escapes. Jostled by the tame elephants and pricked by the goads of the mahouts the mighty pachyderms become thoroughly frightened and make terrific and ear-splitting din. The *keddah* method is most popular in Mysore.

The task of the decoy elephant involves great danger. The decoy has to capture and keep under complete control the wild elephant, has to take precious care of the mahout who sits upon its back and to protect itself from the furious onslaughts of the captive. The tame elephant plays its part wonderfully well with human-like sagacity, caution and valour. It is the ingenuity of man, coupled with and working through the medium of the highly intelligent and most willing tame elephants, that is from first to last responsible for capturing alive the lords of the wilds.

Training of Wild Elephants

Immediately after capture the wild elephants are led into cages to be trained. The beasts are closely watched by mahouts and decoy elephants. The mahouts by degrees make friends with the captives by frequently approaching them and offering them sugarcane and other dainty morsels. Ordinarily, the elephant is a glutton and greatly enjoys sweets. To make these lawless and rude denizens of the forest submissive to man and accustomed to peaceful life amidst men is indeed a very arduous and perilous task. The training of the wild elephants takes place in cages made of strong [illegible] of teak wood and divided into two chambers—the upper and the lower. The wild animal is placed in

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lower chamber and the trainers take their points of vantage in the upper berth. The period ordinarily required to train a wild elephant is three to six months. In nine cases out of ten the captured animal needs to be handled roughly during the period of training. Armed with long spears and unbreakable canes, the dexterous mahout-masters teach and train their wild elephant disciples. It requires great patience, industry, intelligence and cleverness to tame the wild elephants. They offer resistance for the first few days, but give up all opposition after some days of severe handling by the daring and merciless mahouts who punish the recalcitrant elephants with physical chastisement. As far as possible the mahouts win the elephants over to their will by petting them and giving them good food. Soon there springs up an intimacy between the mahouts and the wild animals. Elephants being very intelligent learn quickly and subject themselves to the superior will of man. When the training is complete, on an auspicious day, the elephant is taken to the open road accompanied by decoy elephants walking on either side and abreast of the newly trained beasts. Daily, under the vigilant escort of two tamed elephants, the wild beast under training is taken out for bath which it relishes immensely. The mighty beast having submitted to man eventually comes to serve him with deep attachment, affection and loyalty. Verily, the triumph of man over elephant is the supremacy of mind over matter.

The torn boughs trailing o'er the tusks aslant,
The saplings reeling in the path he trod,
Declare his might,—our lord the elephant,
Chief of the ways of God.

The black bulk heaving where the oxen pant,
The bowed head toiling where the guns careen,
Declare our might—our slave the elephant,
The servant of the Queen.

—RUDYARD KIPLING.

The elephant, the most widespread of earth's huge animals and Nature's most amazing quadrupped, has learnt from the sad fate of its great ancestors, the mastadon and the mammoth, a lesson in life and has saved its race by being useful to man.

———:O:———

THE AMERICAN WEST : LIFE ON A CATTLE RANCH

For several generations the American cowboy has been considered a picturesque and legendary character the world over. Through books and films he has been presented to interested citizens of many nations as a fearless rider of America's western plains, galloping into frontier towns on Saturday nights with two revolvers, or "six-shooters," strapped to his legs, gambling away his wages in wild celebrations and returning to distant ranches to engage in exciting encounters with cattle thieves and "bad men."

A cowboy tending a herd of cattle on the plains of the western U. S. keeps a solitary vigil

But that late 19th century period of picturesque lawlessness, so celebrated in song and story, has long since passed. The cowboys on the great ranches of America's western plains are working harder than ever before in raising a record number of beef cattle, for the great herds that feed on western America's rolling grasslands are the major food reserves of the United States.

Once these rolling plains echoed to the thunder of the hoofs of great herds of bison, ponderous bovine animals indigenous only to North America, but by 1880 hunters had destroyed most of them and the unfenced plains became tremendous pastures for cattle. Law had not caught up with this new frontier and cattle thieves, called "rustlers," and other lawless individuals, flourished. The cowboy was forced to go armed for his own protection and the protection of his employer's property.

When large portions of the public domain were

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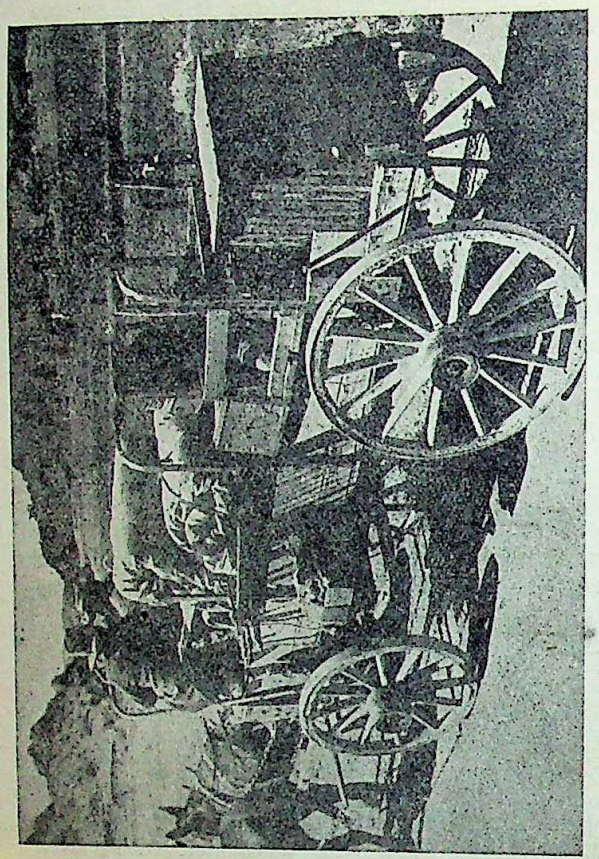
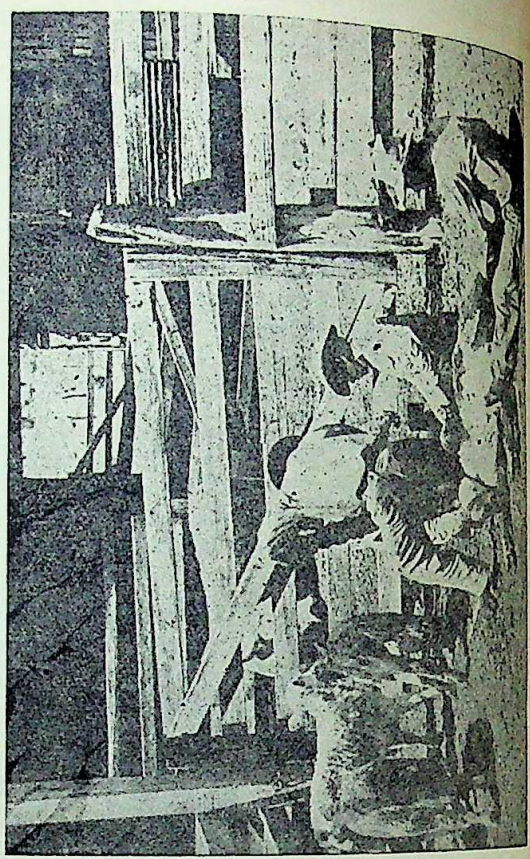
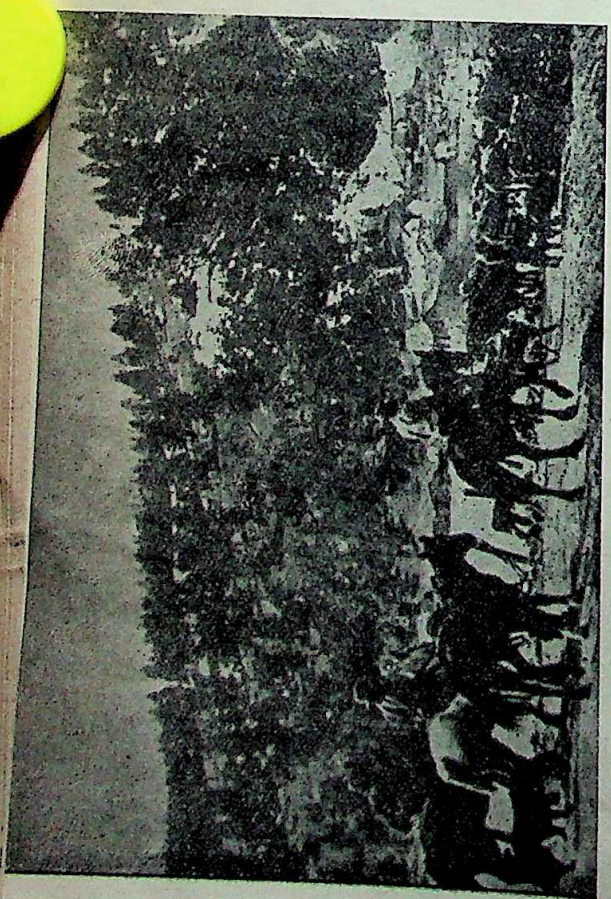
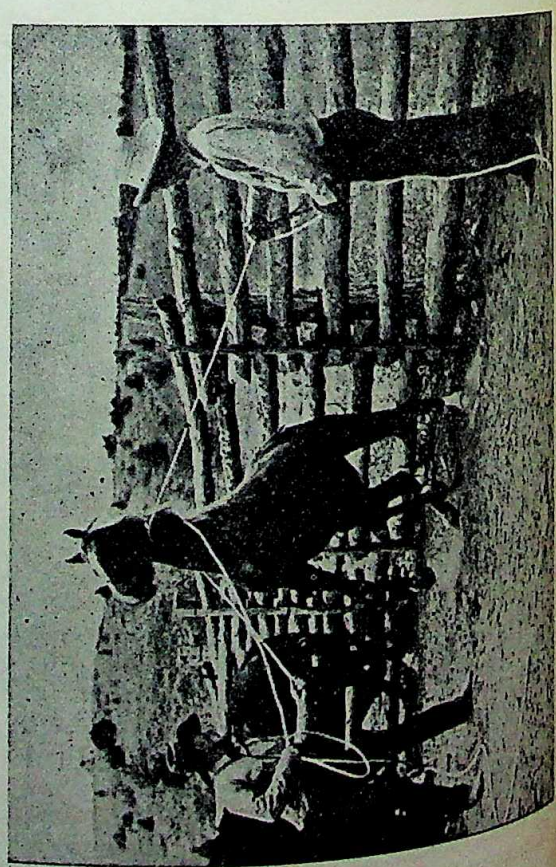




The camp cook and helper follow the cattle round-up trail in their "chuk-wagon"





Four American cow-boys and a ranch dog drive a herd of cattle to the ranch buildings

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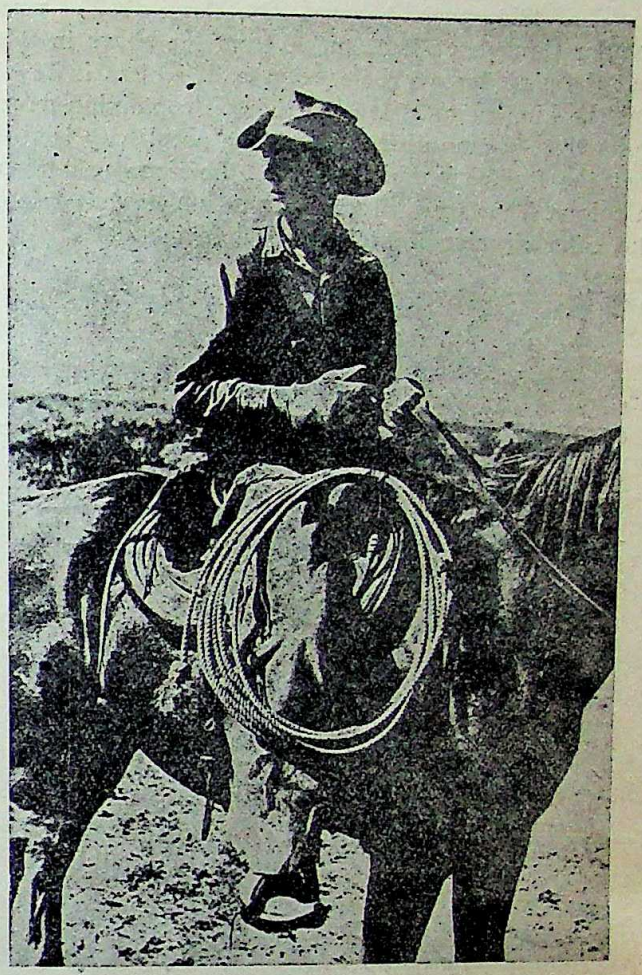
closed to ranchers for grazing, late in the 19th century, the number of ranchers increased and their individual size dwindled. To a large extent the lawlessness had passed. Rustlers were brought to justice, and the cowboy could afford to be unarmed.

The American cowboy remains a colorful figure, however. He continues to wear the broad-brimmed "ten-gallon hat," so called for its usefulness in holding a large amount of water for horse and rider. He also wears high-heeled boots, designed for the stirrup and suitable for pressing into the ground to provide a purchase when the cowboy is afoot and has roped a horse or wild steer. His jingling spurs serve to start his pony at a full gallop when speed is needed to pursue cattle.

The modern cowboy carries on the tradition of self-reliance handed down by his predecessor, who often was forced to take the law into his own hands. His long periods of isolation on the lonely prairie make him generous and hospitable, ready to share his food and shelter with any stranger.

The horse is still the cowboy's principal means of transportation, and he prefers to "broak," or condition, the half-wild horses he himself will ride, rather than entrust the job to the professional horse-tamer or 'wrangler,' attached to almost every ranch. Above all, the cowboy must be proficient in throwing a rope or lariat around the neck or forelegs of a steer or running horse.

The cowboy's sports are closely related to his work. When he is not working, he is riding bucking horses or wild steers, roping running animals and racing horses. —USIS.



An American cowboy is on the watch so that no stray animals from the herd of cattle may wander away

——:O:——

BANANA—THE FIG OF PARADISE

By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

The sharp contrast exhibited in fruit markets of the tropics and the temperate regions is marked. Marked because in the tropics, rich in sunshine and warmth, nature's gifted region in vegetation, the rich collection of the choicest fruits of the world are to be seen, which are conspicuous by their absence in the temperate climate. Among these mango comes first and next comes banana.

In tropical Asia banana is cultivated for more than 4000 years and its antiquity and wild character are incompatible facts, says de Candolle,[1] there being a good many Sanskrit names. Also that sages ate its fruit and reposed beneath its shade, so the botanical name is *Musa*. It is derived from the Arabic *Mouz* or *Mouhoz*.

1. Alphonse de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (1884), p. 304.

Description of the Genus and Species

Bananas are gigantic tree-like herbs belonging to the genus *Musa*, containing some 40 or more species, several of which are often considered as mere cultivated varieties, widely distributed throughout the tropics of the old world and in some cases introduced into the new world.

"A form of *M. corniculata* from Cochin China and Malayan Archipelago produces only a single fruit, which, however, affords an adequate meal for three men."—(*Encyclopaedia Brittanica*).

M. sapientum L. (=*M. paradisiaca L.*) are perennial herbs, 8-15 ft. in height, indigenous in the Eastern Himalayas, Assam, Manipur and Burma, ascending from sea level up to 6,000 ft. in altitude. Cultivated throughout India and the tropics (except extreme north-west).

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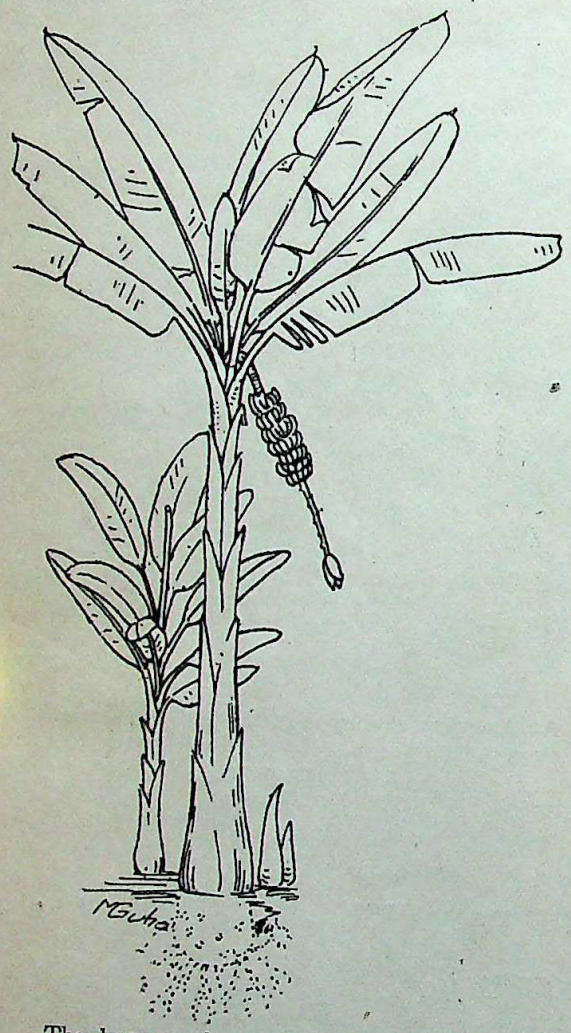
The 'Singapuri' banana (*M. Cavendishii*) very popular throughout India differs from the above in this that the plant loves a cooler climate. The plant is dwarf and the bunch almost touches the soil containing more fruits than in any other banana. The peculiarity is this that the fruits when ripe remains the same pea-green in colour. The taste will not be good unless quite ripe. But after ripening it soon starts decaying.



The banana plant with suckers of different ages. The position of the rhizome has been shown in dotted lines

Origin and Geographical Distribution

"Though native to the tropics, cultivated varieties are found in sub-tropical regions, and certain varieties are capable of withstanding considerable cold, as in the Himalayas, where the plant may be found at 5,000 ft. or even higher. Some variety is found throughout the tropics wherever adequate moisture is available, for the plant has no dormant period and as a lover of humid conditions thrives best where there is no sharply defined dry season. The natural home of the plant is the East, but tropical America and the West Indies are now a centre of commercial production of banana. The plant reached the Canary Islands, which still remains a centre of production, in 1516, whence it was carried to America."[2]

Distinction between Banana (paka-kala) and Plantain (kach-kala)

The distinct races known to us may be grouped under two heads, those grown for the ripe fruits and those for the half-ripe fruits, the latter being used as green vegetables. *Kach-kala* (plantain) is the general name given for those used as green vegetables. These are generally cultivated on much inferior soil than those of *paka-kala* (banana), which is eaten ripe.

Why Cultivated : Importance as a Fruit

"The area under fruits of all kinds is recorded as 1·8 million acres ; of this 60 per cent is devoted to mangoes, 21 per cent to bananas and nearly 5 per cent to citrus fruits (oranges, etc.)."[3]

"Bananas, after mangoes, are the commonest and highly prized of all Indian fruits, while the coarser kinds constitute one of the staple articles of diet in many parts of India and the Malaya Peninsula being mostly cooked before being eaten. It has been proved that the produce from one acre will support a much greater number of people than a similar area under any other crop, and the immense yield may be preserved for an indefinite period by drying the fruit and preparing meal from it. . . .

"In medicine the unripe fruit is considered cooling and astringent. The young leaves are used as a dressing for blisters, burns, etc. The root and stem are reported to be tonic, antiscorbutic and useful in blood disorders and venereal diseases."[4]

"The banana stands third (apples and oranges rank first and second) on the list of the popular fruits of English people, and it is estimated that 15·2 lbs. per head are eaten, all of which are imported."—(*Encyclopaedia Brittanica*).

Description of the Plant

The banana plant is composed of an underground stem, a tuberous rhizome from which arises an aerial stem, or pseudo-stem, composed of the closely enveloping leaf sheaths, the corresponding blades, each sometimes 10 ft. in length forming a spreading crown. At the flowering period, the inflorescence stalk (*Thor*—used as vegetable) grows up from the rhizome to the hollow tube formed by the sheaths, emerges above and bears a large number of inconspicuous tubular flowers closely crowded in the axils of larger often brightly coloured protecting bracts.

When a sufficient bunch of fruit has set, the pendant extremity of the inflorescence (*Mocha*—used as vegetable) with its remaining flowers and conspicuous

2. Hunter, *Encyclopaedia Sc. Agri.* (1931), p. 150.
3. Sir P. Khareghat, *Indian Farming*, Special No. (1946), p. [illegible]
4. Sir George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India* (1908), pp. 189, 190.

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heads, should be cut away, so that all the available nourishment may go to the formation of fruit.

The occurrence of more than one inflorescence, one each from the axil of all the leaves, has been recorded.

METHODS OF PROPAGATION—TECHNIQUE TO IMPROVE

With the ripenning of the infructescence or 'bunch,' the stem bearing it is cut back, and growth is continued by lateral offshoots, or suckers, from the rhizome. The life of the individual plant is thus indefinite. There should not be more than three suckers at the base, so the excess suckers are removed and new plantations are established by the removal and planting elsewhere of these suckers in June or July.

Due to vegetative propagation for a long time, seed formation is gradually turning to be of rare occurrence due to use and non-use of methods and means. But occasionally one comes across a few seeds in an edible fruit, and some seeds may grow if sown. In some cases colchicine treatment has given some effective result in quality, size, and number of fruits in a bunch.

DESCRIPTION OF SOIL

Here in Bengal banana can be grown anywhere, the rainfall being highest, as also it is a lover of warm, moist climate. Except where the sub-soil is hard rock or stiff clay and the soil is heavy it can be grown on almost all soils, subject to a liberal supply of water and sunshine, suitably close to a tank, ditch, *jhil*, canal or a river.

Well and canal irrigation is effected by flooding the soil, and after the water has soaked in for a day, the superfluous water is run off through drains. The land is then hoed once a month. Humidity being maintained by mulching. "It is well worth while losing a year to get the soil into condition," observed T. A. C. Firminger.[5] He continued: "Soil operation should be begun any time before rains—let us say in January of the present year. Soil deeply ploughed and left to the action of the elements. Then just as the rain break, San hemp (*crotolaria juncea*) at the rate of 40 lbs. of seed per acre, is sown. This will come up vigorously with the rains. After six weeks it is cut down and ploughed in situ, let it rot well to harrow again. At the end of the rains pits are dug for the fruit trees and between them a crop of deep-rooted legume is given to break up the sub-soil—a short season groundnut, such as small Japanese, is admirable. The nuts are harvested and the roots, stem, etc., are returned to the sub-soil."

PLAN OF PLANTING

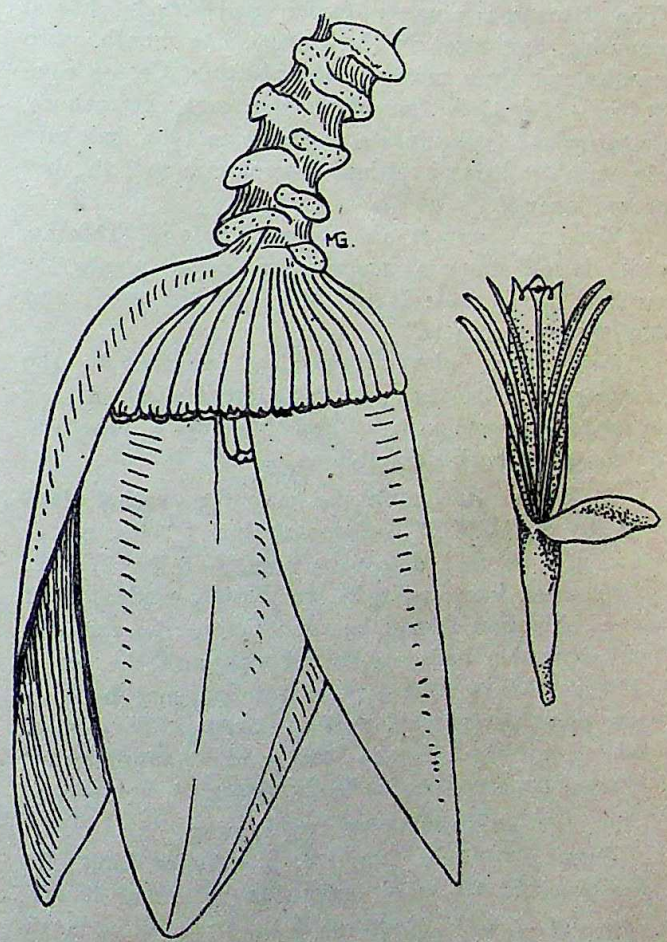
Banana and plantain cultivation is based on two different foundations. One is for home consumption and the other for export. The former forms a part of the village kitchen garden and the latter forms the big plantations.

The site for plantation should be as near a city and a railway station as possible, otherwise it will suffer greatly for transport difficulties.

The approximate cost of cultivating one acre has been estimated at Rs. 225 as detailed below:

(1)	Cost of 350 plants	Rs. 45
(2)	Cost of planting in the pit	Rs. 35
(3)	Cost of ploughing, etc.	Rs. 20
(4)	Cost of manure, etc.	Rs. 125
	Total	Rs. 225

Apart from the cost of cultivation, cost of maintenance, supervision and fencing is also incurred, which are not detailed, as also the profit which may be obtained from the secondary crop cultivated in between the planting and fruiting time, as well as the price obtained from fibres extracted.



1. The end of the inflorescence (*mocha*), showing the cluster of flowers with the showy bracts
2. One solitary flower showing the 'perigonium' and the 'scale,' on the rim of the inferior ovary. The five developed stamens as well as the style with single stigma can be seen

Annually from one acre more than 300 bunches of fruit may be obtained in the first year which is doubled in the next succeeding years, the average market price being Rs. 2 for each bunch.

TIME FOR PLANTING SEEDLINGS

One year after the start of soil operation pits are made at about 12 ft. apart within fields of standing *aus* paddy, arum, brinjal, turmeric, or ginger, if not nuts already mentioned; and suckers preferably

5. T. A. C. Firminger, *A Manual of Gardening for Bengal and Upper India* (1890), p. 175.

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maiden suckers, *i.e.*, suckers about eight months old, with adult foliage as opposed to *sword* suckers, which are younger with narrow leaves, planted. Transplanting is usually made in the rainy season as already said. The pits should be about a cubit deep and manured. After harvesting the secondary crop the land should be ploughed twice or thrice. The plantation begins to bear fruit within a year and the ground is then usually devoted to the banana crop alone.

Fertilizers and Manures Used in Different Ages

We are one with 'Firminger', when he says: "The number of fruits per tree is greatly increased with good manuring and cultivation, and is decreased by neglect." Also his scheme of manuring: "The banana is a gross feeder and needs liberal manuring, best given in three doses, one month, two months and three months after planting. Castor cake 10 lbs. + fish 15 lbs. per plant is an excellent manure. Castor cake 4 lbs., sulphate of ammonia 1 lb., sulphate of potash 4/5 lb. and calcium superphosphate ¾ lb., has proved useful."

Woodrow[6] sounds a cautious note: "Oilcake, which is too strong a manure for most plants, is excellent for banana. It should be broken small and dug in near the roots."

Compost is also an excellent manure for the banana; but if it is not procurable, fresh nightsoil may be used. Green manuring is desirable once a year and the soil must be kept well-hoed.

"When planting in the pit, for each plant 15 lbs. of F.Y.M., 5 lbs. bone-meal, and 7 lbs. wood-ash may be used, decreasing them as 5 lbs. F.Y.M., bone-meal 5 oz. and 1 lb. wood-ash per plant next year. Manures should be used before the rains in the irrigation beds and mixed well with the earth. If soils lack in lime, 8 oz. slaked lime may be used per plant per annum, with the manure. This is, of course, merely a simple scheme of manuring for general fruit cultivation."—*Firminger*.

Description of the Flower

"*Musa sapientum* Linn. (*M. paradisiaca* Linn.) is trimerous in its floral organs. In a normal flower the inferior ovary carries on it the irregular perianth in two parts, one called the *perigonium* representing five perianth lobes, and the *scale* representing the sixth. Besides the five stamens which are found usually, the sixth rudimentary or fully developed one has been very often met with. Of the gynoecium, the ovary is three-carpelled and syncarpous, style single and stigma also single with undulating surface (in unusual cases, the number of styles is three)."[7] Transitional stages are also found.

Fruiting Time

There is a great variation in fruiting time among the different varieties of banana. The minimum time taken in one variety is 6 months, the maximum being 14 months in another variety. However in most cases the first crop comes in 10-12 months from planting and is poorer than any succeeding crop. Succeeding crops in well-treated plantations should come on every five months and be twice the weight of the first crop.

To induce banana to bear fruit in a particular direction, the first leaf of each shoot should be placed in the direction of the plot desired to bear fruit.

When the bunch is fully grown and ripe, it is severed and is hung up in a dark cool place to ripen and the plant is cut back to give space for the new suckers to develop.

Number of Fruits in a Plant

It has been already said that the number of fruits in a bunch depends much on soil condition and manuring. However, it varies also among the different varieties, the minimum is 50 in a bunch, the maximum being 200 approximately.

The Fruit and its Edible Part

As in some other cultivated plants, major varieties of banana, produce 'seedless fruits', the walls of the ovaries developing extensively apart from any seed production.

The banana fruit is a berry. The edible part consists of the highly developed ovarian walls and placenta, the skin being formed from the thalamus and outer layer of the ovarian wall.

Food Value of the Flesh of the Fruit

A comparative chart (adapted from Datta[8]) of the food value of banana and the most important fruit of India—mango— is given below:

	Banana	Mango
Protein	0·1	0·15
Fat	0·1	0·77
Starch	7·9	18·2
Vitamin A	+	++
Vitamin B	+	–
Vitamin C	+	+++
Vitamin D	+	–
Vitamin E	++	–
Ca	+	+
Fe	+	–
PO_4	++	

– indicates either nil or not ascertained.
+ indicates the presence of a good quantity.
++ indicates the presence of a very good quantity.
+++ indicates the presence of rich contents.

Disease and Pest—Their Control

In the East serious loss is caused by a disease which passes under the name of 'bunchy top'; it was originally supposed to be associated with the attack of the nematode *Heteradora radicicola* gref. This supposition is reviewed by scientists, and work done by several others indicates that the disease falls into the group of Virus Diseases not directly transmissible. In this case the agent of transmission is the Aphis *Pentalonia nigronervose* coql., and they definitely conclude that there is no association between the disease and the nematodes.

6. Woodrow, *Gardening in India* (1903), p. 485.
7. Chandrasekharan and Sundararaj, *Current Science*, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 30-31.
8. S. Datta, *Science and Culture*, Vol. XI, No. 8, p. 394.

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In the west, with Panama disease is associated the fungus *Fusarium cubense*; E. S. Smith first attracted attention to it in Panama and Costa Rica early in the century. From the survey of the banana areas of tropical America and the West Indies, it is concluded that fundamentally the disease developed as the result of unfavourable soil conditions. Substitution of varieties which show a marked degree of resistance leading to practical immunity, however, raises serious question as to their suitability for transport.

The tendency to occasional development of viable seeds should be taken advantage of, to raise crosses between the affected and the immune varieties.

The 'Black rot' disease caused by the fungus *Gloeosporium musarum*, is responsible for the loss of fruits on the plant as well as in the store. Spraying with Ammoniacal Copper Carbonate will prevent it from the malady.

Transport and Storage

As already mentioned plantations are meant for an export trade which, from the perishable nature of the fruit, necessitates special handling. The fruit must be cut at a stage of maturity adapted to the length of the journey and, in the case of the longer journeys, special provision for cool chambers are necessary. It is its special adaptability to conform to these requirements which is responsible for the extended cultivation of *champa* varieties, in Northern and Eastern India—since the stems are strong and fruits are recurved, and stands the journey well without necessitating individual care. On the contrary, the best provincial varieties are generally limited even to a single district due to their soft 'peel', which requires separate crating of the individual hands.

Industrial Uses

The fibre of banana closely resembles Manila hemp, though not strong. J. K. Sarker,[9] a great advocate for the fibre industry, says :

"Generally speaking rope, twine, cord, nets, lace, plaits, braids, bagging, sacking, matting, carpeting and handkerchief can be made. The coarsest fibre can be utilised for paper-making and the rejected tow for packing and stuffing purposes."

The chief difficulty in the utilisation of banana plant as sources of fibre or as paper material is the expense of collecting and carting to the factory. Only with large plantations, profitable results are likely to be attained.

The plantain or banana meal—dried, powdered and sifted flesh of the fruit—can be stored for future use. The meal should preferably be manufactured from mature but unripe fruits, as the starch changes into sugar during the process of ripening. It has got a greater importance specially in these days of food shortage, when we are groping for edible substitutes to fill up the gaps.

Essences and *attars*, as well as alcohol may be prepared from ripe bananas. Ripe bananas may further be utilised for the preparation of jams, jellies and marmalades with profit.

From time immemorial, village people of our country are still using *kshar* (a detergent equal in action to washing soda), prepared by burning dried leaf sheathes of banana or plantain, to boil their clothes for washing.

> "In *Brihatsamhita*, it has been stated that, if one prepares a compound of ashes of plaintain tree and whey, keeps it for a day and night, and besmears the sword the next day therewith, then the sword becomes so hard that it will not break even when one strikes another sword with it. The famous Damascus blades were of Indian steel manufactured in India.[10]

Maybe banana or plantain plant had some importance on that line also in olden days.

Conclusion

Our age-old social system had been under the tentacles of the religious octopus, which never gave us any choice. Evils entered with the good ideas of our forefathers. That is why we find that the good instructions to our cultivators through religious rites has turned into superstitions. The use of every bit of the banana plant from leaf to fruit, in our day to day religious rites, reminds us of its importance as a plant, which should be cultivated with care, as we find also in the case of other important fruit trees.

The world food shortage and the prevailing famine conditions in India, has engaged the attention of the best brains of India, to find a way out of this dark spectre. There is no way out, other than through development and improvement of agricultural products. Every bit of the cultivable lands must come under the plough, if not under the modern tractors. Famished India must get not only food to eat, but fruits also to give nourishment. Banana, the cheapest best fruit of India, must revive its old position in each and every of our millions of villages. Let us work together for those times when we shall export our fruits in our own ships, to distant lands, after feeding our own people.

And let me conclude with the words of Shelley :

"Be through my lips to unawakened earth
The trumpet of a prophecy ! O, Wind,
If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind ?"

9. J. K. Sarker, *Handbook of Plantain Fibre and Fruit Industry* (1937), p. 10.

10. G. P. Majumdar, *Upovana-Vinoda* (1935), p. 26.

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NEW ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES FOR AMERICAN HOUSEWIVES

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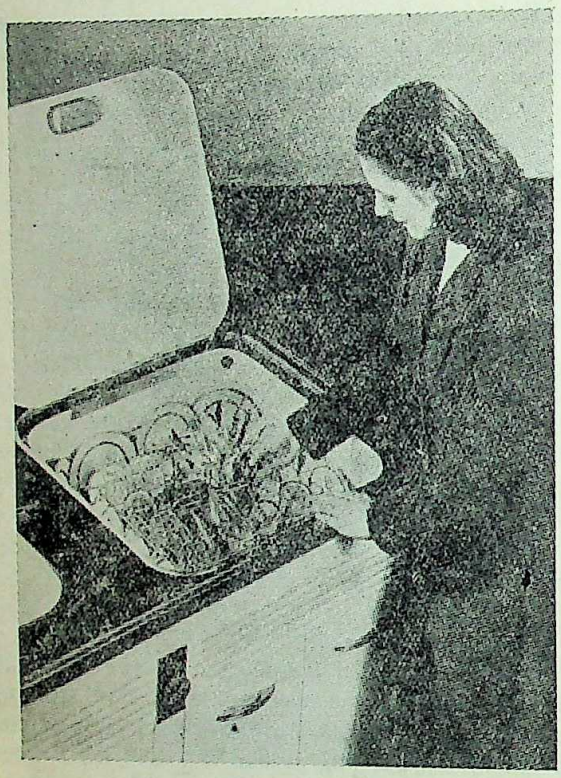
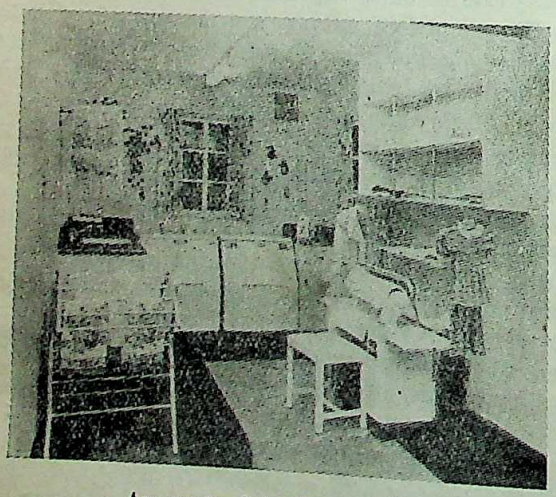
DESIGN and electrical engineers, inventors, metallurgists, research scientists and manufacturers of the United States, who co-operated to produce the machines of war, have applied their knowledge, experience and



A new automatic dish-washer

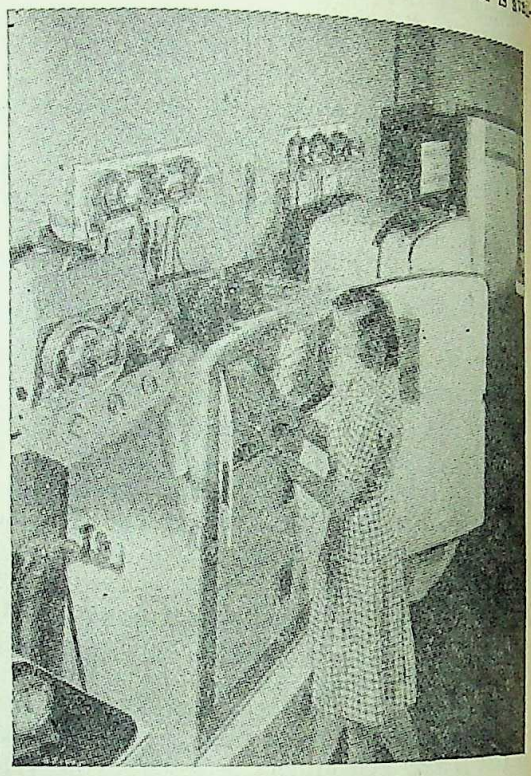
genius to production of better living in the home. To fill the great and ever-increasing demand for electrical equipment not obtainable during the last four years,



An up-to-date home laundry

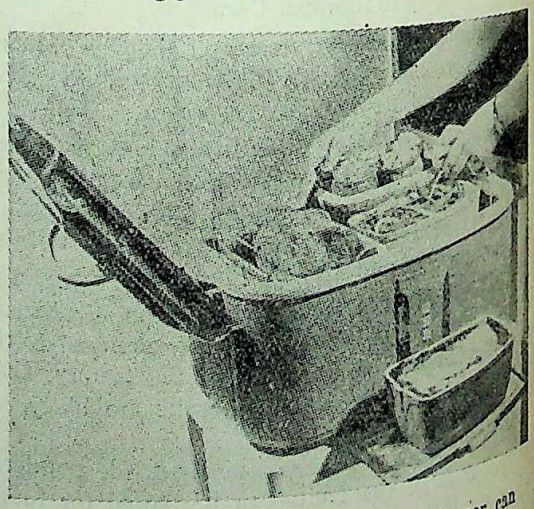
they have developed and are producing for the American housewife, a wide variety of labor and time-saving appliances, including refrigerators, lighting systems, cooking aids, freezers and bacteria-destroying lamps.

Countrywide use of these and other devices for the home is possible because of the huge networks of electric power systems operated by government-sponsored and privately-owned utilities. Power is avail-



The upright home freezer, built on the lines of the household electric refrigerator

able to rural residents as well as to city dwellers, with Federal hydro-electric facilities bringing power from generators at gigantic dams to the farms. The Rural



The ingredients for a complete dinner can be cooked simultaneously in the earthenware dishes of this electric roaster

Electrification Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture has a five-year plan which aims to provide electric service for at least 85 per cent of

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American farmers, the power being used to operate agricultural as well as household equipment.

Side by side and similar in size and shape, the automatic washing machine and the automatic clothes drier complete their work in almost the same time

More amazing are the new electrical gadgets and machines for the household; automatic washing machines wash, rinse and damp-dry clothes in half an hour, untouched by a housewife's hand; and automatic-dryer tumbles clothes in warm forced air until they are completely dry; miniature washers wash and spin-dry a small quantity of clothes; some of the washers can be used for dishes as well as for clothes.

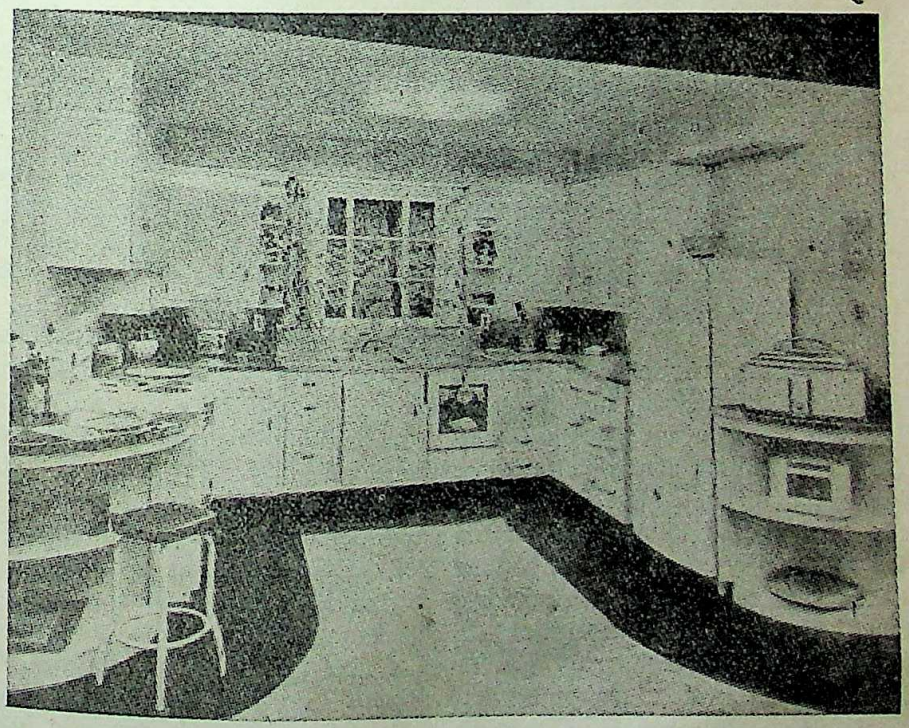
A new automatic dish-washer reduces the numerous operations required to operate pre-war models to two—placing the dish in the machine and turning the switch. The machine sprays the dishes, washes them, rinses them twice; cleans and drains automatically and shuts itself off.

One chore the elimination of which will be welcomed by all housewives is the disposal of garbage. This work has been taken over by an electrical machine in the form of a sink attachment. It grinds the refuse of cooking—including bones—so fine that it can be washed down the sinks.

A new development in the cooking line is the electric roaster in which the ingredients of a complete dinner can be cooked simultaneously in separate earthenware dishes. A "window" enables the housewife to watch the progress of the cooking inside the roaster. Quick freezers will keep food both cooked and raw in good condition for longer periods. This enables the housewife to have a wider variety of food on hand as well as to shop less often, buying larger quantities at a time.

Lamps have hitherto had one purpose—to light the home. New types have extended their usefulness Special infra-red lamps, for example, provide a rapid source of heat which can be used for drying the hair or for other supplementary "comfort" heating in the home.

Ultra-violet lamps provide a valuaple germ-destruction agency for the home. Natural air currents caused by the heat of the lamp lift the bacteria into the range of the lamp's rays where they are destroyed. These lamps are shielded so that the direct rays do not strike the eyes of the occupants of the



In this carefully planned modern kitchen three work-centres are arranged: on the right the refrigeration and preparation centre, in the middle the sink and dish-washing centre and on the left the electric stove and serving centre

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room. Another version of the same lamp provides a sunbath three times faster than a midsummer sun and is invaluable in the winter.

Soft indirect lighting with florescent lamps is now within the reach of the average householder. Besides providing a cheaper source of light it helps reduce eye-strain by its even and shadowless illumin

Cold feet in the winter will be a thing of the p with a new type of electrically heated blanket w keeps the temperature even the whole night th Normal house current supplies a heating unit w inside the blanket.—*USIS.*

——:O:——

END OF AN EPOCH

By U. S. NAVANI, B.A., B.SC. (Econ.) London

THE passing away of Gandhiji, like that of Lord Krishna, marks in a very proper sense, the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. He personified not only the inner spiritual urges and sufferings of India but the struggle of humanity against forces of evil. In an atomic age when the shadow of extinction hangs upon the world, men turned to him with hope. He stood on the crossing of ways, pointing towards the way of love, blessings and hope and the way of salvation. He was a force more volcanic than any weapon invented by man. His frail-looking form hid an energy hardly witnessed on this planet before. Every time that he undertook a long-term or indefinite fast, and the sceptics shook their heads and thought it was the end, he came through with speed. His range of interests varying from politics to dietetics were, however, all integrated and revolved round the basic principles of truth and non-violence. Long after his achievements in the political and social field have been forgotten he will be remembered as the apostle of truth and love, a saint in the line of succession of Buddha, Christ and Ramakrishna, a spiritual giant whose message would spread far beyond the limits of the land in which he lived.

We who stand so near in time to him may be forgiven if we judge him from the immediate point of view, from the point of view of his struggles in the cause of Indian freedom, his championship of the low and the downtrodden, his efforts to bridge the gulf between communities, for which indeed he laid down his life, his lifting of the political into the moral plane, his support of mass-literacy and of women's movement, indeed a myriad things with which he was connected. His personality was as various as that of Lord Krishna and he stands to us in the same way as Shri Krishna must have stood to his generation, a sagacious *rajnitika*, a philosopher and fighter for just cause, a man gifted with spiritual wisdom and miraculous powers.

In the political field, Gandhiji's contribution lay in this that he carried on the message of Swaraj to every nook and corner of this vast land. In that sense he completed the work of Tilak, who for the first time after the War of Independence of 1857, awakened the masses with his call for Swaraj. He came to India after his struggle in South Africa and as such he came with a certain prestige. He immediately turned his atte to the poverty-stricken masses of his country and m the fateful decision to devote his life to their c On foot, in bullock-cart and in train, he traversed vast land and made the humblest and the low conscious of his birth-right, Swaraj. He looked str into their eyes, and in his eyes the dumb millions deep love for them and in him they recognized as of their own who would lift them out of the slum of centuries. He identified himself so completely their inner urges and struggles that he in turn be the pulse with which to judge the temper and thou of the Indian people. Before him politics had remai the occupation of individuals and a section of middle classes. With him, the vast millions of In were moved to a noble struggle and height of emo which they had not experienced for a thousand ye He made them not only politically conscious, but m them participate in political movement and thus co pleted the task of the political awakening of country.

Next in importance, though not to him, I sho like to place his efforts for the upliftment of th whom he called Harijans (people of God) and w were generally known as depressed classes. Such w the intensity of his passion for them that, when th Bihar earthquake occurred way back in the thirties did not hesitate to call it as a just vengeance of G for our sin of untouchability. His strong language w only an expression of his deep love of the Harijans his sense of indignation at the way they had b treated by us through centuries. His advocacy w more powerful than the breeze of modernism w was blowing slowly across this country; no amo of modern education or the influence of leveling agents, such as the railway and the restaurant, have achieved one-hundreth of what Gandhiji's advocacy and appeal did. Again and again he t the spotlight on the Harijans, even undertaking definite fasts to focus attention on their wrongs.

Indeed he lived with them as one of them removed the stigma attaching to them once for all doing that, he taught us the dignity of labour as theorising would have done. If we are to survive as nation and if our existence is to have any signifi

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we must proceed forthwith to put into practice Gandhiji's precepts and ideals.

Another revolutionary change brought about by him in this slumbering continent was his interest in women's emancipation. He unlocked the gates to women and welcomed them into political and social work. In the 1930 movement hundreds of thousands of women marched alongside of men and for the first time after a thousand years, women began to go about freely standing shoulder to shoulder with men. This was perhaps an accidental result of the nation-wide mass movements introduced by Gandhiji, but its significance in the building up of modern India cannot be under-rated. Nearly a half of the Indian humanity found their prison walls shattered and they emerged into the open air of freedom under Gandhiji's blessings. Not only in the political field, but also in the social, Gandhiji's inspiration and welcome, brought women into useful human contact with men. He imbued them with a spirit of service, with which indeed he imbued all with whom he came into contact.

No less important for India was Gandhiji's economic programme and his cult of the *charkha*. While some laughed at his old-fangled notions and others doubted the efficacy of his weapons, he went ahead with the *charkha* and spread the cult of Khaddar throughout the land. During the thirties, the *charkha* had nearly beaten the British and the wheels of Paisely and Manchester had come to a standstill. Its efficacy as a political weapon stood clearly demonstrated but more than that its significance in providing employment to millions of unemployed and idle people of this country and lifting their standard of living was extraordinary. Shorn of its moral and emotional penumbra, the cult of the *charkha* will be found to be a highly efficacious economic measure and a political weapon in the context of the times. With Gandhiji the *charkha* was an article of faith, a symbol at once of the dignity of labour and of moral regeneration.

Gandhiji's achievements in spreading literacy amongst the masses and in basic education were of no mean order. Indeed his personality overcame almost superhuman obstacles, which were none other than the inertia of the masses and a decadent spirit of helplessness. It is impossible to conceive of any single individual who with his magic personality had achieved so much, whose efforts were nothing short of Herculean and of such startling success.

To my mind the other most outstanding achievement of Gandhiji was the training of a band of selfless workers and inspiring them with devotion and discipline, in the service of India. Our outstanding leaders are in a sense the creation of Gandhiji. This is not to deny their originality, genius, innate spirit of self-sacrifice and their capacity for leadership. They are great in their own right. But the moulding of their character and of their destiny was done by Gandhiji. He was a real *Guru* who seemed to have walked out of a Vedic Ashrama, instructing and inspiring his pupils. India is fortunate to have them, and so long as the reins of Government lie in their hands, we may feel reassured.

I have written at random and selected for my purpose only such aspects of Gandhiji's achievements which have appeared to me more significant than others. I have in no way intended to give an appreciation of his life's works. But even from this small outline it will be seen that Gandhiji's death has left "an aching void the world can never fill."

———:O:———

GANDHI AND THOREAU

The view is prevalent, particularly in the U. S., that Mahatma Gandhi derived his idea of Civil Disobedience from the writings of Thoreau. In reply to an enquiry, the Mahatma wrote the following letter, dated the 10th September, 1935, to Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, of the Servants of India Society, who was then in America.

Wardha,
10th September, '35.

Dear Kodanda Rao,

The statement in that I had derived my idea of Civil Disobedience from the writings of Thoreau is wrong. The resistance to authority in South Africa was well advanced before I got the essay of Thoreau on Civil Disobedience. But the movement was then known as Passive Resistance. As it was incomplete I had coined the word Satyagraha for the Gujarathi readers. When I saw the title of Thoreau's great essay, I began the use of his phrase to explain our struggle to the English readers. But I found that even 'Civil Disobedience' failed to convey the full meaning of the struggle. I, therefore, adopted the phrase Civil Resistance. Non-violence was always an integral part of our struggle.

As per your advice, a copy is going to Mr. Pearson. I hope you have done well. Mahadev is in Bombay just now.

Sjt. Kodanda Rao.

Yours sincerely,
(*Sd.*) M. K. Gandhi

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STATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DESTITUTE RELIEF

Fulfilment of "Cradle-To-Grave" Act

By ROBERT MACKAY

By a new measure—the National Assistance Bill—now being passed through Britain's Parliament, the care of the old, the infirm, and the destitute will be a direct responsibility of the State.

In a period which the prolonged effect of six years of war still justifies us in calling the "post-war period", Britain's chief effort is in the economic field ; it is a national effort for rebuilding national prosperity—an effort that demands both sacrifice and concentration. Characteristically enough, however, the work of social reform goes steadily forward, and the National Assistance Bill is the latest example of this.

Of the various social measures introduced since World War II ended, the National Insurance Act—the Cradle-to-Grave Act, as it was called—may rightly be considered the most important because of its wide scope. It banished the spectre of want. The establishment or extension of pensions covering old age, sickness and unemployment, and the introduction of maternity benefits, made this measure one of the most comprehensive forms of State insurance imaginable.

The Act codified, so to speak, existing schemes, and at the same time enlarged their range so that only the contingencies now covered by the National Assistance Bill remained to be provided for. Thus the present Bill may be said to be the legislative completion of the main structure of Britain's new social service schemes that are due to come fully into operation on July 5, 1948.

Scope of Bill

Some idea of the scope of the new Bill can be gathered from the fact that children deprived of parental care, patients suffering from tuberculosis, mental cases, and registered blind persons will all come under the direct care and responsibility of the Minister of National Insurance, instead of under a miscellany of local authorities.

The fundamental object of the new Bill is (in the words of an explanatory White Paper) "to achieve the final break-up of the Poor Law and to create entirely new services founded on modern conceptions of social welfare." The Bill, when it becomes law, will, like the National Insurance Act, be very largely a codification of measures already existing for the relief of destitution. Hitherto, such relief has been the direct social and financial responsibility of local authorities. The State now takes over that responsibility, using local authorities as its agents. The latter have always been powerfully aided in their relief work by voluntary welfare societies, and this assistance is not likely to cease merely because the system will henceforth be a centralised one.

It is pertinent to observe that the various State schemes of relief for the aged, the destitute, the sick and the unemployed, which began in 1908, have resulted in a progressive decline in calls for assistance from local welfare authorities. For instance, since October, 1946, the payment of pensions on the scale provided in the National Insurance Act has reduced the number of people applying to local authorities for financial aid from 1,500,000 to 500,000.

Thus, the role of the local authorities as regards such aid, having in effect become restricted to dealing with cases imperfectly provided for under the State schemes, it was logical that local public assistance should end by being nationalised in the sense of being made uniform under centralised direction and of being financed by the State. In a word, the State now accepts on behalf of the people the responsibility for preventing any citizen from falling voluntarily below a minimum subsistence standard of living.

Shakespeare's Days

The fact that the new Bill is described in the explanatory White Paper as "finally breaking up the Poor Law" is historically interesting, but may be unintentionally misleading.

The law referred to has long since been obsolescent in practice, although it only becomes legally obsolete now. It dates back to the days of Shakespeare (it was passed in 1601) and has never been formally revoked. But only vestigial traces of it survive ; as, for instance, in the term "workhouse", still in common use among the poor, to designate what has for many years now been a relief institution to which the original stigma of vagrancy no longer attached.

Poor relief in England was part of the feudal system and broke down with it ; and a law of 1536 was designed, like the law of 1601, to fill the vacuum by requiring local authorities to "set and keep vagabonds and beggars at continual labour." The official approach to the matter of poor relief in the following centuries was halting and even heartless, and it was not until 1834 that the Poor Law Amendment Act established a reasonable system of poor relief. But the taint of being poor remained.

The important psychological effect of the new Bill now before Parliament is that it abolishes that taint. The "workhouse," long since a misnomer in poor-relief administration, will finally disappear from the popular

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vocabulary, existing relief institutions being replaced by Homes in which the old and infirm will really be "paying guests", since they will be contributing towards the cost of their accommodation out of the pensions to which they are by law entitled under the National Insurance Act.

Humane Method

Hundreds of thousands of old and infirm people, of course, will continue to be cared for by their own families. But there are possibly as many as 500,000 of the old and infirm who, for one reason or another, are alone in the world, and it is an outstanding feature of the new Bill that it officially establishes a humane method of meeting their needs. Sympathetic understanding, so to speak, becomes an official injunction.

A Survey carried out last year for the Nuffield Foundation by the Rowntree Committee on "the Problems of Ageing and the Care of Old People" showed that there is "no longer acute poverty among the aged" to the extent that existed formerly. This is one of the beneficial effects of the recent social legislation. But the tragedy of loneliness persists for thousands of old people, who, although living alone, are not really fit to do so, and would be far happier sharing the life of a small community rather than being housed in the large institutions which are their only alternative to living alone.

The provision of such small community homes for the old and infirm is one of the needs that the new Bill is intended to supply. The new services and the homes to be provided under the National Assistance Bill will make heavy demands on finance and on building material and labour, so that it may be some years before the projects can materialise. But there is universal approval for a measure which will place the whole system of relief and welfare on a footing of national co-ordination.

The Rowntree Report showed that income from charitable endowments for the care of the aged amounts to £5,000,000 a year, and since the State, even with the most enlightened legislation, can hardly do more than provide a minimum of guaranteed relief for the aged, the destitute, and the unfortunate, there will always be scope for voluntary service in supplementing that minimum by providing the amenities. But such service is a national tradition, and experience has proved that the considerably extended social services provided by the State since the beginning of this century have done nothing to weaken that tradition.

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PRODUCTION TRENDS DURING AND AFTER THE WAR

By KANTILAL L. DALAL, B.Com. (Bom.), B.Sc. (Econ.) London

This article attempts to examine the production trends facing our country in the post-war period in perspective of the production trends during the war as well as the similar production trends in foreign countries for which published data are available.

One of the basic facts to be taken into account in understanding the production trends in this country as well as other countries, is that the production trends do not reveal a common pattern for all the countries during and after the war of 1939-45. It is, no doubt, true that all the countries have aimed to maximise their war potential during the war, and their total output of consumption and capital goods after the war. But this is only a truism. The intensity, the urgency of the economic situation and the relative emphasis on the direction and uses of the productive resources have, however, varied in different countries during the war and post-war period.

For the analysis of the production trends the countries (excluding Germany, Italy, Japan and their satellites) can be divided broadly in three groups:

(1) The countries whose economies contributed most to the war effort, and whose production was directly influenced by the war effort. In this group are United States, United Kingdom and Canada.

(2) The occupied countries of Europe and Asia whose economies were under the conflicting forces of occupying powers and the patriotic movements opposed to them. Holland, Belgium, Norway, France and Poland in Europe and China and Burma in Asia are the typical examples of this group.

(3) The neutral countries and those whose economies were remotely and indirectly influenced by the war and post-war developments in the chief belligerent powers. Switzerland, Sweden and Mexico are the characteristic countries of this group.

Russia and India cannot be classified in any of the three groups on the basis of their productive trends during the war and the post-war period. The Russian production trends are not easily accessible but it can be imagined that they show mixed patterns characteristic of the occupied countries of Europe and Asia and the Western Powers with whom Russia made a major contribution to the combined war effort. Although India, too, played an important part in the war production effort and was described as the "arsenal of democracy" in the Eastern theatre of war, the production in India during the war did not undergo the spectacular increase which marked the production trends in United States, United Kingdom and Canada.

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TABLE I*

Year	Group I U. S. '37: 100	Canada '37: 100	U. K. '38: 100	Group 2. 1937 : 100 Belgium.	Denmark.	Finland	Holland.	Norway.	Poland.	Group 3. Sweden.	Ireland.	India 1939: 100
					Nat. In. Index.							
1938	—	—	—	—	—	100	—	—	100	—	—	—
1939	96	101	108	86	107	—	112	106	—	103	102	39-40 —
1940	111	121	128	—	86	—	104	94	—	94	102	40-41 114·0
1941	143	146	149	—	82	62	89	94	—	87	94	41-42 117·3
1942	176	172	164	—	86	55	72	83	—	90	77	42-43 122·7
1943	212	184	175	—	88	56	65	81	—	91	79	43-44 108·8
1944	208	184	179	—	87	52	43	76	—	91	83	44-45 109·2
1945	180	163	178	31	74	52	31	69	45	88	93	45-46 120·7
1946	151	147	172	72	96	70	74	100	91	107	107	46-47 127·5
Average 2nd quarter 1947	164	163	—	86	100	—	90	108	113	108	109	— 115·4

Table I shows the indices of production for a number of countries falling in all the three categories mentioned, as well as India. For U. K. the index number of national income is constructed from national income statistics as the index number of production is not available, to indicate the broad changes in productive activity.

In Group I countries production expanded as war mobilisation proceeded. The general level of production in 1943—the peak of war mobilisation—was 221% and 182% of that in 1939 in U. S. and Canada respectively. The national income of U. K. at 1938 prices, was, in 1944, 166% of that in 1939. The indices of production in the Group II countries show a precipitate decline following their occupation by the enemy powers. In the Group III countries the production was rather stagnant, at a level lower than the one in 1939. Industrial production in India does not reveal any basic dynamics characteristic of the three different groups of countries. The *Capital* index number of industrial production shows that it was 112% of 1939 in 1945-46 after having reached 108% of 1939 in 1941-42 and again declining in 1942-43 and 1943-44. There was, clearly, no overall industrial mobilisation for war effort. There are further indications of conflicting influences operating on the production level. On the one hand, under the pressure of war contracts, scarcities of consumers' goods, higher prices etc., the existing industrial capacity was being exploited to the full, while on the other hand, the expansion of the basic production potential was neglected because of a number of causes of which political framework was an important one.

The production trends for the period beginning from the end of hostilities in the August of 1945 show striking contrasts for all the countries in the different groups.

In the Group I countries, two important developments are visible in the post-war production trends. The general level of production declined up to the beginning and middle of 1946, but it had again resumed its upward trend by the end of 1946. The average production for 1946 was 71% and 80% of that in 1943 for U. S. and Canada respectively. Towards the middle of 1947, the production had recovered to 77% and 88% of that in 1943 and was steadily rising. The national income of U. K. in 1946 was 95% of that in 1944 and although no figures are as yet available for its movements in 1947, the figures for exports, and coal and iron and steel production show an upward trend in production as compared to the latter half of 1945.

These movements in the level of production can easily be understood. The process of reconversion from war to peace-time production, the mushroom growth of labour disputes and shortages of certain key raw materials pulled down the level of production soon after the end of hostilities. The process of reconversion and shortages of raw materials creating bottlenecks in production were inherent in the situation in which the whole productive economy which had been feverishly working during the war with the aid of patriotic appeals for longer hours of work, restriction on consmers' goods, and greatest efforts on the part of all concerned, found itself freed from these non-pecuniary incentives as well as from the demands of war products and services no more needed in peace. The labour disputes, although not inherent, were unavoidable. Labour was the one single scare factor which considerably improved its real income position in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada during the war. Now in the post-war situation of decreasing total earnings and increasing inflationary prices it tried to make the most of its scarcity value to consolidate as well as increase its war-time gains. However, with the reconversion process well under way, the bottlenecks were disappearing and the labour disputes were getting settled. The production level again rose in view of the pressure of the pent-up demand of the consumers who were starved of necessary goods during the war and also due to the overall Government policies of maintaining the economy at a high level of activity and ensuring a gradual increase in the standard of living of the people. The disruption of foreign trade of most

* Sources : Monthly Bulletin of Statistics (U. N.) October, 1947. *Capital*, December 18th, 1947.

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of the countries prevented the gradual return of the production pattern to that of the pre-war period.

In the countries under the Group II the production has gradually increased from the level of July-August 1945 when the hostilities ended. There have, no doubt, been strikes and lock-outs, shortages of capital goods, problems of reconversion and re-equipment and political instability but they have not brought the production level to a standstill but only slowed down its rise. In July, 1945, the production was 33%, 61% and 43% of 1939 in Belgium, Denmark and Norway respectively. It was 28% of 1939 in August 1945 for Holland and 60% and 43% of 1938 for France in January 1946 and for Poland in July 1945 respectively. In Finland it was 58% of 1938 in September 1945. In the middle of 1947, however, the production was running at the rate of 100%, 93%, 80% and 110% of 1939 for Belgium, Denmark, Holland and Norway respectively. It was 97%, 112% and 87% of 1938 for France, Poland and Finland respectively for the same period.

Production level for countries in Group III also rose from that during the war and at the end of hostilities in 1945. For Sweden it rose from 85% of 1939 in 1945 to 105% of 1939 in the second quarter of 1947. For Mexico the production indices show a fairly continuous increase throughout the war and post-war period reaching a record level of 134% of 1939 in the middle of 1947.

Production trends in India in the post-war period have no parallel with any of the three groups of countries examined above. The *Capital* general production index number shows an uneven, slow but steady decline in the overall production situation. Production levels in all the major industries more or less maintained their war-time heights up to the end of 1945. It began to decline from the end of 1945 and the decline has remained unrelieved up to now except for some temporary increases in early 1947 and certain fitful movements in individual industries throughout the post-war period.

The gravity of the post-war production trends in India lies not merely in the decline of production after the hostilities although this poor country could ill afford it. Production levels had declined in all those countries where production was feverishly geared to the total war effort, *i.e.*, in U. S. A., Canada and United Kingdom. The gravity of "crisis" consists in the fact, that the decline in the production has not reversed itself as in the case of group I countries, following the readjustments of all the factors concerned. This raises the suspicious question as to whether there are special influences affecting the production levels in India, other than those which produced the decline in Group I countries, namely, labour unrest, shortages of raw materials, reconstruction and re-equipment difficulties.

The other factor contributing to the "crisis" is the fact that the decline has come about at the very time when expectations were entertained for a planned and a steep rise in the productive activities. The preparation and discussion of economic plans and the hope of their implementation at the end of the war and the dawn of political freedom heightened the contrasts between expectations and reality. It is also interesting to observe that production level has decreased in India although we have had no problem of reconversion of a magnitude comparable to that in the Group I countries.

It is not intended to discuss in details the various factors which have entailed the decline in production and the remedies suggested. The more obvious and the more important of them have been well analysed and discussed in the recent tripartite Industrial Conferences in New Delhi. It would, however, be worthwhile to mention a number of special factors which have distinguished the production trends in India from that of the other countries.

(A) All countries depend on import of essential materials for the healthy working of its industrial production. But India depends for a very large number of basic industrial equipments on a relatively small number of countries exporting them, so that any dislocation in the countries concerned creates sudden and deep-rooted bottlenecks which cannot be easily remedied.

(B) In the short run the increase in production could only be achieved by a fuller use of productive capacity or in other words by making the actual production very nearly equal to the capacity production, for, the productive capacity being dependent on certain key imports cannot be quickly expanded. The following figures show the capacity output, producton and demand of some of the key industries for 1947 :—

In Tons	Capacity	Production	Demand
Steel	1,264,000	875,000	over 2 millions
Cement	2,076,000	1,344,000	3,000,000
Paper	110,000	86,000	———

The industries in their efforts for fuller utilisation of productive capacity are likely to encounter increasing cost of production, if there is to be a considerable rise in the output. The increasing prices which this would necessitate has to be anxiously considered in view of the dangers of the inflationary tendencies.

(C) The decline in production or shortages are more marked and keenly felt in the supplies of daily necessities relative to the luxuries and comforts of life and in case of producers' goods relative to the consumers' goods industries. In this respect there is a parallel between India and the countries in Group I and Group II, for the inflationary pressure in all these countries by making relatively less important things more profitable to produce tends to distort the economic structure as this results in diverting resources away from the production of things claiming priorites from the national point of view.

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(D) At present there is a confusing as well as tragic paradox of idle resources side by side with labour shortages of almost all kinds of labour. This paradox has to be resolved in the interests of increasing production and can be resolved only if "investments" are made in labour equal to if not more than planned investments in capital goods, land improvements and agriculture. This is not a labour appeasement policy. The social and economic productivity of the idle as well as the marginal labour resources is very low. Improvements in the quality of the idle, the marginal as well as the employed labour resources would break the shortages of skilled and unskilled labour which has been the important factor contributing to the adoption of the fallacious labour policies to gain temporary advantages.

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THE INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY
Bengal Branch

By G. F. MUIRHEAD,
Hony. Director, I. R. C. S., Bengal Provincial Branch

The idea of the Red Cross Society originated with a Swiss gentleman, Mr. Henry Dunant in 1859 who was apalled by the lack of medical attention for soldiers wounded in battle. He succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of diplomatists in various countries and a Conference was held in Switzerland in 1863 as a result of which the famous Geneva Convention was signed in 1864, which recognised the principle of neutrality of the wounded in wartime. From that time the Red Cross Society worked unceasingly for the sufferings of the wounded and the prisoners of war until it came finally to be recognised that this vast organisation had also a very urgent task to do in peacetime as well; and finally in 1919 it was officially laid down in the Covenant of the League of Nations that

> "The members of the League (of Nations) agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised National Red Cross Societies, having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."

And a League of Red Cross Societies was formed which now includes in its membership some 65 National Red Cross Societies.

The Symbol of the Red Cross on the Red Cross Flag has no sectarian significance, and it was adopted merely as a recognition of the great part played by the Swiss in the formation of the organisation, and is simply the reverse of the Swiss National Flag which is a White Cross on a Red Ground.

The Bengal Red Cross Society is affiliated to the Indian Red Cross Society whose head office is in Delhi, and which is in turn affiliated to the International Red Cross at Geneva. In 1945, with the active help and co-operation of our President, the Right Hon'ble R. G. Casey, the then Governor of Bengal, a large Civilian Expansion Scheme was embarked on in Bengal. The Society's activities are numerous and widespread but the following is a short description of the work which is being done.

The Bengal Red Cross has for some time been training Indian girls as Health Visitors through the St. John Anderson Health School in Calcutta, and has also sent girls to England for further specialised training so that they can return to Bengal to train others in their turn. Grants are made annually to Maternity and Child Welfare Clinics throughout the Province, and inspections made to ensure a proper standard for those Institutions. In addition the Society is planning to build out of its own funds and from those raised in the Districts, Model Maternity Centres where the health of mothers and children can be cared for, and where these mothers can learn the principles of health, and where training will be given to indigenous Dais. Owing to the very disturbed state of the province over the past year it has not been possible to go ahead with our plans as quickly as we would have liked but during the next few months we will attempt to push ahead.

Another part of our programme which is well known is the running of Free Milk Canteens for children. These canteens were started at the time of the Bengal Famine and since then the Government of Bengal have purchased large quantities of dried milk from abroad which is distributed daily by the paid and voluntary workers of the Society of whom the latter numbers some 10,000 throughout East and West Bengal. Through this scheme over two lakhs of children receive a *powa* of milk free every day of the year, and in this way the Society is trying to do something towards improving the standard of health of the children of Bengal. These canteens are running not only in Calcutta and in the larger towns but are operating as well in the remotest villages of the province, and altogether there are about 2,000 of such canteens offering daily free feeds. As an adjunct to this work the Society is responsible for organising free-midday tiffin for school children in the districts, for the health of the school children must not be overlooked. And for these school children also there is the Junior Red Cross which organises them into groups to teach them the principles of health and hygiene and good citizenship.

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Then there is the work in Civilian Hospitals. Supplies are issued to Hospitals all over Bengal and Hospital Welfare Service is being organised to provide these comforts which means so much to patients. The Welfare workers write letters to relatives, do personal shopping, provide reading materials and generally act as a guide, philosopher and friend. A start has also been made on Diversional Therapy Work.

And alongside all this constructive work goes the task of giving relief in emergencies. Unfortunately they have been far too frequent during the past months. From the time of the August 1946 riots until just after Independence Day the Red Cross workers and volunteers have been constantly in action. Their aim has been to give succour to all irrespective of caste, creed or religion and even at the time when communal feelings were at their highest our Ambulance drivers and workers never ceased their duty even when it meant going into areas predominantly inhabited by those of a community other than their own. During the Noakhali riots the Society sent supplies and workers, and after the initial emergency was over a rehabilitation camp was opened in Noakhali District where Hindus, Muslims and Christians worked side by side and where an effective piece of rehabilitation work was carried out. The Red Cross Camp was in close touch with Mahatma Gandhiji during this time and our workers were happy to know that their endeavours had the blessing of that great leader. Recently in Calcutta a similar scheme of rehabilitation has been carried on with satisfactory results having been planned in the light of the experience gained in Noakhali. As a result of the devastating flood which occurred in East Bengal last August, the Bengal Red Cross again extended its help and it sent workers and supplies by air and by rail and has helped in the organising of the system of relief in the affected areas through a Co-ordinating Committee. In this connection it is very satisfactory to note that over Rs. 60,000 has been received for the relief of the flood-stricken people of East Bengal as voluntary donations from individuals and firms in West Bengal besides quantities of food, clothings and medicines. In all this Relief work, the Society has co-operated with other voluntary organisations and worked alongside their workers, has given them and in its turn has been grateful for the co-operation which many of these organisations have given.

Some indication of the popularity of the Red Cross Society in Bengal is shown by the greatly increased membership. From the 700 members in 1945 it had grown to 6,271 at the end of 1946 and this figure will be exceeded during the present year. I cannot conclude without saying that I think we are all aware that with the new freedom which India has attained we know that we shall be judged by what we do and not merely by what we say. There is always the tendency to paint a too rosy picture but we are alive to our faults and know that if the Red Cross Society is to be worthy of the name it must touch the lives of those who are poor, and those who are needy, it must touch the villages and not merely the big towns and must be an effective force which will operate alongside official schemes in the fields of health and hygiene and Social Welfare.

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MAHATMA GANDHI

By DANIEL THOMAS,
Minister for Prohibition and Transport, Madras

A great darkness has fallen on the land and a sense of personal and national desolation has overwhelmed the hearts and minds of the people throughout the country. The beloved father of the people and the venerated leader, not only of India, but of the world at large, has passed away. It was destined that the apostle of love and peace, who had preached and practised his doctrine of *Ahimsa* to the wonder and admiration of the world, should meet his end at the hands of a common assassin. Perhaps, it is fitting that it should be so. Christ preached His saving evangel of love and performed His miracles of healing and redemption, but was crucified on the Cross. Mahatma Gandhi, who all his life was a devout follower of Christ's life and teaching, has achieved a similar end. Christ, Buddha, Mahomed and Gandhi : These names are abiding land-marks in the history and progress of mankind. Scientists tell us that, though a star may be extinguished in the heavens, its light will continue to shine on earth for millions of future years. Though the physical presence of Mahatma Gandhi is ended, the light of his life will continue to shine and irradiate the hearts of millions of people for long ages to come.

Everyone in the country, man and woman, bemoans personally the loss of a beloved father. That enchanting smile of his and that inspiring voice can be seen and heard no more. But let us go forward and treasure in our hearts the spirit and example of Mahatma Gandhi and re-dedicate ourselves to the cause and service of our Motherland and for the spreading of peace and goodwill for all mankind.

In his life, Mahatma Gandhi was 'the pillar of the people's hope and the centre of a world's desire.' In his death, his country and the world experience the bitterness of death and of desolation. But he is not dead. His spirit will be a living inspiration and a beacon-light to guide the people of this country to a destiny worthy of its great traditions and worthy of the life and death of Mahatma Gandhi himself.

"Dear Friend, far-off, our lost desire
So far, so near in woe and weal
Behold we dream a dream of good
And mingle all the world with thee."

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GOLD IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

By K. P. THAKUR, C.A.I.I.B. (Bom.), C.A.I.B. (Lond.)

"All that glitters is not gold"—we are taught throughout the ages. By a queer analogy the rider may be established, "Gold is gold though lustreless and old."

The yellow metal has long ceased to function as money in active circulation. Gold coin which was so fascinating when it flowed in or out of a Banker's vault or a businessman's counter has long disappeared; in exchange we find coins of baser metals and notes of varying denominations at home and abroad. Yet gold has nonetheless lost its pigment or aroma.

In the domestic sphere it does not function today as a standard of value; its use being sparingly confined to commercial, medicinal purposes as also in the fancy wares and ornaments of the Eves in the East as well as in the West. From the orthodox Gold standard, the world switched over to Bullion standard, then experimented upon Exchange standard which also against the ever-increasing complexities of human living was found to be inadequate for our needs till we are leaning on paper in the living present.

Retiring from the national humdrum circulation, gold has taken up an unassailable position in the international field for settlement of balance of payments and from there it is exerting a powerful influence over the economic life of nations in the wide world. The Bretton-Woods Conference and the formation of the International Monetary Fund added additional colour to the yellow metal making it the sole arbiter in the international economic disputes.

One of the purposes for which the International Monetary Fund was created was to avoid movement of specie in adjustment of balance of international payments; yet we are constrained to note that it is an irony of fate to find that the Fund by its action and deed admitted that in the ultimate analysis gold, it is only gold, which controls the gear of international trade automobile. The International Monetary Fund reiterated the essential characteristics of the yellow metal and re-affirmed that even in the present era of managed currencies gold is pre-eminently suited as an adjusting lever for setting aright dis-equilibrium in international trade machinery. Accordingly, under the rules of the Fund, it has been made obligatory on the part of a member to subscribe in gold 25 per cent of its quota or 10 per cent of its net official holdings of gold and U. S. dollars whichever was less. Naturally, therefore, in its initial composition of 6535 million dollars paid as on 30th June, 1947, by 29 nations out of 34 members, par values of whose currencies had been agreed, 1344 million dollars have been paid in gold, 2063 millions in U. S. dollars and the remaining $3128 millions in miscellaneous currencies. Thus 20·57 per cent of the Fund rests in gold, 37·57 per cent in U. S. dollars and 41·86 per cent in other currencies.

Against such a redoubtable background we are to review the price trend of gold.

The price of gold in the international market as with various other commodities, is virtually regulated by the United States of America, who pegged its price to $35·00 per ounce since 1935 at which rate gold is saleable to the U. S. Treasury. With the outbreak of war, the entire economic outlook of the belligerent countries began to undergo a revolutionary change. Partly due to the impact of inflationary forces, partly due to re-distribution of wealth among population, the lust for bullion increased particularly among a certain section of people who belonged to the group of tax-dodgers and black-marketers. The fright of being caught in the post-war period with consequential damages became uppermost in their mind and in Bullion they found a safe corner to camouflage their fortune and to keep Governmental anti-corruption measures at bay.

This pernicious activity amongst a vicious circle of population was noticeable in a greater volume and variety in the countries of the Middle East, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Egypt, India, etc., than in the United Kingdom and the United States, where due to the vigilance of the respective national governments and exercise of effective control over production and consumption of goods, grass in black markets found no time to grow under feet. In the latter group of countries another factor accounted for this difference. In the Anglo-American countries, it was the burning patriotism of their citizens, the crying need for saving the country against Hitlerism, which had the sway; against these sentiments no avarice, no corruption could make any headway. In the former set of countries, however, the basic idea was divergent. As none of these countries spontaneously participated in war but were merely dragged into it, except a limited few, many found in it a golden opportunity to make hay while the sun shone. In the successful prosecution of their clandestine operations they sacrificed not only national or business morals but also valuable human lives. Posterity will shudder to learn that for every thousand rupees earned by profiteering during the Bengal Famine of 1943, one human life was lost.*

With the rolling of the war chariot, inflation began to gather moss, prices began to soar high, with the demand for bullion particularly in the Eastern countries, pushed its price to a higher level.

Let us now look to the side of supply. With the exception of 1946, production of fresh gold all over the world exhibited a downward tendency. Added to this the Eastern countries which were disgorging gold on a huge scale since Great Britain went off gold standard in 1931, appeared on the scene as importers of the yellow metal. As a result, after meeting industrial demand, the balance available for monetary use gradually dwindled at accelerated rate. The following

* Famine Commission Report—Bengal.

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table quoted from the Report on Currency and Finance, 1946-47, published by the Reserve Bank of India is illustrative:

Consumption and Distribution of Gold
(In millions of five ounces)

Year	Estimated net consumption in industrial arts	Net absorption in Eastern countries	Net non-monetary absorption	Fresh production	Balance available for monetary use
1940	1·0	−2·2	−1·2	40·7	41·9
1941	2·0	−0·1	1·9	39·6	37·7
1942	2·8	0·4	3·2	34·2	31·0
1943	4·4	1·1	5·5	27·5	22·0
1944	5·8	1·7	7·5	24·9	17·4
1945	7·5	1·8	9·3	24·3	15·0
1946	9·3	1·1	10·4	25·0	14·6

The quantity of 14·6 million ounces of gold available for monetary use represents a fall of 65 per cent over 41·9 million ounces existing in 1940. With a demand ever growing against a supply which remained static or diminishing, bullion price naturally shot up to levels much above the official parity. Yet movements of the precious metals on an appreciable extent could not take place due to the prevalence of Exchange Controls and war-time restrictions on import and export of specie into and out of countries. An exception was, however, noticeable in the sale of gold in India and various other Middle East countries on Anglo-American account. According to *Reuter's* message, dated the 8th December, 1944, the Federal Reserve Bank's December 1944 issue reviews that the motive behind such sales of gold in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Arabia, Iran, China and in India, too, at a rate much above the official parity, was to combat inflation in these territories as also to cover allied needs for local currency and expenditure. During the years 1943 to 1945 such sales in India alone aggregated 7·5 million ounces.

After the suspension of hostilities, movements of precious metals across national boundaries began to re-appear in July, 1946. The Bank of Mexico offered gold freely for export at a price equivalent to 40·53 U. S. dollars per ounce, *i.e.*, at $5·53 over the buying rate of U. S. Treasury. Switzerland and Turkey followed suit. Dollars obtained out of the balance of payments were converted into bullion and such bullion was employed in the profitable business of selling in the gold-thirsty territories. For some time sales continued but soon difficulty arose. The purchasers of gold had to pay for it in U. S. dollars or in any other Hard Currency such as Canadian dollars, Swiss francs, Swedish kroner, Argentine pesos, Mexican dollars, etc., which they were not in a position to acquire as they were short of it. The selling countries were not finding an easy job to keep up the game going. Their own gold stock was meagre to feed the hungry populace. Consequently they had to look askance from the U. S. A., who alone was in a position to face the situation. The following statistical table exhibits the comparative gold stock of some important countries of the world.

Value of monetary stock of gold in important countries
(In million of dollars)

Year	U.S.A.	France	Switzerland	South Africa	Mexico	Turkey	India	* Britain
1939	17,644	2,709	549	249	32	29	274	
1940	21,995	2,000	502	367	47	88	274	
1941	22,737	2,000	665	366	47	92	274	
1942	22,726	2,000	824	634	39	114	274	
1943	21,938	2,000	965	706	203	161	274	
1944	20,619	1,777	1,158	814	222	221	274	
1945	20,065	1,090	1,342	914	294	241	274	
1946	20,529	796 (Nov.)	1,144	941	181	235	274	

Further such sales of gold by Mexico, Switzerland, etc., was vehemently criticised by the members of the International Monetary Fund. The Committee of the Fund appealed to member countries to stop sales of gold above the official rate in the black market. Eminent bankers, economists including Dr. Dekock, Governor of the South African Reserve Bank, condemned this practice as such sales will result in exchange instability in the long run. In response, the Mexican gold sales were stopped. The Swiss National Bank and the Agricultural Bank and the Commercial Bank, Turkey, suspended sales of gold above parity to the public. The United States of America banned export of gold on private account. Licences were strictly confined to export of "semi-processed gold." In the United Kingdom, the Bank of England banned all transactions in foreign gold above the international parity price. As regards India, since February, 1946, a duty of Rs. 25 per tolla was imposed on the import of gold into the country. The import duty was, however, reduced by 50 per cent on 12th August, 1946,, but from 6th March, 1947, issue of licences for the import of bullion was completely discontinued.

The above, in brief, covers the contemporary history of gold.

The efforts of the members of the International Monetary Fund have been successful in the suspension of gold sales in open market, but were they able to eradicate the evil of free market in gold ? No, certainly not. In none of the countries subscribing to the International Monetary Fund gold is sold officially—yet the yellow metal can be acquired and disposed of in darkness in London and New York. Owing to the abolition of open gold market, official free market quotations are not available these days ; but it is reported that in New York gold is unofficially quoted around 40 to 43 dollars per ounce ; the average price

* During 1939 gold holdings of the Bank of England were transferred to British Exchange Equalisation Fund, whose volume is estimated at 2,240 million dollars although the exact total is a Government secret.—*Statesman*, 13. 10. 47.

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of gold in India during 1945-46 and 1946-47 being Rs. 80-3-0 and Rs. 101-1-2 per tolla approximately.

Against such a concerted action by the big powers of the world why the black or free market in gold cannot be exterminated? The reason is obvious. Why black markets in rice, sugar, cloth, etc., cannot be removed, although sales of such goods are controlled by Governments? If it is not possible to exercise perfect control in the consumers' goods which may not be stored for distant future, in smaller bulk and greater value, how can we expect to succeed in the case of gold? On the contrary, in the present unsettled conditions of the world particularly in India, where the cost of production of commodities both agricultural and manufactured is rising by leaps and bounds, where labour trouble is a semi-regular feature of industrial life, where wages are chasing prices against a rising tempo of inflation, gold is one of those commodities whose price is anchored at a price prevailing in the pre-war era regardless of its cost of production and its relationship with other sister commodities in the world of exchange.

A section of people argue that the present unbalanced economy will soon disappear and commodity prices will saturate at a reasonable base. To tell accurately what will be the actual shape of things to come, is possible only for foretellers but not for economists, who can, of course, analyse present factors against the past and suggest possibilities in the future. That price level may come down from its Olympic height none should deny but when? On the contrary, the tendency of prices all over the world is to soar upward.

During the years of war, prices in the U.S.A., U.K., Canada, etc., were kept under vigilant control. With the termination of hostilities, in some country commodities were gradually decontrolled. In Canada at present (December, 1947), control has been taken out from all commodities. In the U. S. A., with the exception of sugar, rice, rent and nominal control over a few other materials, commodities have been decontrolled. In India, too, public opinion is against continuance of control any longer in commodities except foodstuff. In the United Kingdom control still continues and is likely to continue for some time to come due to the acute shortage of food and drink in that land. Relaxation of control over manufactured and semi-manufactured goods has been shown by the British Government. The green grocery, fruit, vegetable, tomato trades, the fish trades (where abuses were frequent and the removal of controls was strongly requested) and the soft drink industry have to some extent been decontrolled and opened to new entrants. What has been the result? A rise in price level is the only consequence. In the U.S.A. in March, 1947, wholesale prices and cost of living stood at 196 and 157 respectively as against 143 and 131 for the corresponding month in the previous year. In the U. K., the cost of living remains almost stationary while wholesale prices jumped by 12 points. In Canada, the wholesale prices and cost of living in March, 1947, rose by 20 and 10 points respectively when compared to 1946. In India, the rise was steeper, the wholesale prices rose by 68 points and retail price by 22 points. The comparative table is given below.

(Base January-June, 1939=100)

	Wholesale price			Cost of living		
	1939	1946	1947 March	1939	1946	1947 March
U. S. A.	101	143	196	100	131	157
U. K.	106	177	189	103	132	133
Canada	103	144	164	101	119	123
India	109	306	374	102	238	260

Thus the price trend all over the world indicates that in the near future we may not expect any heavy reduction in our onerous cost of living. Against the upsurge of labouring group any reduction in their wage bill will result in strikes, stay-in-process and similar such devices resulting in curtailment of production essential to us at the present moment. The attempt will therefore, militate against the end for the achievement of which it will be resorted to. As long as the supply of commodities falls short of effective demand, so long production is less than requirement. Labour group will have the control key in their hands and only when the supply market is flooded with a plethora of goods and when satiety is attained by hungry mouths, then only a reduction of price level may be anticipated but not earlier. Such a state of affairs has another contingency; behind the spectre of depression there is the dreaded monster of aggression. Except with the appearance of depression of a wide magnitude a large-scale reduction of wage level may not be feasible; and of the two which one we fear more, rising price level or depression? The concensus of opinion in a ballot will probably be in favour of the former.

If such be the situation, if a reduction in price level is not likely to come up in the near future why then isolate gold from other commodities entering into domestic and international trade? Considered as a commercial undertaking, the cost of production of materials, as already stated, shot up to a high-pitch and coupled with drastic taxation of the Government of the producing countries, the control price of gold does not adequately cover its cost of production not to speak of profits of mine-owners. In consequence many of the marginal mines had to close down operations. Mines which were adversely affected by warfare in Burma, Korea, New Guinea, the Philippines, etc. cannot be renovated and reconstructed unless prices offered compensate the cost of labour and capital afresh.

Yet the important nations of the world do not show any inclination to raise the official parity price of gold. The U. S. A. is definitely against any such move as by it U. S. A. apprehends devaluation of dollars. The United Kingdom faithfully adhering to the dictates of uncle Sam will not say otherwise and any attempt on the part of any member of the Bretton

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national Monetary Fund to alter the price of the yellow metal is likely to be vetoed successfully by the Anglo-American interests as under the constitution of the fund any proposal can be so vetoed by either U.S.A. or Britain who own each more than 10 per cent of the aggregate fund quota. The British press has in a number of recent despatches categorically stated that Britain would neither raise the price of gold nor promote any such proposal, on the contrary, the British policy is flatly opposed to devaluation of sterling against gold or U.S.A. dollars.

The protagonists of the Anglo-American school of thought believe that a rise in the price of gold will prompt the United Nations to revalue the gold holdings of their Central Banking Institution at current coins. The augmentation of the Reserve value may tempt the holders to issue additional notes, resulting in further inflation and its consequential chain of evils. In the all-round rising tempo American price level will also be affected, making American goods dearer to the hungry world outside. The benefit of the little new extra spending power thus created will be wiped out in securing costlier dollars for payment of American goods. The antagonists, however, argue that if gold price is raised to 40 dollars per ounce and the gold value of various currencies are adjusted proportionately there may not be any alteration between the values of currencies against one another. Further, it is not conclusively established that a rise in the price of gold will invariably result in the further increase of the price level of other commodities. Although the price of gold is pegged to 35 dollars per ounce since 1935, it has not prevented other commodities rising in value; conversley it may be argued that even if the price of gold be raised to 40 dollars an ounce, there is no clear evidence to show that any automatic adjustment in the value of other commodities would also take place.

The Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund and the President of the International Bank have denied the rumour regarding higher prices of gold. The rumour that Britain will pay a premium for South African gold has also been denied from official quarters. Yet the possibility of an eventual rise in the gold price cannot be completely brushed aside. The arguments of those who are for an increase appeared to possess strong reasons behind and even in British quarters informal intimation holds the view that a higher price of gold may come in future. An authority like Dr. Dekock admits that while an immediate increase in the gold price could nearly aggravate world inflation, prospective change to deflation might make the world want a higher gold price as an anti-deflationery measure about a year from now.*

The initiative for that would also lie with U.S.A.; in a U. S. slump, the U. S. A. may prefer to cut the gold content in the dollar thus raising the dollar price of gold rather than cut prices and provoke unemployment.

* Statesman, dated 25th September, 1947.

Informed quarters, however, believe that there are some officials in Washington who are in favour of distributing a big parcel of gold say 2 to 3 billions of dollars of gold out of U. S.'s holding throughout the world, which would go a long way to check inflation and bring exchange stability. Mr. Bevin while addressing the annual Trade Union Conference at South Port also pleaded for a redistribution of the Fort Knox gold. It is reported that a proposal to shift American gold worth about 3 billion dollars to devastated Europe is receiving serious attention from leading U. S. Government officials and may be submitted to the Senate as part of the plan to aid Europe as a supplementary plan to Marshall programme.*

But what is all this fuss about? What is the necessity of such re-distribution? What the world needs today is U. S. dollars for the purchase of U. S. goods and not their gold. The volume of such despatches may be doubled or made four-fold, but it is certain that all such gold will find its way back to the States. Gold seized by the Nazis may be re-distributed but that may not stop U.S.A. getting them back in no time.† It is observed from a New York report, dated 18th October, 1947 that the Federal Reserve Bank received $11,000,000 worth of gold from France. A report dated 20th October, 1947 discloses that the Bank also received from England gold worth £50,000,000 since September 15, 1947. It is a pity, no doubt, that the world after labouring over centuries found out managed flexible currency best fitted to work out smoothly monetary function. To a certain extent managed currency system was successful to show how currency and credit may overthrow the shackles of gold; but Bretton-Woods may be a limiting point whereafter gold standard in a modified form may stage a come-back. The golden rope-way was once built up by men and it was quite useful for the purpose to serve the cause of which it was inaugurated. At the time of its inception and long after when the world was still young and the volume of goods entering into international trade was meagre the ropeway was smooth and easy-going but of late knots have grown over it to make it rough and obstructive. Attempts were, therefore, made to explore new ways unconnected with gold. It was discarded to a great extent but why then arrange for its come-back now? And with what prospects? By force of circumstances U.S.A. now controls the lion's share of the entire world's stock of gold and she is the only country who is capable of sparing goods, consumers and capital, to outside world after meeting her own requirements. If U.S.A. continues to pin her faith only on the yellow metal and disagrees to accept any other medium of settlement in international payments a situation may soon arise when importing countries will be left with no means of payment except by borrowing

* *Statesman*, dated 9.11.47

† It is reported that out of Nazi-looted gold, France, Netherlands, Austria and Italy received gold to the extent of 104,150,000 dollars, 40,376,000 dollars, 29,460,000 dollars, 4,280,000 dollars.—*Statesman*, dated 21.10.47.

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in the States. The fear of such a contingency may be said to have already cast its shadow on the face of the earth. Whether arrangements are made to strengthen the purchasing power of war-worn Europe or Eastern countries through the Marshall plan or by re-distribution of gold such spoon-feeding will not have anything but transitory effect on world economy. People may subsist on charity for a short while but cannot exist thereupon for long. What is wanted is rejuvenation of lost national wealth of the nations and for this the deficient should get what they need and should give out what they can afford to spare. On the contrary, if U.S.A. desires merely to send out her own product and accept nothing in exchange only by giving other people purchasing power by loans or gold (when she knows such gold or loans will only be spent in her market), the situation may not improve. When the loan will be exhausted or when gold will be shipped back to Fort Knox the economic plight of the borrowing countries will be no better than before ; over and above these countries will be burdened with heavy foreign debts with U.S.A.

If, on the other hand, U. S. A. refuses to recognise only gold in settlement of international payment and agrees to accept goods in lieu thereof the pressure on gold will be considerbaly minimised. The basic industries of the non-American countries will get a fillip and their national wealth will increase. International trade is at bottom a barter of goods only. During the last war did we not witness Indian jute and piece-goods being used as exchange for Argentine wheat and Australian wool ? If barter of commodities would serve our needs at some time why may we not experiment upon it at other times without complicating matters by bringing an intermediary in the form of gold wherever possible ? And what else we desire to get out of international trade except exchange of A's goods for B's ? In so doing the upswing of gold price may be checked and a fall precipitated. The vain attempt of the United Nations to control the price of gold, whose demand is too voluminous against a paltry supply, is bound to turn out unsuccessful as we have seen the failure of various control measures in food, drink, clothing, etc. If the gold standard in a modified form is kept alive, the chance of a future fall in the price of gold is purely imaginary.

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JOHN GAWSWORTH

By Prof. PHANIBHUSHAN MUKHERJEE, M.A.

John Gawsworth (born 1912) is one of the few English poets who served in India during the last war and who grew to "know and so to love the Indian people." In "India and My Verses" Gawsworth expresses his intention to return to India, for, it is his deepest desire, he says, 'to treat of her worthily' in his work.

Legacy to Love, The Crimson Thorn, In English Fields, and *Farewell to Youth* represent his "preliminary efforts in an exacting art." *In English Fields* contains a selection from poems written between 1931 and 1941 ; *The Crimson Thorn* contains poems for lovers, written between 1939 and 1941 ; *Snow and Sand* is a collection of verses most of which were written during 1942 to 1944, when the poet was serving in the R. A. F. at various sectors of the Mediterranean Front. *Blow No Bugles* contains poems mainly, in date of composition, a companion volume to *Snow and Sand* along with the few verses of his urban year in India where he landed in December, 1944.

Gawsworth writes 'pure poetry.' This is his supreme distinction in an age when literature, and poetry too, has been burdened, perhaps overmuch, with theories of superficial realism, propaganda or psychology. He, therefore, finds a ready response in the hearts of all lovers of life. He describes the poet's process as "the listening-in to the Infinite." Though identified with the post-war English lyric movement, he stands aloof from the modernist school ; and his verses "give to airy nothing a local habitation and a name." If "pure poetry" is "the language of the imagination and the passions," or "the suggestion by the imagination, of noble grounds for the noble emotions," no critic can deny a high place in the hierarchy of English poets, to Gawsworth in whom is continued the traditions of romantic movement of the Elizabethan age and the early nineteenth century.

Gawsworth describes his aim in poetry in *Regret* in which he only asks of life,

> *"To pluck the strings*
> *Of vision's lyre—for rife*
> *Imaginings,"*

and one should say that he has succeeded admirably in his efforts. *Reverie, Lost Days, Fidelis, Poor Foolish Man, Presentiment, The Mind of Man, Adolescence, Adjuration, Demi-Dirge, Suppliant, Death's Evangelist, Resignation, Seducer's Song* are delightful creations full of concrete imageries and suggestiveness. There is genius in his exquisitely lyrical verses in which intensity of feeling finds "impassioned expression." In *The Eternal Themes* the poet describes how

> *"Love, Life and Death are the eternal themes*
> *The nearest, and the dearest, and the best;*
> *From the beginnings, visionings and dreams*
> *Singled the saint and the seer from the rest."*

Gawsworth glorifies love and verse in *Blitz* :

> *"Sadness is deadened,*
> *Fear is numbed*
> *Where exist verse and love"*

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and says in *Will You Remember?*

"Life being that eternal moment when
We kissed for all time, finding love as God?"

He feels:

"For to refrain from loving is to claim
More power, more sorrowed splendour than to die."

The call of romance is expressed in:

"Over every stream that flows
Beyond every mountain,
Lies the rumour of the Rose.
The glimmer of the fountain."

The poet is keenly alive to the joys of life but is at the same time poignantly conscious of "those days of death that follow passion's course", and "the charnel-chasm of grey death."

The thought how "swift on the spring of youth comes hoar December" dejects 'the poor dreamer' and benumbs his joys. The poet glorifies Love as Divinity and regrets that "Time is your pestle that will grind us down."

Gawsworth does not sing of the glory of war like Rupert Brooke but of its grim tragedy like Owen:

"We say nothing; but think only
(Heart-constricted, a moment lonely):
Who will be killed this time—
And for what crime'?"

In *To Arthur Pellegrin*, the author proclaims that "Contentment was the life that Allah planned," but the war made a havoc of the world.

The World: 1943 brings out vividly the picture of the war-weary world:

"And death's dim-peopled halls,
Dazed, witness the blight
On earth's bare bough,
Awed, mute at the Tragedy
Of here and now."

With grim irony the poet describes war as "the theorem of sane democracy in lusty action." War is the poet's pagan festival, "Christ gives me blood for wine!" But peace is greater than war and he sings in *Croce at Sorrento*:

"I saw today the puissance of the pen
And the futility of the sharp sword."

The pen is mightier than the sword and in *Flower of Peace* he says:

"When the lotus unfolds,
Its perfume arises;
So peace as man moulds,
Shows arrant surprises . . ."

"O Champak blossom, concord's flower,
Lend courage now in the threatening hour,
Concord is but man speaking to man
With kind eyes and no after-plan."

In *Christmas Bells* he proclaims the glory of Jesus, the peace-maker:

"None hears the Christmas Bells that night
But feels a star within his heart,
That his dark sky has fleeced to white
That he will dare the braver part:
For Peace, they say, and Peace they mean:
Eternal, steadfast and serene.
Who brought this peace of world release
Was Christ, the Soul of Man."

The English: June 1948 brings out the essential English character:

"For, like the day-obliterated star,
We shine in night and have our glory then."

The reader is reminded of Earl Baldwin's characterization of the English as a nation made for a time of crisis.

There is an open-air freshness in Gawsworth's imageries and some of his sonnets have a classical restraint and deep subdued emotion reminding one of Shakespeare many of whose lines they almost echo. In *Rivers* and some other poems the poet exploits to the full, like Milton, the melody of place-names. Some of his poems, full of a contemplative vein, mark out the contrast between man and nature and have in them an unmistakable strain of mysticism.

There is, in Gawsworth's verse, "an intimate sense of things," an exquisite and perfect rendering of the "moods of the mind" in its variety of experiences in language replete with rich suggestion and redolent of the aroma of great masters in English poetry. His Norman-Celtic descent finds expression in his swift and vivid power of imagination and his consciousness is instinct with an abiding sense of beauty in nature and human life. He combines in him deep contemplativeness, enchanting vision, sweet sensuousness, swift and soaring imagination and the melancholy of all who have felt the sense of tears in things early. The union of deep tenderness and delicate reserve marks his poetry out with an individual quality. He has a fine sense of the melody of words and he exploits fully the devices of language to enhance the beauty of rhythm. The rounded perfection of many of his poems reminds one of Keats's odes.

His poems *To Bengal* are particularly refreshing. The beauty of her women and her flora inspired him with a lyric passion. Says he:

"Ulysses came to his last country—
Far it was and wide,—
And he beached his ship, and he stretched his legs,
And he said: 'Here I'll abide,'
For he had been in Barbary,
In Sicily, in Italy,
And the sand seas without tide;
And he wanted rest
On a burnished breast,
A tawny thigh beside—
The balms of a Bengal bride."

He describes the beauties of Bengal in *Bengal Blossoms*:

"Bengali blossoms from what bough,
Chameli, Ashok and Champak,
Do you cascade to tease me now
With all the love I lack?
Bengalis, veil those speaking eyes
And glide less lissom, for you call
Aloud the sacred mysteries
Inherent in your green Bengal. . . ."

He pays a warm tribute to Bengal in *Three Graces*:

"When Beauty is so prodigal—
And not furtive in its revealing—
As it is in Divine Bengal
Who has selective feeling?"

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Book Reviews

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—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS : *By M. Ramaswamy, B.A., B.L. Published by Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Pp. 252. Price Rs. 6-8.*

The basic problem mooted in the book under review is one of perennial interest in political science, *viz.*, that of reconciliation of human liberty and State authority with a view to furthering best the ends of society and maximising human welfare. The problem has passed through many changing phases in this dynamic world and the line demarcating the frontier of human freedoms and State intervention is an ever-shifting one. Yet the value of human freedoms embodied in certain fundamental rights of man placed beyond possible encroachment by public authority is indisputable. As the author has stated in the preface (p. IX), "Liberty is not a mere decorative frill which lends a certain grace and charm to human existence but it is of the very essence of life itself," or as Rousseau observed about two centuries ago, "To renounce liberty is to renounce being a man, to surrender the rights of humanity and even its duties." It is true as the author has stated (p. 90) that liberty is a concept of multiple strands. It is no longer viewed as merely a native concept consisting in freedom from restraint as conceived by the *Laissez Faire* school in the nineteenth century, but as something positive calculated to provide the individual with the fullest opportunities of realising his human personality by cultivating all his latent potentialities.

One of the devices by which the liberty of the individual is sought to be safeguarded—no longer from the tyranny of the despotic monarch but from the tyranny of the legislative majorities—is the introduction of a bill of rights in the constitutional text. Experience of recent history particularly in Europe does not make one enthusiastic about the efficacy of this device for securing fundamental human rights. Yet the importance of writing into the text of a modern constitution a bill of human rights sheltered from the encroachment of legislative majorities as well as the executive can hardly be minimised, if for no other reason than at least to emphasize the great signifiance of these rights and to serve as a constant reminder of that fact to all concerned. Moreover, if the experience of some countries of Europe has been disappointing in this respect it has been otherwise in the U. S. A. and the author has been able to show "how the American Bill of Rights, reinforced by later additions, has, with the wise and powerful support of the judiciary, been able to establish and foster a high and priceless tradition of liberty and free institutions in the U. S. A." (preface page IX). In his approach to the problem he has wisely followed the American example rather than the British, because India's problems are more similar to those of America than of Britain. With her federal set-up, with her crying minority and untouchability problems India would do well to imitate the American example rather than the British where the principal safeguard for fundamental rights of citizens lies mainly in the force of an ever-vigilant public opinion which has yet to be developed in our country. But while the author has based his conclusions mainly on American experience he has not indulged in blind imitation but has suggested suitable modifications in conformity with the peculiar conditions and requirements of India. He has not merely made out a case for the incorporation of a bill of fundamental rights in the constitutional instrument of India and suggested effective means of realising and enforcing them through courts of law, he has been at considerable pains to formulate a detailed draft Bill of Rights to be incorporated in the new constitution of India setting out his reasons for the inclusion of each of its articles and explaining fully its import and scope. A bill of rights embodied in the constitution is and also meant to be limitation on the powers of the government both in its executive and legislative sphere, because its avowed object is to protect the liberty of the citizen against inroads of the government and as such opens up opportunities for frequent disputes and legal proceedings which may be embarrassing to the government. To guard against this danger the drafting of the bill requires the utmost care and judicious selection to make it at once legally effective and at the same time avoiding needless and embarrassing restrictions on the powers of the legislature. Mr. Ramaswamy's draft Bill of Rights for India set forth in the fourth chapter with comments and explanations and enumerated in the Appendix satisfy in our opinion both these tests.

The book is a very timely publication dealing with one of the most important problems that the fathers of the constitution of a free India have been engaged in grappling with for some time past and affecting the destinies of a considerable part of the world's population. We fully share the author's hope that the book although written primarily in the context of Indian conditions, yet dealing as it does with a problem transcending all limitations of race, religion and territory will make an appeal far beyond its confines.

The book therefore may be commended to the students of constitution and constitutional history, not only of this country but in other lands as well, as a work of highly topical interest but one not likely to lose its interest with the lapse of time.

A. K. GHOSAL

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DOMINION OF INDIA : *By P. N. Murty and K. V. Padmanabham. Publisher Metropolitan Book Company, Delhi, 1947. Price Rs. 6-12.*

"All over India and indeed over the world, jurists would be labouring to ascertain what is the

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constitution, what are the laws with which this great new Dominion starts its existence, above all, what changes have been effected in the pre-existing constitutional and legal position". It is in response to this need that the Registrar of the Federal Court and the Under-Secretary of the Constituent Assembly of India have collected together in this book the several important documents connected with partition and with the creation of the independent State of India.

Part I gives the text of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, and the reports of the Boundary Commissions. Part II gives the text of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted and modified by the Independence legislation. Part III gives the orders made by the Governor-General in relation to India and the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

The author has contributed to the book a brief introduction in which the relationship between the pre-existing position and the new constitutional arrangements has been explained. The Indian Independence Act, 1947 formed the culminating point, said the British Prime Minister in the course of debate in the House of Commons, in a long course of events. The authors rightly do not go into the details of these events. They confine their observations to the description of the main features of the 1935 constitution and to the analysis of the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

Appended to the book are three appendices—(1) the form of the Instrument of Accession; (2) the form of the Standstill Agreement between the Dominion and the States; and (3) the text of the Statement made by the Cabinet Mission to India on 16th May, 1946.

The publication is both timely and useful and altogether not too dear, although the printing is not free from glaring mistakes.

BOOL CHAND

SUBLIMATION: *By Trevor Davies, M.A., B.D., Ph.D. Foreword by E. S. Waterhouse, M.A. D.Litt. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1947. Price 6s.*

One cannot but admire the wide studies of the author and still more his fervent zeal to introduce moral arguments in the consideration of the topic of sublimation. He has in the book under review introduced the views of many authorities on sublimation but the chief target towards which his batteries of criticism are directed is of course Freud "to whom belongs the honour of having brought the process into thought both of critical and popular thought." (p. 10). He does not question the fact of sublimation but the point that he has sought to make out is that this process of sublimation—"the deflection of instinctual energy to 'higher' social aims—cannot be accomplished without a 'pull' from the front" and cannot be explained unless one admits the objective existence of moral values. Instinctive energy cannot direct itself to higher channels just as man cannot lift himself by pulling at his own bootlaces or pulling his own hair. It is the objective moral standard that is ultimately responsible for deflecting the libido energy towards the channels of culture, art, religion and the higher values of life.

The whole thesis of the book is only a particular instance of the age-old controversy between Science and Philosophy. The author is for Philosophy and for a particular brand of it too, and therefore he cannot be satisfied with the explanation of a phenomenon, much less of a mental phenomenon, in terms of its past conditions only. Science, however, cannot but do that and cannot but be deterministic in its outlook. In the scientific interpretation that Freud and persons of his way of thinking have given of sublimation, they have not violated the canons of logic. That the sins of men are responsible for an earthquake disaster may be a very satisfying explanation to some but certainly cannot be considered a scientific interpretation of the event.

All the subtle and ingenuous arguments that the author has quoted and put forth in considering the various problems relating to sublimation rest upon the repudiation of the fundamental deterministic standpoint of Freud. "Are we then simply mechanisms biologically and psychologically determined? This does seem to be Freud's philosophical standpoint, so far he has one at all; it is a standpoint which we emphatically repudiate." (p. 54). If that be emphatically repudiated then not only sublimation but all that Freud has discovered may easily be thrown overboard in one sweep. Will the intellectual world—philosophers included—agree to do it?

Freud and his followers have sought to trace the conditions under which sublimation takes place. It may be freely admitted that their study of sublimation still remains incomplete. But they have not certainly attempted to find out the ultimate final cause of sublimation just as the physicist while measuring the speed and intensity of light does not feel called upon to settle the question as to why light is propagated at all?

The volume does not present any new argument but is just a collection of much that has been said many times against the Freudian standpoint and refuted as many times. The reviewer is rather surprised to see that so much confusion not only regarding Freudianism but regarding the fundamental standpoint of Sciences even should be displayed at such high quarters. That only confirms the knowledge that we have gained from the spread of the Freudian views that Man after all is guided more by Emotion than by Reason.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

SHIVAJI AND HIS TIMES: *By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Fourth edition, thoroughly revised and partly rewritten. With three portraits. S. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Pp. xii + 394. Price Rs. 10.*

The new edition of this authoritative life of Shivaji, which has just come out, embodies the new materials discovered and the revised opinions formed by Sir Jadunath during the last 19 years. Especially the use of the invaluable Jaipur records (which were brought to light in 1939 after nearly three centuries of concealment, has enabled the author to write a new and astonishing account of the great Maratha hero's visit to the Court of Aurangzib and his escape from the jaws of that tiger. Similarly more Portuguese and Marathi sources published during the interval have been utilised to amplify or correct several other sections. The improvements and additions are thus described: "The aggregate result of these changes is that in this edition, a new presentation of the *Young Shivaji* has been given, the Javli and Purandar episodes and also Shahji's captivity in 1648 entirely rewritten, the Afzal Khan affair more fully explored, the accounts of Shivaji's audience with Aurangzib and captive life in Agra entirely reconstructed, the second coronation of Shivaji with *Tantrik* rites added as an entirely new story, the battles with Khawas Khan and Baji Ghorpare near Kudal more fully and correctly described. . . . The critical bibliography has been recast and brought up-to-date, while the Index has been ex-

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panded." The book has been out of print for two years. We are confident the present edition will be welcomed by readers.

N. B. Roy

THE CALL OF THE EAST : *By Jal K. Wadia. Published by Thacker Spink and Co., August 24, 1947. Pp. x + 121. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The book under review saw the light of day on a significant date in recent memory. This is by itself a happy augury quite apart from the perennial appeal of the theme embodied herein. The pervading spirit of this booklet is in remarkable harmony with the grandeur of the sad occasion—rendered doubly sadder by the dramatically sudden disappearance of the high-priest of Eastern thought and culture—which witnesses its publication. There could be no more opportune moment for the announcement of the perpetual call of the East that has remained long unheard down the corridor of time. On the threshold of the New India of today and tomorrow, let us hail with befitting humility the call of the East !

With becoming modesty the authorship of this inspiring publication is disclaimed by Sri J. K. Wadia. In good faith he dedicates "this book to its true author—the Jagat Guru." That of course does not give it immunity from criticisms, wherever found inevitable.

But believing, as he does, that "it is not a mere scholastic study that one has to make of religion," the author has given a timely direction to the professional reviewer—a direction which, alas, is more often honoured in the breach than in observance. He is to be complimented for having focussed our attention on the question of "what has to be derived from religious books" and on the categorical answer thereto, *viz.*, "Inspiration and Aspiration." Simple as it is in enunciation, it is nevertheless profound in its implication for the religious life of man. This is the point of focal importance which has got to be re-enthroned in its ancient glory on the pedestal of spiritual life. Religion is nothing if it does not rest on a foundation that is moral through and through. That is the religion that underlies religions in the plural. That also ensures the unity of religion which is the pang-born lesson for us today ; and the way to achieve this desideratum is clear-cut and well-defined As Pascal once said, morality is one, while religions are many. In the nine chapters dealing respectively with (*i*) The Message of Peace, (*ii*) The Religious Thoughts of the East, (*iii*) The Study of Religion, (*iv*) The Formation of Man, (*v*) From Savage to Saint, (*vi*) The Paths to Realization of God, (*vii*) Spiritual Exercises for the Beginners, (*viii*) The Requirements of Spiritual Practices, (*ix*) The Call of the East, there are ever so many flashes of intuition and inspiration, chastened by the devotedness of a life of aspiration for the Holy Spirit that it would be unjust to pick and choose therefrom for random quotation here. The get-up of the book is all that could be desired. We heartily recommend this book to the devout soul for a reverent study which it eminently deserves.

S. K. Das

LIGHTS ON THE UPANISHADS : *By T. V. Kapali Sastry. Published by Sri Aurobindo Library, 869 Esplanade, Madras. Pp. 162. Price Rs. 2.*

The book comprizes seven chapters of which the first five appeared as articles serially in the *Advent* Quarterly under the title of 'Readings from the Upanishads.' The sixth chapter entitled 'Vedic Wisdom in the Vedanta' was contributed to the second Annual of the Sri Aurobindo Circle, Bombay. The book gives a fresh exposition of the Upanishads in the light of Sri Aurobindo's Yoga and Philosophy.

The Bhuma Vidya, Prana Vidya, Shandilya Vidya, Vaisvanara Vidya and Madhu Vidya of the Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka Upanishads are dealt with briefly in this book. Vidya means a spiritual discipline. According to Sri Aurobindo, the Upanishads are not all metaphysical speculations but precious manuals of spiritual disciplines. The Upanishads are to the Sage of Pondicherry 'not theories and doctrines but words of wisdom based upon Truth-Knowledge'—Truth realised by the Rishis and realisable by earnest aspirants. Sri Aurobindo holds that each of the realisations described in the Upanishads is true and the Truth of anyone need not and does not nullify the truth of any other. "In liberation the individual self realises itself," observes Sri Aurobindo, "as the One that is yet Many. It may plunge into the One and merge or hide itself in its bosom—that is Maya of the Advaita : It may feel its Oneness and, yet as part of the Many that is the One enjoy the Divine—that is the Visistadwaita liberation : It may lay stress on its many aspects and go on playing with Krishna in the Eternal Brindavan—that is Dwaita liberation. Or, it may even being liberated remain in the Lila or manifestation or descend in it as often as it likes. The Divine is not bound by human philosophies. It is free in its play and free in its essence." This is the foundational principle of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy and Sri Aurobindo has built his philosophical edifice on the Upanishads. The author of this book and other advocates of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy assert that Sri Aurobindo's speculations have thrown new light on the Upanishads. This is not true and tenable. In the Ramayana, Hanuman says to Sri Rama : "When body idea prevails in me I am Thy servant ; when I think I am a *jiva* I am Thy part ; when I know I am the *Atman*, I and Thou art one. This is my firm conviction." Is not Sri Aurobindo's philosophy an echo, at best an amplification of Hanuman's wonderful experience ?

Swami Jagadiswarananda

SANSKRIT

ABHINAYAMKURAM : *By Gopinath and Nagabhushan. Natana Niketana Publications, Madras. Pp. Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of extracts, accompanied by English translations, from works like *Sangitaratnakara*, *Abhinayadarpana* and Bharata's *Natyashastra*, dealing with the mythological origin, utility and types of histrionic art with special reference to various movements of the head and the eyes connected therewith. Separate sections are devoted to the description and illustration of the different facial expressions resulting from various emotions as also to the illustration and indication of the uses of the *mudras* or gestures of the hand manifested in the Kathakali dance of South India. It is regretted that the sources of the valuable information collected in the booklet, specially of the Sanskrit extracts quoted, have not been mentioned to help the inquisitive reader to secure more light on a difficult and obscure subject. It is needless to point out that the work under review touches only a small fringe of the extensive literature of old India on the interesting topic of histrionic art and the want of a comprehensive treatise based on this literature is felt very keenly.

Chintaharan Chakravarty

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BENGALI

SARATCHANDRER PATRAVALI : *Compiled and edited by Brajendranath Banerji. Bookland Ltd., 1 Sankar Ghose Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

Saratchandra is not only a great writer, he is more than that. The human qualities so prominent in his writings are also characteristic of the man. He who lives on a high pedestal and never comes down to our level may inspire awe and draw our admiration and respect but is not the man whom we may really love. *Saratchandrer Patravali* is an important collection of his letters. These letters reveal the great litterateur in all his strength and all his weakness, in his greatness and his frailties. Saratchandra has his strong likes and dislikes and he never minces matters. As in all his writings in these letters too his transparent sincerety is quite apparent. His warm heart, his tenderness, the love that he bears for those who are near and dear to him, his sympathy for those who are fallen and downtrodden are all there in these letters. He is not surely one who may be called a conscious artist, but he is always conscious of his great powers. At one time he somehow came to believe that he had not long to live. At that period his only regret was that though he had much to give the allotted span of his life would not allow him to bequeath to posterity those precious gifts. Even at the time he had not attained fame he knew that except perhaps Rabindranath there were few among his contemporaries who were his equals. His ideas about art and literature, about their function and their technique and limitation are highly interesting, and they will help critics of Saratchandra's literature to explain the structure, form and characterisation of his novels and short stories. The editor has done well to bring out this bunch of valuable letters in a handy volume, for more than any biography can do—this epistolary compilation reveals the man in Saratchandra.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

BHARATBARSHER SWADHINATA EBANG ANYANYA PRASANGA (India's Freedom and Other Topics) : *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by Sahitya Bharati Publishers, 209 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 32 + 252. Price Rs. 4-8.*

Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal has already established his reputation as a student of affairs of India during the period since Raja Ram Mohun Roy's days. His Bengali book, *Muktir Sandhane Bharat*, gave a concise history of India's fight for political independence nurtured by the Renaissance that burst upon the country as a result of the impact of British methods of administration, of exploitation, of education on the life and thought of an ancient people. The present volume goes into the detailed description of the many problems that stirred our people's mind during the first seventy years of the 19th century—their grievances against the alien State authority, their reactions against its educational and fiscal policies, the controversies between reformers and the upholders of traditional life. All in all, the present volume holds the mirror to the life and conduct of our predecessors whose struggles for better life we inherit and which we have brought to fulfilment, symbolized by the withdrawal of British authority and control on and from August 15, 1947.

The story related in this book is made up of articles published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* during the years 1868 to 1870 when the paper was appearing as mainly a Bengalee-language weekly. The choice of the subjects dealt with in the articles ranged from British misrule, from controversies between Indians of many ideas and conceptions of what was beneficial to the people, from agrarian discontent, to the separatist conceits and ambitions of the Muslims of India that have reached fruition in the setting of a separate State carved out of India. The curious reader will find in pp. 174-82 and 222-27 an eye-witness' account of how this separatism had been creating the conditions that have reached their natural consummation in 1947.

Compilations like this are a source book of history. In Bengal, Shri Brojendra Nath Bandhopadhyay has blazed the path by his book, *The Recent Times Through the Periodical Press*. The present compiler acknowledges his debt to this and other pioneers. Their example and guidance others can follow with profit to the instructed democracy that we hope to see developed in India.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

HINDI

RASMAYI : *By Ramlal Mahson. Available from the author at Kavi Sadan, Pp. 119. Price Rs. 2.*

This is an epic, in *Khari Boli*, on the eternal theme of the meditation and song of all devotees; namely, the perpetual and perfect love of Radha and Krishna, which is at once human and divine. The 'scheme' is based on 29-33 chapters in the tenth *Skandha* in the *Srimad Bhagavat*. The poet's own devotion for the Old and yet Ever-New. Pair has given to his verse both wing and wisdom. The emotion of ecstasy is palpably evident. In *Rasmayi* the drama of divinely human love is enjoyably re-enacted ; as such, it will ever be a favourite with all devotees.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BHASHA, VRATT ANE KAVYALANKAR : *By Prof. K. B. Vyas, M.A. of the Elphinstone College, Bombay. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay 2, 1945. Thick Card-Board. Pp. 325. Price Rs. 3-4.*

The four divisions, into which Prof. Vyas who is not a tyro but an insistent student of his mother language and its history has divided this extremely learned subject, connote the importance attached to it. The divisions are headed: (1) Purity of Language, (2) The Power of Words, Metre, and Alamkar. (3) Development of the Gujarati Language and (4) Kabya Vivechan (Comments on Poetry). Somehow the work has raised a controversy, and his data and conclusions are questioned by a very well-known oriental Parsi Scholar, J. E. Sanjana, a deep student of Sanskrit, Gujarati, Persian, and Marathi. Prof. Vyas has defended himself and Mr. Sanjana means to return to the charge.

K. M. J.

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Revolution in Astrology & Astronomy

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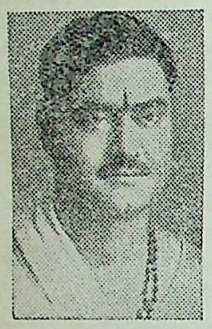

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Basis of World Understanding

Professor William Stuart Nelson, of Howard University, delivered three lectures on "The Basis of World Understanding" at the Calcutta University in August, 1947. A short summary of the lectures as prepared by Professor Nelson and published in *The Calcutta Review* is given below :

As Rabindranath Tagore wrote in one of his songs, "The world is delirious with hatred." In Europe, North and South America, and the East there are raging struggles of varying intensities but all fraught with the most serious possibilities. While ideological differences are not in themselves an evil, there are many evil fruits from the spirit in which men differ and the instruments they use to establish their views and disestablish views that are different from their own.

The approach to the problem must combine the spirit and methods of science, religion, and philosophy. Facts are not sufficient. Religon which supposes divine sanction to irreligious biases and is built upon devotion to petty ends is a menace to peace. Religion as enlightened loyalty to the supreme values of the universe can prove a great aid to understanding. The objectivity and comprehensiveness of the philosophic approach are indispensable.

The causes of world conflict lie in part in man's nature described by Reinhold Neibuhr as pride born of anxiety, which is a concomitant of freedom. Men as individuals and as groups are also what they are by virtue of their geographical locations and the effects upon them of climate, atmosphere, land contours and other similar factors. Geography is a strong determinant as to the nature of a state and its people. Collective human evils take the forms of economic exploitation, nationalism, and social arrogance.

Basic approaches to world understanding include not only a recognition of the evil tendencies in men but of their noble qualities. To act towards men on the assumption that there is something basically good in them is to evoke goodness. The difference between men is due lagely to the difference in the way they are treated by other men. A canvass of the lives of the people will reveal many noble qualities. There are great masses whose graves are unmarked or whose ashes have gone unnoticed down to join the seas but whose lives have been marked by long sacrifice for their parents or children or neighbours. One can find an impressive number of political leaders who, amid calumny and renunciation, have borne the burden of winning the freedom of their people.

A second step toward world understanding is for men not only to believe in one world but *one people*. There is a vast difference between parts of a world being proximate in space and time, and a family of mankind. One world by its very oneness can lend to evils which were inconceivable in the age when worlds were weeks and months and years apart. Our proximitity is an invitation to destruction.

There is great urgency in the call for the concept of one people, one family, of the nations and races and religions of mankind gathered into one spiritual community.

The concept of one people is grounded on the facts of our natures and our lives. Physically men are more alike than different. There is a strong indication that the mental and emotional character of all men is as common as their physical character. The fundamentals remain the same in spite of superficial differences. The mother in Bengal suffers the same pain at the loss of her child as the mother in New York, or Sydney or Moscow. In the presence of birth and death, sickness and health, youth and old age, triumphs and defeats we experience feelings that differ in no fundamental way. This is due in large part to the fact that all men draw their sustenance from the same Mother Earth.

It is significant that the great religions of the world have insisted upon man's oneness in spite of the fact that their followers have often proved the most bitter dividers of mankind.

A basic step in the direction of world understanding is a brief in the plurality of values or the many-sidedness of the good. This means the elimination or reduction of religious, cultural, and racial dogmatism. Men must see the universal truths in different religions. The arrogance which teaches that any one religion is the exclusive possessor of all truths is no friend to human understanding. Men need to emphasize the universal elements in the great religions and de-emphasize their peculiarities. It is found, for example, that the concept of love is preached by all great living religions. This should prove a uniting ground.

It is also important to recognize the values in the differences in religions. Each religion must work out the best means of communicating and realizing in life the ideals of that religion. These means will differ from religion to religion.

We must also give up cultural dogmatism. Anthropologists are coming increasingly to the view that one culture cannot arbitrarily be called a greater culture than any other. If there seem to be differences in the cultures of the East and the West, they must not be considered as basic and eternal differences. The same differences can always be found within each culture. More and more cultural differences will become personal rather than national or racial. Differences in taste are to be encouraged as this makes for enrichment and not necessarily disagreement. There is also no sound ground for racial dogmatism. Racial antogonism is relatively young historically. It does not exist in children until children are taught it. That the races of mankind are really one people is demonstrated by their physical likenesses. Intelligence is also distributed across all races.

Practical steps in the direction of world understanding must include the ending of all political, economic, and racial imperialisms. No nation has the moral right to rule over the destinies of other peoples and exploit their lands. Imperialism not only divides the subject people from the subjugator but divides subject peoples among themselves. It also makes for a transvaluation of values.

Imperialist nations invent moral codes to justify their imperialist designs and acts.

Economic imperialism may be more subtle but also carries grave dangers and must be guarded against especially by a people recently freed.

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The outlawry of war is very important to the attainment of world understanding. Wars seem inevitably to lead to more wars. Even victorious allies find it difficult and sometimes Impossible to co-operate after a war, while defeated nations are driven to a solidarity which often presages a later war of revenge. War frequently divides also a victor nation against itself. It encourages class war within a people and tends to break down moral restraints and to give rise to lawnessness.

Another instrument for promoting world understanding is education. One of the reasons dominant people remain dominant is because they have not been taught the implications of their domination. This is so because their rulers have protected them against education in international friendship. The effort to give education an international emphasis has met with great opposition and many failures. Men are still stumbling blindly into hatreds and conflicts.

The importance of education to freedom is reflected in the denial of education to colonial people by imperialist powers.

A study of education in India and Africa bears this out strikingly. Every effort must be made, therefore, to get education to colonial people and to educate the masses of those who have recently become free. No expenditure of funds will prove more profitable than this.

The difficulties man face in achieving world understanding is strikingly illustrated by the problem of race relations in America. This is regarded as America's number 1 problem and number 1 failure. It is due to the determination of a great number of white Americans, principally but not exclusively in the southern states, that Negroes shall never attain a position of equality with them. This determination has resulted in a separation of the two races or segregation especially in the southern states. The system of separation has led to gross educational, political, economic, and social discrimnation against Negroes. Only approximately one-fourth of the money spent on the average American child is spent on the Negro child in the South. Negroes in southern states are almost totally denied the right to vote. Except in government, and often there also, Negroes are relegated to the poorest paid positions. Even before the courts, they cannot expect justice in the South.

A careful study of the situation reveals that the basic causes of it are not racial. They are found in a carry over from the old slave regime which many whites desire to perpetuate in another form; in fear of political, economic, and cultural competition from Negroes; in the lack of support which Negroes receive from other nations; in the fact that they still suffer from a cultural lag.

In spite of the difficulties from which Negroes suffer they have made astounding progress. In 83 years their illiteracy has been reduced from about 90 per cent to 10 per cent; in 1945 there were 65,000 Negro students in colleges with 5,000 receiving the A.B. and B.S. degrees—this out of a total Negro population of 13 millions. There are 4,000 Negro doctors, 1,000 lawyers, 65,000 teachers, 2,000 college and university presidents and professors, and 25,000 clergymen. In these professions and in music, drama, and literature numerous Negroes have achieved eminence. They have more than 30,000 business including 11 banks and many insurance companies. Two Negroes are now members of the United States Congress and 27 of state legislatures. They publish between 300 and 400 newspapers, magazines and bulletins.

A basic change of good in the relations of Negroes and Whites is possible in three directions: (1) a radical change towards Negroes of some major section of American society as government, the church, or labor. Greatest hope is placed in labor forces; (2) a program of non-violent non-co-operation by Negroes; (3) the migration of several million Negroes from the southern to the northern states where they can expect larger opportunities to fulfil their destiny as an integral part of the American people.

Critical Situation

The New Review observes :

The political complex in India is fluid. Genuine democracy is to be put on a stable basis, whilst disruptive factors and totalitarian tendencies are in conflict. Democracy supposes that there be first a general agreement between citizens about the fundamental requirements of state-life; in particular civic freedoms must be defined which all will acknowledge as intangible and above party strife. This point looks simple enough at first sight, but, on further study, it is puzzling to many experts. The UNESCO Conference held at Mexico City (Oct.-Nov., 1947) once more demonstrated that the U. N. Commission on Human Rights will find it difficult to draft a bill of rights acceptable in all countries.

A fundamental divergence arose about the very sources of human rights. As Benedetto Croce said, "It is precisely that agreement (on fundamentals) which is lacking . . . in the two most important currents of world-opinion : the liberal current and the authoritarian-totalitarian current." He confessed that even in the liberal current there is deep division. Croce himself emphatically declared that there is no such thing as 'natural and inalienable rights', that rights are 'simple historical facts, manifestations of the needs of such and such an age, and an attempt to satisfy these needs', and that the conception of 'universal rights of men' is based on a theory 'which has become philosophically and historically quite untenable.' On the other hand another school supports the American Declaration that 'all men are created equal . . . endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights . . . among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'

Hence Croce did not hesitate to speak of the 'futility and impossibility' of carrying out the task of the Human Rights' Commission. On his part, Jacques Maritain pointed out the differences which divide 'the disciples of Locke, Rousseau or Tom Pain, Roman Catholicism, Marx-Leninism, Humanitarian Socialism, Greek Orthodoxy, Calvinism, Gandhism, Confucianism, etc.' and he too claimed that any basic agreement on the nature of human rights and their theoretical

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justification is impossible. Maritain, however, was careful to add that a sharp distinction should be made between 'practical conclusions' and 'rational justification.' He suggested drafting a list of rights obtained from representatives of all schools of thought, then compiling and redrafting them in a language agreed to by all so as to have a declaration 'embodying a practical convergence of views, whatever be the differences of theoretical perspective.' Such a declaration would be a 'note-worthy landmark'; it could stand as a practical agreement of mankind.

Further discussions would evidently arise. Points of disagreement would demand a clarification of the terms used. It is clear that when Russia and America indulge in talks about 'democracy and freedom,' they do not give these words an identical meaning, and are thus led to discussions which are pointless, confusing, if not infuriating. A common vocabulary would not bring about a common theory, but, as Socrates once said, a problem is half answered once it is put correctly. Confusion in theory and practice is endemic in the political world. Recently the Maharaja of Nepal announced he was prepared to 'grant' freedom of speech, association, etc. to his beloved people; His Highness would have appeared less gracious but be more correct if he had 'humbly acknowledged' the fundamental rights of Nepal's citizens. Moreover what all such freedoms will amount to can only be learned in course of time. Do even the discussion and wording of India's constitution remove every anxiety about the reality and range of our fundamental rights?

Organising Democracy

The National Congress is the only well-organised party in the country; the rest of our popular representatives are scattered units, independent or semi-independent. At the present moment such a situation is tolerable; unity is most imperative; the greater the unity, the more stable the constitution that will be voted and the more effective our foreign policy. But were the present political build perdure after normal conditions are established, one great danger would threaten national life, the danger of the one-party system; one party, one caucus, one boss and then dictatorship red, black or brown.

The National Congress shudders at the very word of dictatorship; yet it is (understandably so) keen on nursing the prestige it has justly gathered from its role in the national struggle and from Gandhiji's leadership, and it rightly seeks to safeguard its predominant position. But for the very sake of the genuine democracy it pursues, the Congress Government should itself foster the creation of a parliamentary opposition. It is indeed crucial that the opposition adhere to constitutional means. Opposition will arise inevitably. Differences with the Cabinet about social structure, administrative measures, provincial and linguistic policy, etc., will bind together the 'have-nots' and supply them with a highest common denominator of agreement. But with the mental features of our politicians, it is uncertain whether the unavoidable opposition will make one or several groups. The Anglo-Saxon tradition hardly visualizes anything beyond a two-party system, but India's democratic tradition is still abuilding. What is essential is that the opposition be given full play in parliament and that healthy criticism of the majority be ensured to all minorities. If opponents have no free access to Parliament, they might seek redress in the street.

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Chemistry and Cosmology in Ancient India

Prof. Priyada Ranjan Ray writes in *Science and Culture*:

Chemistry in ancient India was intimately associated with religious practices and followed the course of the latter in its development. The presentation of subject-matter in many old writings and works has often been made in the shape of a dialogue between god Siva or Hara and his consort Parvati or Gouri. This is particularly noticeable in the writings of the Tantric Period and even in many medical compilations made so late as 1500-1600 A.D. during the Moghul rule. Where the authors of such writings or compilations are Buddhist monks, we meet with the name of a Buddha, a Tathagata or an Avalokiteswara being involved as the revealer of all knowledge.

P. C. Ray in his well-known *History of Hindu Chemistry* has shown that the evolution of chemistry in ancient and mediaeval India can be conveniently divided into four successive periods. These are distinguished as the Ayurvedic Period, the Transitional Period, the Tantric Period and the Iatro-Chemical Period. But this does not take into account the development of chemical knowledge, dealing particularly with metallurgy and metal workings, in India of very distant age before the advent of the Aryans. This is revealed by the excavations at Mohenjo-daro in Sind and at Harappa in the Punjab, which furnish evidences of the existence of a pre-Aryan civilization round about the Indus valley as early as 3000-4000 B.C.

The Ayurvedic period may be said to have commenced from the pre-Buddhistic era and ended at or about 800 A.D.

The Atharva-veda devotes itself mainly to sorcery, witchcraft, demonology, magic, alchemy and cure of diseases by means of charms, incantations and the use of various herbs. Hymns serving as invocations to Death, gold and lead, believed to show the way to long life and easy salvation are found in it. But in Rig-veda too there are mentions of the medicinal properties of many plants and particularly of the exhilarating effect of the fermented juice of the Soma plant. The Soma-juice has been described there as *amrita*, corresponding to the Greek *ambrosia*, a draught which made the gods immortal. The age of the Vedas has been fixed by those, who are competent to judge, at or about 2000-2500 B.C. The Ayurvedic period may, therefore, be said to commence from the Vedic time.

The two earliest and most renowned treatises of the period, Charaka and Susruta, by sages of the same name, constitute a methodical and rational presentation of the Hindu system of medicine and surgery, and seem to be repositories of many chemical information of the time. These treatises subsequently came to be known as Charaka-samhita and Susruta-samhita as they passed through repeated recensions by later and more advanced workers. Judging from many-sided evidences the time of their composition may be assigned to the pre-Buddhistic era (600-500 B.C.), nearly a century or more before the birth of Hippocrates (400 B.C.), the originator of medical science in Greece. Previous to Charaka there existed also other standard works or Samhitas, though less systematized, by sages like Agnivesa, Bhela, Jatukarna, Parasara, Harita and Ksharapani. Charaka himself based his work on that of Agnivesa. Similarly Susruta developed his work upon that of his master Dhanvantari.

Surgery forms an important part of Susruta-samhita as medicine constitutes the main theme of Charaka-samhita.

The next important medical authority of the period, who is held in as high estimation as Charaka and Susruta,

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is Vagbhata, the author of Astangahridaya (*lit.* heart or core of the eight limbs or divisions of the Ayurveda). Vagbhata seems to have flourished at a time when the religion of non-violence preached by Gautama Buddha was still predominant in India (600-700 A.D.). References to Buddha and some Buddhistic emblems are found in his work. Vagbhata's work is more or less an abridged compilation based mainly on Charaka and Susruta with some abstracts from the earlier treatises of Bhela and Harita.

A very remarkable achievement of this period relates to the physical and chemical theories of the ancient Indians, embracing the process of entire cosmic evolution and the methodology of science. These have been chiefly expounded in the six systems of Hindu philosophy and also to a certain extent in the Buddhistic and Jaina systems. These systems were possibly evolved during the period dating back from the time of the Upanishads (1000 B.C.) to about third century B.C.

The next stage in the evolution of chemistry in ancient India is termed the Transitional Period in consideration of the fact that metals, metallic compounds and mineral products were increasingly introduced in medicine in place of herbs and plants which constituted the principal remedies in the Ayurvedic age.

The Transitional Period may be said to extend from *circa* 800-1100 A.D.

Vrinda (800-900 A.D.) is the author of the well-known medical treatise named Siddha Yoga, which is more or less a collection of materials gleaned from the works of earlier writers, and follows closely the order and pathology of the reputed medical work Nidana (etiolgy of diseases) by Madhavakara (700-800 A.D.). Chakrapani (900-1000 A.D.) is the author of the celebrated compilation, Chakradatta, which bears his name. He based his work on that of Vrinda and drew freely from the writings of Charaka, Susruta and Vagbhata. In these two treatises we find methods for the preparation of many metallic compounds, notably of the sulphides of copper, mercury and silver.

The third stage covering the period *circa* 1000-1300 A.D., named as the Tantric Period, is the alchemical age of early Indian chemistry and represents its most advanced or active stage.

For, in ancient India the practice of alchemy was closely associated with the religious rites of the Tantric cult, which flourished mainly during this period though of much earlier origin.

The Tantric cult came into vogue as a result of gradual adoption by the Aryans of the religious practices of the original inhabitants of the land, the non-Aryans. By the beginning of the seventh century A.D. with the decline of Buddhism and the revival of Brahmanism this Tantric cult became very much popular and prevalent in India. Buddhism too, in its decline, degenerated into a similar type of Tantric cult. The chemical knowledge of the Hindus may be said to have reached its culmination during this period with its vast mass of accumulated facts. It gave rise to a school of alchemical and medical workers who were known as adepts in *rasas*, the term *rasa* being applied to metals in general and mercury in particular. In fact, the chemistry of the period was practically identified with the knowledge of *rasa* or the philosophy and science of mercury, as the latter metal, when properly applied, was believed to secure for man his health, wealth and salvation. Hence, the term Rasayana or the Science of Mercury may be regarded as the Sanskrit equivalent for alchemy.

The most conspicuous figure among the Indian alchemists is Nagarjuna, the Buddhist

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worker, who may be viewed as the father and founder of Indian alchemy.

He was also the author of a treatise on metallurgy, Lohashastra, and a prominent figure in the Buddhistic canonical literature as the systematizer of the Madhyamika philosophy. He probably flourished in the 8th century A.D. and composed the famous alchemical treatise, Rasaratnakara.

Mention may here be made of a much earlier alchemist, Patanjali, who probably lived in the second century B.C. and has been quoted by later workers as an authority on Lohashastra or the science of iron. He is better known as the commentator of the famous Sanskrit grammar, Panini, the the author of the Yoga system of philosophy.

Of the various alchemical treatises of this period mention may be made of the following:

Rasarnava, which abounds in extracts from Rasaratnakara of Nagarjuna, was probably composed in the 12th century A.D.; Rasahridaya by Govindabhagavat (11th century A.D.); Rasendrachudamani by Somadeva (12—13 century A.D.); Rasaprakasasudhakara by Yasodhara (13th century A.D.); Rasakalpa, possibly composed in the 13th century A.D. and Rasarajalakshmi by Vishnudeva (14th century A.D.).

In many of these treatises, particularly in Rasendrachudamani of Somadeva there are descriptions of various *Yantras* (apparatuses) for distillation, sublimation, extraction, etc.

The Iatro-Chemical Period in India may be said to have extended from 1300 A.D. to *circa* 1550 A.D.

A very notable treatise of this period is Rasaratna samuchchaya by one pseudo-Vagbhata, which is a very systematic, scientific and comprehensive treatise on materia medica, pharmacy and medicine.

Rasanakshatramalika by Mathana Simha (*circa* 1300 A.D.), Rasaratnakara by Nityanatha, Rasendrachintamani by Ramchandra, Rasasara by Govindacharya—more a chemical than medical treatise compiled probably in the thirteenth century A.D., Sarangadhara-samgraha by Sarangadhara in 1363 A.D., Rasendrasarasamgraha by Gopalakrishna—a compilation based on many Tantras, Rasendrakalpadruma by Sriramakrishna Bhatta—also a compilation from previous works, Dhaturatnamala by Devadatta—composed possibly in the fourteenth century A.D.

A few more of important medical treatises which were composed towards the end of the sixteenth century A.D. might be added to the above list. Rasapradipa, a standard work on the Tantric method of treatment in which detailed processes for the preparation of mineral acids by distillation are described; Rasakaumudi by Madhava and Bhavaprakasa by Bhavamisra are other compilations of this type. Dhatukriya, which means operations with metals, is a notable production of the time; so also is Arkaprakasa, a treatise on the preparation of medicinal essences and tinctures.

Then there followed a dark age in Indian chemistry and for nearly three centuries starting with the decline of Moghul period till the beginning of the twentieth century, the Indian mind remained dormant and sterile so far as the progress of chemistry was concerned.

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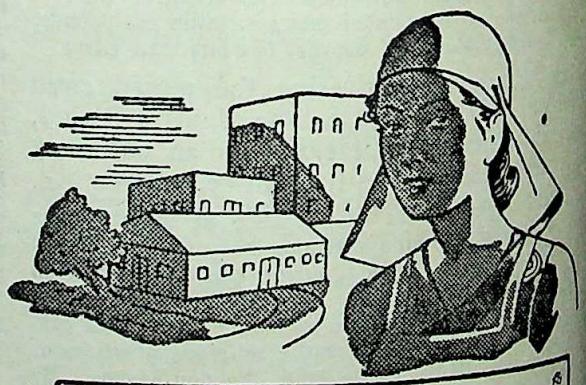

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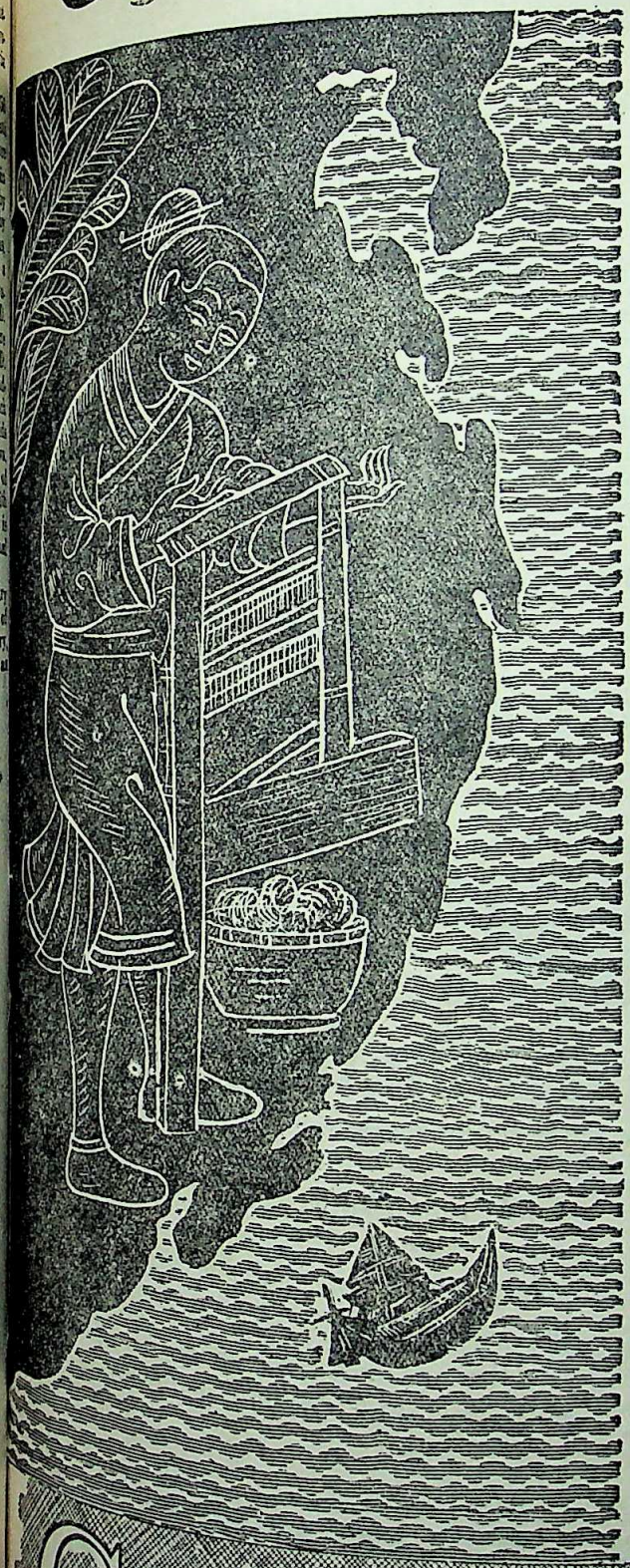
China - India's cotton market of the 4th century



There is plenty of historical evidence to show that China was one of India's principal cotton markets in the fourth and fifth centuries. But the brainy Chinese were not satisfied with the trade; they also imported India's Churga Gin and improved it by replacing the hand crank with a foot treadle. The illustration, taken from a 15th century Chinese Encyclopaedia, shows the Chinese Gin in operation.

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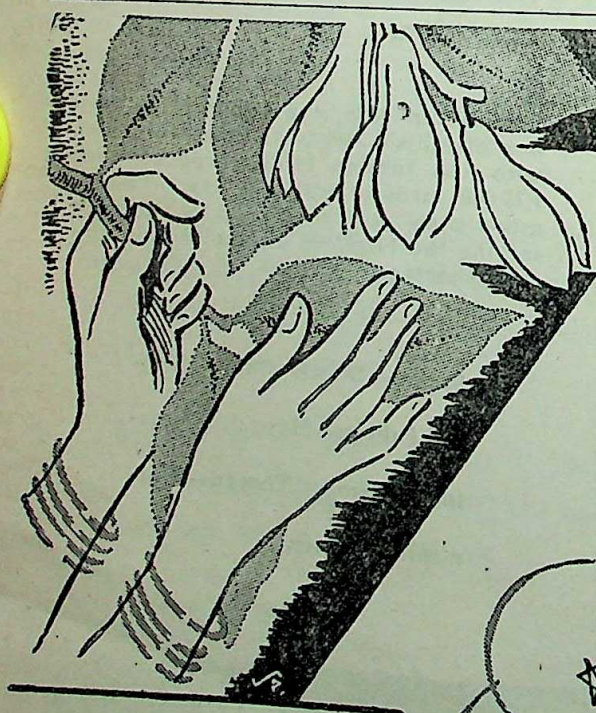

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Gandhi

The following article by Hayim Greenberg is the revised text of an address delivered at the Gandhi memorial held at the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center of the Hindu colony in New York on February 1, 1948, and published in the *Jewish Frontier* :

We have heard here a number of sacred hymns in one of the noblest languages the human genius has produced, and I believe that many of those present who are not fortunate enough to understand Sanskrit are acquainted with the content of those quiet, lofty prayers through translations in the Western tongues. We have heard here a number of thoughtful and deeply felt addresses by the honored head of your congregation, by members of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, and by the Reverend John Haynes Holmes. After such addresses, and particularly after the prayers, I am hardly qualified to contribute anything to the atmosphere of this devout gathering. It is extremely difficult to become accustomed to the idea that Gandhi has breathed the last breath of his flesh-and-blood existence. It is even harder to bear the feeling that history—whose ways only in moments of genuine humility are we ready to admit we still cannot understand—staged a spectacle of cruel irony in India two days ago. The man who gave away almost his whole life to implant in the hearts of men the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" died at the hands of a killer. Even more horrifying is the fact that the killer is no stranger, but one of his own—blood of Gandhi's blood, flesh of Gandhi's flesh, one who was reared in the same faith which led Gandhi to his spiritual triumphs. If after thousands of years of senseless bloodshed we needed still another proof of how perilous for the destiny of mankind are extreme nationalism and religious fanaticism, we were given such a proof by the murder in New Delhi.

Millions of people in India believe in the transmigration of souls. It is not for me to judge what measure of truth such a belief contains. It is a belief which is characteristic of more than one religion, and is not entirely foreign to that religious civilization in which I as a Jew was brought up. Gandhi, I know, believed in reincarnation, and more than once he was asked by some of his followers, whose reincarnation was he? Who had been so to speak, re-embodied in him? Some regarded him as the cyclic reincarnation of Buddha; others—in the Occident—were inclined to the view that the Nazarene had reappeared in his person. I should say that both were mistaken. If one must seek a prototype for Gandhi in the distant past, I should rather see in him the reincarnation of the Indian Emperor, Asoka.

My knowledge of India is very inadequate, yet I am certain that in your great country there have been, and are still today men who, in a certain sense, deserve the title "saint" more than did Gandhi. Gandhi was not a *sadhu*, an ascetic who went into retreat from the tumult of social life and lived in silent retirement, in prayer and pure, undisturbed "contemplation," somewhere in the Himalayas. He did not follow the path of Buddha's lonely individualism, and although the New Testament left a deep impression on him, his life was not an "Imitatio Christi."

From a certain point of view, his spiritual physiognomy was more akin to the Jewish prophets than to Buddha or Jesus. His conscience revolted against that "cosmic snobbery" which places itself *outside* and *above* history, beyond the stream of social change. For saintliness too can be egoistic, devoid of responsibility, sinful. The saint who would live outside society, in a world of pure contemplation, in constant communion with transcendental truths, undisturbed by concrete sufferings of concrete human beings, by the fate of billions of his fellowmen, of nations, of races, arrogates to himself a privileged position, a luxury which is sinful in its essence. Though he live in state of poverty and chronic hunger like a Buddhist monk, though he be naked and barefoot and without shelter like a Franciscan in days of yore—he is sinful simply by virtue of having built a huge pyramid and seated himself, with a carefree, mystical megalomania, on the sharp point of that pyramid. "Saintly" detachment from suffering—even from the most "common," "physiological" suffering of fellow-men and fellow-creatures—is a passive form of cruelty, something tantamount to sacrilege. That sin of indifference and aloofness, Gandhi sought always to avoid ; and if I may say so in this place, he determined to be "less holy" than he would have wished to be or than he could have been. How often he longed for retirement, for solitary prayer, solitary meditation, and mystical experience. He never indulged, however, in this "extravagance" for any lengthy period of time—at any rate never at the expense of what he considered his duty and his debt to India.

Buddha possessed *exaltation* without *loving-kindness*—how can I compare to him Gandhi, in whose soul loving-kindness was the foremost drive? Jesus of Nazareth (if we know him, or in so far as we know him) was possessed by a stream of ecstatic vagrancy, which took as its pattern the "carefree" birds of the air and the lilies of the field—how can I compare to him Gandhi, the perpetual co-sufferer and co-martyr? For Buddha, "Caesar" simply did not exist. He withdrew so far into the lonely trails of the Himalayan altitudes, that he became completely unaware of him. For the Nazarene, "Caesar" was a strongly entrenched and hated reality ; he therefore decided to *ignore* him: Give unto Caesar what is Caesar's (or what Caesar claims as his due), and let him leave you in peace, so that you may be "free" to live in the invisible Kingdom of Heaven. Gandhi did not ignore "Caesar." He did not seek to "bribe" him or pay him a "ransom." His passionate aim was to destroy tyranny, to unseat Caesar from his throne—but with Gandhi's own, "un-Caesarian" weapons. Instead of being a *sadhu*, he became a social crusader.

I remarked earlier that if there are really reincarnations, Gandhi was more probably a reincarnation of Asoka, of that Indian Emperor who, three centuries before the Christian era, sought to embody his vision of the Kingdom of Heaven through historical realization, in a new social creation, in legislation, *in the framework of a state*. That epoch in the history of India is—for me, at least—a very obscure chapter, and I do not know to what extent that sovereign-genius succeeded in clothing his dream in flesh and bones. Yet

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I know at what Asoka aimed : to establish a state in which there would be—if I may use Hebrew terms—no contradiction between "the measure of law" and "the measure of mercy," where law itself would be suffused with mercy. Upon *ahimsa*, upon the three-thousand-year old ideal which sprang up in a unique form in India, upon the principle of not-killing, not-injuring, not-causing pain, upon the idea of an all-embracing loving-kindness, he sought to build up the constitution and the mechanism of the state. And it is in this "paradoxical" way that Gandhi also set out to make his life's journey in our generation.

The tragedy of our age—and not of our age alone—is the thick wall which we ourselves have erected between the transcendental world and the process of history, between ends and means, between what some of us experience as eternal and the everyday stream of life, between religion, ethics, and esthetics on one hand, and politics (in the broadest sense of the world), on the other hand. It is that wall which Gandhi sought to destroy. He knew, perhaps more grievously than others in our generation, that that wall cannot entirely be removed. The absolute and the relative will never be able to merge and become one. He believed, however, that everyday acts and deeds can be suffused with elements of the Absolute, and that it is impossible to live and bear a world in which holiness is a sort of remote and isolated "reservation" which is beyond contact with the broad highways of life.

Such a view is not foreign to Jewish religious tradition. May I remind you that despite the long chronicle of suffering and humiliation in Jewish history, we have until now triumphed through our martyrdom. For two thousand years, Jews have practiced *ahimsa*. Some call it "passive resistance," but in reality it has nothing to do with passivity or acquiescence. Jewish passive resistance against enemies and oppressors who were immeasurably stronger physically than we were, constituted *activity* in the highest degree : self-concentration upon a truth ; fixed determination not to renounce that truth, not to betray it for untruth (or what we regarded as untruth), not to capitulate even when we faced physical annihilation, the gallows, burning at the stake—all this is a far higher and more intense degree of vitality, of doing, *battling* and *combating*, than the use of weapons and physical force.

The Jewish conception of *Kiddush ha-Shem* (sanctifying the Ineffable Name) signifies not merely readiness for sacrifice, for triumphant death. It is also an urge to keep life holy. Not to preserve sanctity shut away in a special tabernacle, to be opened only at intervals, and then seal it away once more, but to keep the source of sanctity always open, and let it shine forth into the everyday, penetrate the secular, imbue with its essence forces operating in history. What in Hindu religious feeling and in Gandhi's religiosity is signified by *Dharma* corresponds to the place of the code, the *Shulkhan Arukh*, in the Jewish way of life.

We shall not today assess to what extent Gandhi succeeded in his experiment. He had long-range vision and the patience of great faith. He planted seeds in the earth whose full fruit may perhaps be gathered generations later. But he gave the world—not only India—a demonstration of how to create a kind of "pipe-line" between the transcendental and the historical, how to fight for holy ends with means that are not in contradiction to the nature of the ends.

From the procession which yesterday followed his deadbody to the shore of the sacred river, cries were heard : "Victory for Gandhi." The people of that million-headed mass who uttered those cries knew that a few hours later only a meagre heap of ashes would be left of Gandhi's body. Yet they believe that "somewhere" he still lives, that his spirit is indestructible, and that that spirit will still achieve great triumphs—in us, through us, for us.

What can I add to such a manifestation of faith?

I know that you permit me to end with the three Hebrew words with which Jews honor the memory of their great :

"Zekher tzadik li-vrakhah," Blessed be his sainted memory.

The Mind of Thomas Jefferson

In an article in the *Unity*, April 1946, Leonard B. Gray pays tribute to the great philosopher and scientist President, the third President who was one of the committee to draw up the Declaration of Independence of America :

Thomas Jefferson was one of the most cultivated men of his day. He was aristocratic, scholarly, reserved, retiring, unostentatious. He did not mingle intimately with the common people as did Abraham Lincoln. He did not write for the newspapers as some of his great contemporaries such as Alexander Hamilton did. His only book was *Notes on Virginia*, of which only two hundred copies were printed and distributed among a circle of carefully chosen friends. He was, at least until he became President of his country, a poor speaker, and seldom made a speech inside or outside of legislative halls. John Adams said that during his whole time in Congress he never heard Jefferson utter three sentences together. In short,

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Jefferson possessed few of the characteristics of a typical public figure and he made no efforts to win public attention or favor. Yet the common people of his day loved and trusted him. And his influence upon history is tremendous and immortal. Today he is generally regarded as one of the grestest of Americans, and some fine minds regard him as our greatest. These facts are both an evidence of and a tribute to the essential greatness of our third President. They bear witness to the true instinct of the masses of Jefferson's day and to the unerring judgment of posterity. They show us once again that, in the main, fine attitudes and great deeds speak louder than striving for effect or a multitude of words.

"Yes, the people," to use Carl Sandburg's great phrase, can be relied upon. The people, in whom Jefferson like Lincoln believed and in whom Hamilton did not, can be trusted in the long run to choose the best values and the best leaders. The people knew that the dominant passion of this great Virginian was for freedom and that he had pledged himself to fight every form of tyranny over the mind of man. They knew well his deep, unfaltering trust in them. His faith in their essential goodness and in their ability to set things right inspired them to live up to his faith in them. His faith in them drew back to himself their faith in him. Yes, the people, said this great humanitarian, are to be relied upon.

Today how grateful we are that such a man as Jefferson appeared on the American scene in the beginning of our history as a republic! We know that the roots of the American democracy were largely in him and in his type of mind. Lawyer, mathematician, inventor, expert mechanic, astronomer, architect, musician, farmer, botanist, paleontologist, zoologist, anthropologist, geologist, legislator, natural philosopher, writer, and educator, he was as versatile as Benjamin Franklin. It is not generally known today that he was the first man to put plow-making on a scientific basis. And many other fine marks on his record are little known. His was an inquiring mind, a well-stored mind, a universal mind. Like Bacon and Goethe, he made all knowledge his field in which to roam and to feel at home.

Never had the old Virginia college, William and Mary, known such an inquisitive student as young Jefferson. At first he gave himself to a gay social life in which he developed a certain foppishness. But after his first year he settled down to hard work, often studying fifteen hours a day. His avid mind had an appetite for everything from Greek grammar to Newtonian physics and calculus, from Plato which he read in the Greek to Ossian, the rude bard of the North, who early became his favourite poet. He studied Anglo-Saxon to get at the roots of the common law.

There at college Jefferson developed a type of mind that loved truth and accepted nothing on hearsay, a type of mind that was never to leave him. Our student was interested in everything and absorbed everything, but Bacon, Newton, and Locke became his favourite authors. In his student days he acquired the tastes, interests, and attitudes that were to make him our only philosopher-President. He was building the mind that many years later was to stand out in such sharp contrast to the mind of Alexander Hamilton. This striking contrast began to show itself in the following incident: The two men were dining at the home of Vice-President John Adams. The brilliant, self-confident Hamilton was dominating the conservation as usual. Presently Adams voiced the opinion that with a few abuses corrected the British would be the most perfect constitution of government ever devised by the brains of man. With its defects the British is the most perfect, Hamilton stoutly asserted. Jefferson thought that both views were dangerous nonsense. What with a corrupt Parliament, most of the land owned by a comparatively few landlords, and suppressed press and opinion, he thought that there was precious little self-government or equality in England. And then looking around at the portraits on the walls of the room Hamilton asked: "Whose are they?" "The portraits of Bacon, Newton, and Locke," said Jefferson, "and they are my trinity of the three great men the world has produced." Hamilton was thoughtful for a time and then burst out in his dogmatic manner: "The greatest man that ever lived was Julius Caesar." Thus each mind took the measure of the other. No wonder that these two great minds were soon to clash, that these two men were soon to become two of the bitterest opponents in all history.

In his day Jefferson was accused of deriving most of his ideas from foreign sources, especially from the French. And today I frequently talk with people who believe that his political philosophy was largely shaped by French influence. Now to be sure, as John Dewey says, French influence was unmistakably stamped upon him. And yet we ought also to bear in mind that much that he saw in France influenced him against that country and its government. His universal mind did glean from almost every field of thought. He chose his favorite authors from many lands and literatures. Bacon and Locke strengthened his natural passion for reason and truth. But for all the many influences that played upon him, his mind was chiefly American-made. It was his American mind that derived his affirmation of human rights from his Saxon forefathers whom he thoroughly studied. The Anglo-Saxons, he learned, had established their principles of liberty and natural rights of man before they settled in England. The English-speaking peoples had lost their natural birthright under a long series of abuses such as feudalism, monarchy, and caste. And now our great democrat would revindicate and restore the "happy system of our ancestors" on a new soil.

Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and John Adams were appointed a committee to draw up the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson with his "peculiar felicity of expression" was naturally chosen by the other members to compose the Declaration. In a stuffy parlor on the second floor of a bricklayer's house on Market Street, Philadelphia, from June 11 to June

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28, 1776, this young man of thirty-three secluded himself. What great days those seventeen were ! ! Tirelessly his pen scratched. Carefully he chose each word, carefully he carved and polished each sentence, seriously aware that each counted as indeed it did. With the precision of his scientific mind he produced the fine, clear, meticulous script. The work was personal and unmistakably his. But it was much more than his, for he aimed to make it and did make it the voice of his compatriots and the expression of the American mind. This great second sentence! History knows no other words more loaded with dynamite than these :

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Here was something new in the history of political doctrine, another object for which governments exist ! In the triplex of political values the writer substituted "pursuit of happiness" for "property." He laid the foundation for a unique commonwealth of justice, freedom, and security. On July 2 Congress approved the Declaration. It was read in Independence Square, Philadelphia. Copies were published in every community of the thirteen colonies that had suddenly been made states. Without knowing it the great mind of Thomas Jefferson had created an immortal.

Jefferson accomplished many great tasks as member of his state legislature, as member of Congress, as governor of his state, as our Ambassador to France, as Secretary of State, as Vice-President and President of the United States, and as a private citizen. But it is clear what he considered his three greatest accomplishments, for he caused this to be written on his tombstone at Monticello :

Here lies buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the statue of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and father of the University of Virginia.

And yet Jefferson's greatest contribution was his own type of mind. It was his faith in the worth and possibilities of people that was the fountain from which flowed each of the three contributions for which he wished to be remembered. And in turn it is his faith in people that will keep these three contributions alive. Always his love for truth, humanity, and freedom is attacked from within our borders and from without, and always we must defend this love if we would truly honor him and build a better world. It is his love for truth that will keep free inquiry alive. It is his love for men that will enable the value of human personality dominant and judge everything by its power to serve the good of man. His mind in us will dedicate wealth, politics, science, industry, and every word and deed not to the [illegible] but to the welfare of man.

And now the release of atomic power with its staggering possibilities of affecting our daily lives for ill or good challenges us as we have never been challenged before to get the spirit of this scientist who loved man more than science and to dedicate all the power that nature puts into our hands for the enrichment of human beings. The greatest monument then that we can build to our first great democrat is to develop his type of mind. To erect this monument is our supreme task.

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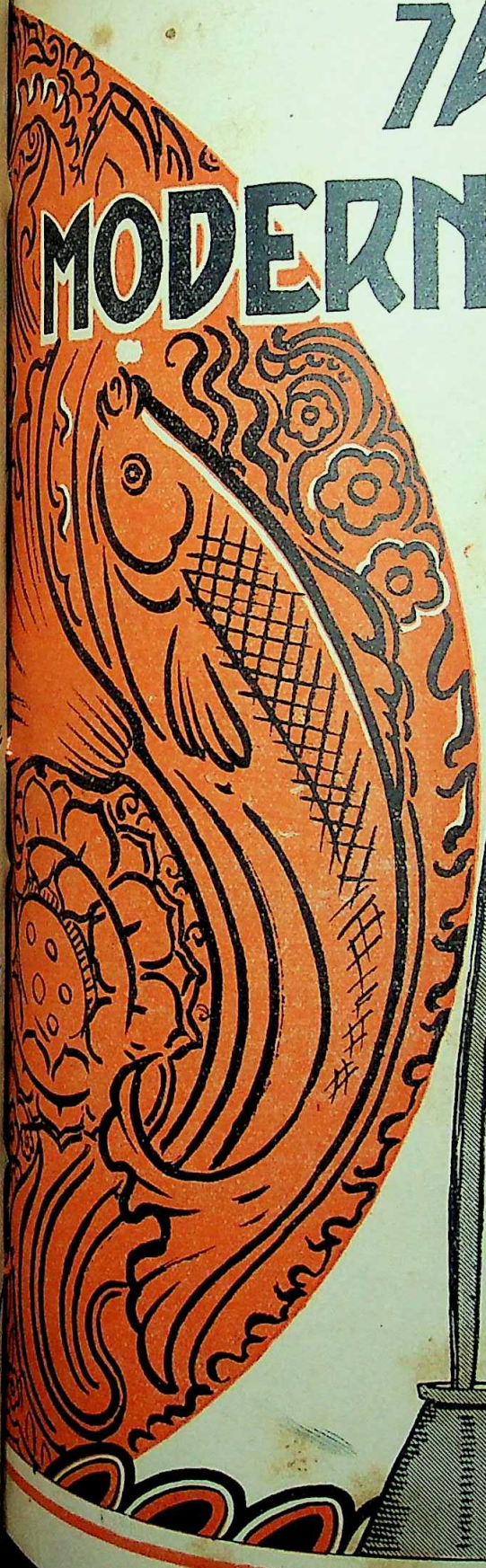

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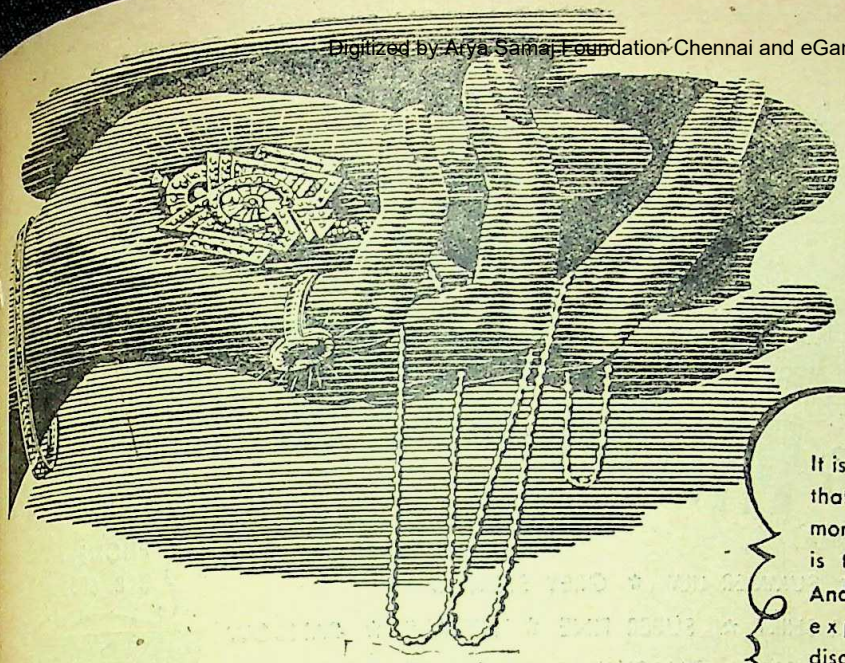

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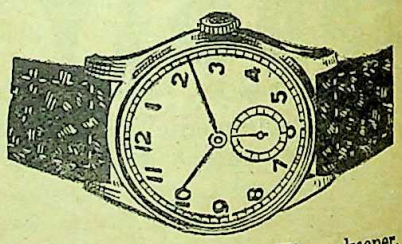

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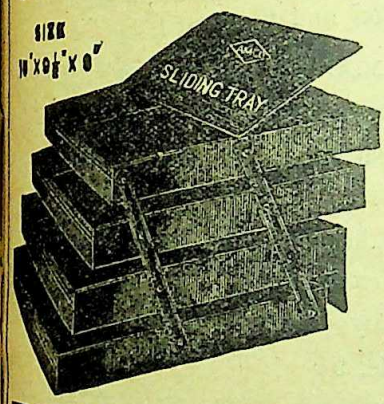

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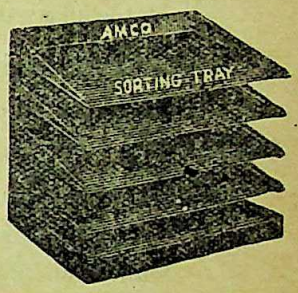

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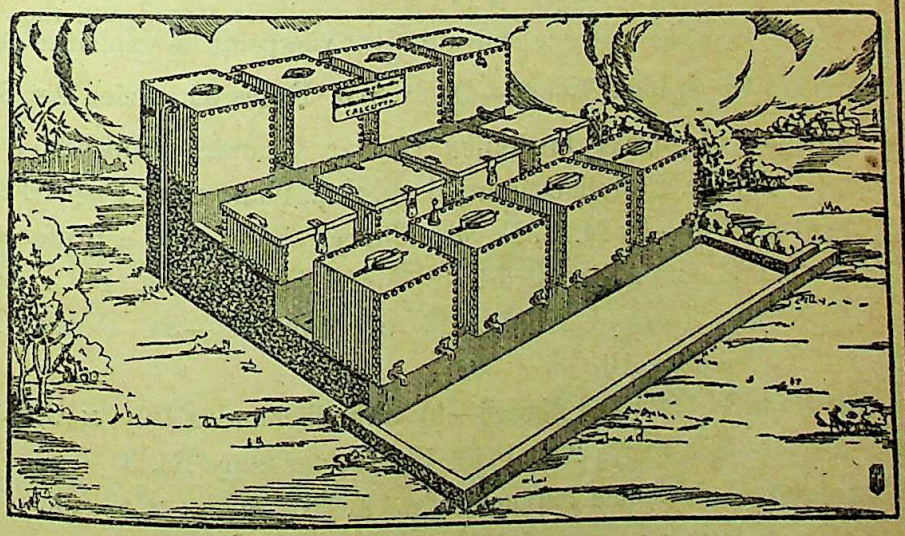

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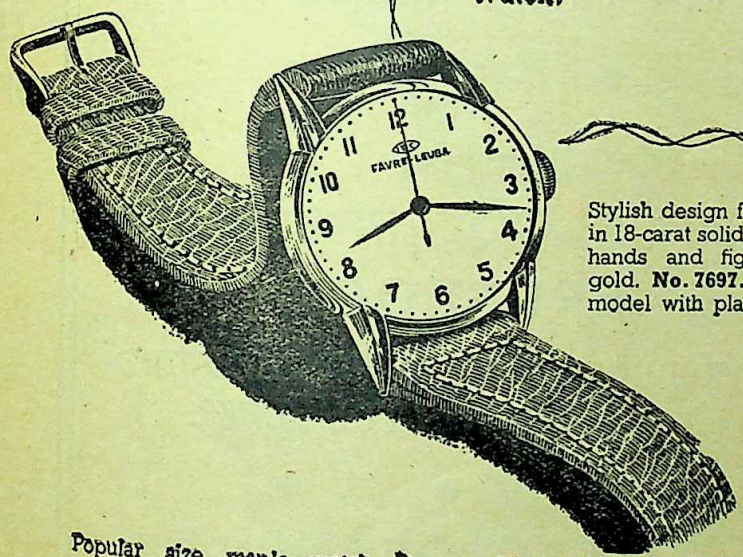

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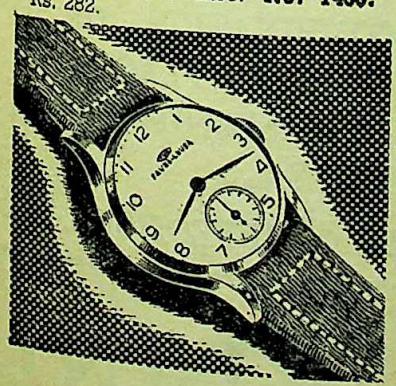

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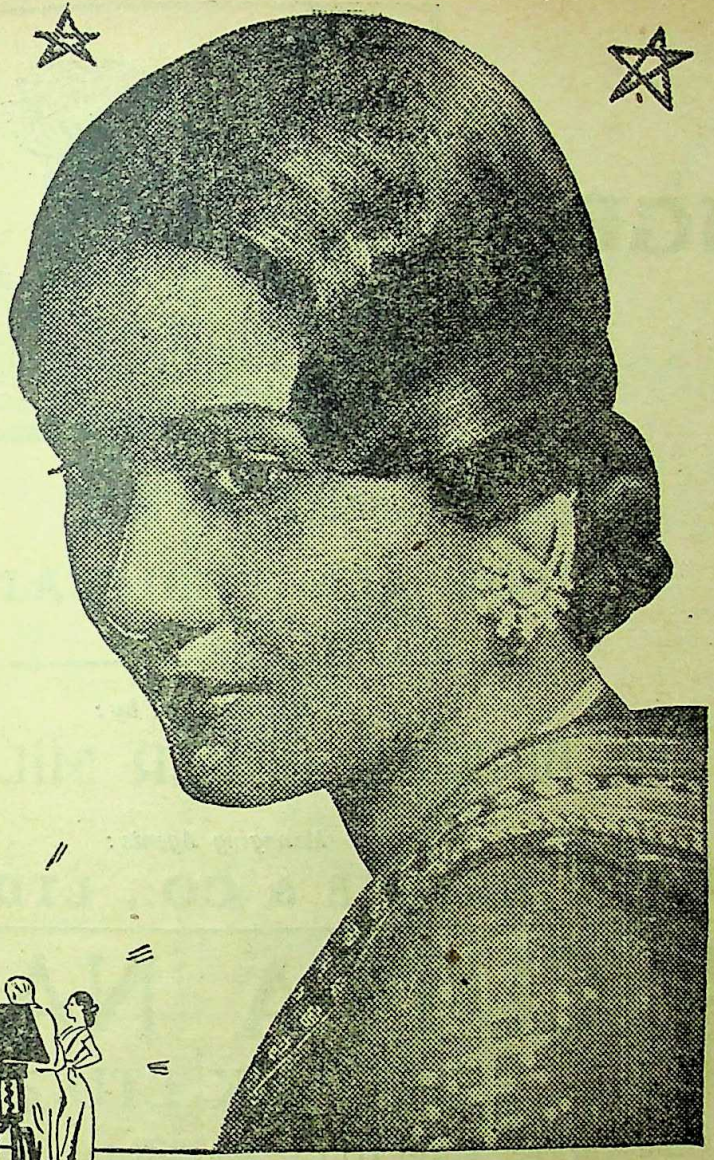

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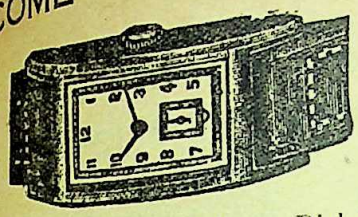

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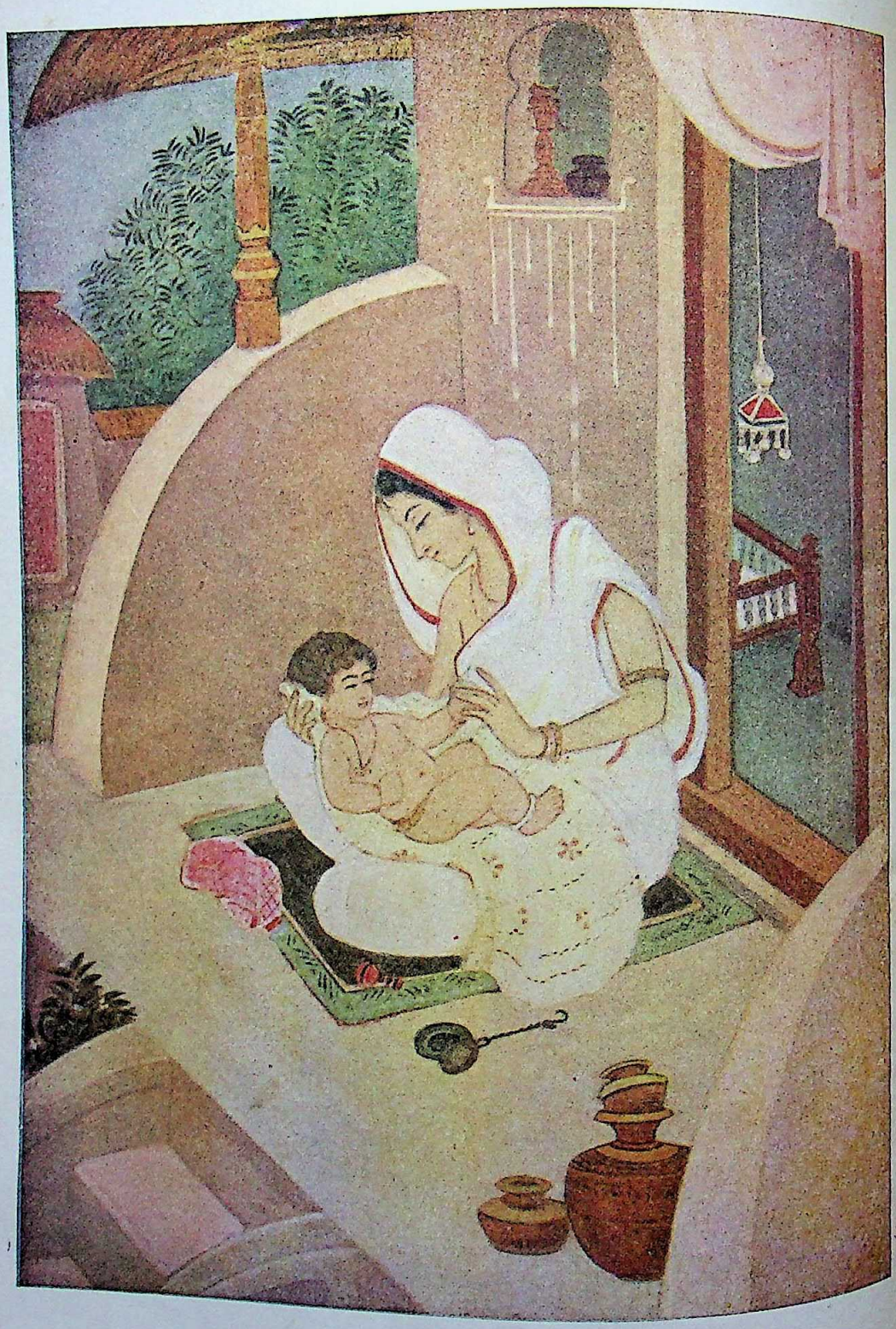

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By Satyendranath Banerji

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NOTES

The A.I. C. C. and After

We are passing through strenuous times in India as was stressed upon by all the leaders at the A.I. C. C. meeting in Bombay. The external dangers that the Union might have to face were shown up in high light by Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel. Dr. Rajendra Prasad dealt on more general terms about the difficulties that have threatened to overwhelm the State.

But the main dangers to the State lie in the internal stresses that are threatening to throw the entire administration of the country into disorder and disrepute. The common man's stock of loyalty is being rapidly exhausted through the terrible strains that is called upon to bear in the name of patriotism. It is only a matter of time—and not very long at that—before he breaks out in open revolt against an insufficient administration that seems to be deaf to his complaints. Brave words do not feed empty stomachs nor do brilliant speeches clothe those whom the black-marketeer has stripped of the last hard-earned coin. It is all very well to ask the man in the street to bear the hunger and penury in silence, but how long can he be expected to do so, when he is being mulcted and stripped at every step, every day, while the corrupt official and the bloated black-marketeer goes about preening their opulence in public, with brazen impudence, under the very nose of smug ministers, Central and Provincial? There has been a great deal of glib talk about power being in the people's hands, and the great need for a fuller understanding between the people and the Government, but in the context of the actions of those in whose hands the Union has been placed, such expressions cannot but be taken as mere empty words.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad made great play with the theme of "brotherliness." Has he any right to use that word while he persists in his attitude to Bengalis in general and those unfortunate Bengalis in particular whose hard lot it has been to be placed at the tender mercies of Rajendra Babu's *chelas*? Why talk about South Africa when inside the Indian Union, in Bihar and Assam, worse indignities and injustice is being still heaped upon the heads of the poor *longest suffering* victims of British administrative malice, by the Behari and Assamese champions of a Free India? We can understand Rajendra Babu's lack of *Ahimsa* and sincerity in this matter, but it is indeed puzzling to see Pandit Nehru affecting the Nelson touch. Pandit Nehru must realize that the greatest danger to the State lies from within, and that once disaffection becomes general, disruptive forces will easily penetrate along the lines of fission. If he and his colleagues have not learnt that lesson even with the terrible catastrophes that resulted from the *laissez faire* policy adopted towards the Moslem League, then it is about time they did so. The first year of Independence is three parts over and the day of reckoning is coming near.

We in our generation have seen how the statesmen of the West steered their realms through two World Wars. It is a matter of history now as to how Controls were exercised by the administrations of Great Britain, U. S. A., and the U.S.S.R., how the health and the everyday economy of Britain stood the test of the most rigorous blockade and the most ruthless "total war" in the history of those islands. The world knows today as to how the Soviets stood the earth-shaking buffeting of the German tidal wave, that killed twenty millions of her nationals and destroyed thousands of crores worth of machinery, plants and mines and laid waste 60 per cent of the fertile areas of the U. S. S. R. And yet not for a day was the

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internal administration of those countries relaxed. The Britisher got his daily ration, his essential clothing and other needs at prices that went up by a mere 25 per cent above normal, and the public health departments functioned so well that the standard of health actually went up. The same, on a far greater scale, was the achievement of the Soviets' administration.

Of course, there are great differences between the conditions prevailing in those countries and those in India. Our greatest affliction is illiteracy and the next is poverty. But inefficiency, lack of foresight and mal-administration cannot be totally excused on that score. Education is our crying need, but does that excuse Maulana Azad making hay of the Sargent Scheme? We have yet to learn that his department has even formulated the bare outlines of an alternative scheme. Bribery and corruption is rife in the Railway transport system. The whole economy of the country is suffering due to the flagrantly corrupt methods practised by the officials in charge of wagon-priorities. We have no hesitation in declaring that majority of officials concerned therein are either hopelessly incompetent or absolutely dishonest. What is being done about it? There is an acute housing shortage all over the country. We have not heard a word about it from the powers that be, probably because there is no shortage where they and their favourites are concerned. We see cinemas and luxury mansions going up, but the honest common house-holder cannot get a scrap of steel or an ounce of cement for even repairs excepting by paying extortionate prices to the black-marketeer.

Bribery, corruption and black-marketeering are the cardinal sins that have beset the Indian Union. Unless Pandit Nehru's Cabinet can combat that soon, they would have failed the country, despite all else they might achieve. The textile trade and industry are the greatest sinners in this respect. They have besmirched —and they still are—the face of India through their greed, lust and corrupt practices. The men concerned are almost the identical unscrupulous lot that battened on the corpses of the six million odd that they starved to death in the Bengal famine of 1943, pocketing a 150 crores thereby. To-day, not content with the mulcting of tens of crores and defrauding the country's treasury of its dues, they are engaged in a vast-scale smuggling-cum-black-marketing enterprise across the Indo-Pakistan frontiers. The same story of corruption and black-marketeering applies to all the normal needs of the country's nationals, food-materials, heavy and fine chemicals and all basic raw materials for the production of consumer goods. Paper is the prime essential for education, and there is an acute shortage of book-printing paper in the country. And yet the Paper-control department is holding on to the old rules that allow the maximum scope for black-marketing with the minimum facilities to the printer, author and publisher.

We wrote in a previous issue about the lack of loyalty to the State on the part of officialdom. Herein lies the root-cause of all the evils of administration. Bribery and corruption cannot flourish without active official aid, and without bribery and corruption there could be no black-marketeering. It was the corrupt official who allowed the black-marketeer to flout all rules and regulations, and when the controls had failed, it was easy for the head black-marketeers to ask for the removal of the ineffective controls. Pandit Nehru and his colleagues should realize the fact now that ten incompetent and/or corrupt officials in place of five similar ones, do not go to increase the efficiency of a department. In almost all the departments of the Central and Provincial Secretariats there are now double the number—if not more—of officials that there was ever in the history of India. But has the efficiency of any of those departments increased? On the contrary.

The black-marketeer and the smuggler are twin agents for the destruction of a country's economy. There is already bazar talk about the large-scale production of spurious Indian currency notes beyond the Western frontier and the use of that in the Indian bazar for the purchase of gold and textiles. To-morrow they might link up with the fifth-column of interested foreign powers and cause serious trouble in the country. The Communists helped the League to split the country up, and the latest news go to show that they are actively aiding the Razakars in Hyderabad, as they helped the Leaguers against the Shaukat Hyat Khan Ministry in the Punjab. It would be an easy step for them to join hands with the smuggler. There can be no smuggler without a black-marketeer to back him up, under the present conditions. Therefore, the black-marketeer must be put beyond the pale of Law by the Nehru Cabinet. Or else it would be incumbent on the Man-in-the-street to exercise the gentleman's prerogative to break the law for the good of the country, as he did in 1942 and before, when his leaders failed him miserably due to lack of foresight. We have had enough of talks of brotherly love, indeed there are apparent signs of overdose, let us have a little of a Hymn of Hate against the Black-marketeer, the corrupt official and his patrons.

The A.-I. C. C., Dr. Prasad's Address

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, opened the proceedings with a review of the general situation in the country.

Dr. Prasad said that since India became free, the Government and the people had been faced with an avalanche of difficulties of an unprecedented nature and the end of their troubles did not yet appear in sight. "In spite of these obstacles, which are almost overwhelming in their nature, we have been able to make satisfactory headway. It does not mean, however, that everything in the garden is rosy."

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Continuing Dr. Prasad said that the things that had happened during the intervening period were such as to cause them both sorrow and shame and the people must discipline themselves so that those things did not happen again.

After referring to Mahatma Gandhi's death, the sorrow of which was still in their hearts, Dr. Prasad said: "Today we want to see clearly the path that lies before us in the light of the guidance that Mahatma Gandhi has given us."

Dr. Prasad then dealt with the problem of the refugees and said while Government, in spite of super-human efforts, had not been able to put all those who had come in the Indian Union on their feet again, it was making all possible efforts to rehabilitate them. He pleaded for patience and understanding.

Dr. Prasad said that the problems presented to the Government of India were of a magnitude unparalleled in the history of any country in the world and no Government at any time had been able to cope with such sudden occurrences. With the best of intentions, the Government could not prevent what had occurred and he, therefore, urged the refugees and their sympathizers to realize that time was needed to cope with the stupendous problem.

Dr. Prasad pointed out that nobody but the Government could adequately deal with this gigantic task. It was the duty of the Government to take the fullest advantage of the non-official effort, and it was the duty of non-official organizations to extend their fullest support to the Government in this task. If there had been any misunderstandings in the handling of this problem and there was no foundation for most of these misunderstandings—it was the duty of everyone to change the outlook where it was warped by grievances and sorrows.

Dr. Prasad said: "If anybody thinks that there has been delay or negligence, let it be realized that we have forgotten the rules which we had followed when we were fighting for independence."

"There can be no peace in the country so long as we do not re-establish the atmosphere of brotherliness that has marked our common struggle against the domination of the third party.

"We had once gathered together under a common banner forgetting minor difference, in order to win freedom. Now that we have achieved our objective, we can only remain free and derive the fullest benefit of our victory if we live as brothers, strengthening the foundation of the people's Government, instead of undermining it by shortsighted and disruptive criticism."

Dr. Prasad then dwelt on the Congress constitution and the changes that were to be made in it. "Even the best of constitutions will be infructuous if it is not worked out in the proper spirit," he said. "The purpose of the new constitution is that the people as a whole should get the greatest benefit from the power that has come into the people's hands.

"The Congress has done great things in the past and has won freedom. As long as the fight with the British Government was on, the sole motto of those fighting against it was freedom. Now the position has changed. Some have separated from the Congress. But it is the duty of all of us so to conduct ourselves that even in our divergent paths the common strengthen of India is increased and her prestige is not lowered. In the ultimate result, the separations, regrettable as they are, must not prove an evil but must be a factor for good.

"Today power is in people's hands and the decisions taken by the Ministers are taken on their behalf. The manner of approach in criticizing the Government must, therefore, be entirely different from what it was when we were opposing the policies of a foreign Government which was unresponsive to the wishes of the people.

"If any changes are to be suggested to the Government, they must be offered in a constructive spirit. Many people have not yet fully realized the change that has come about and are still following the old methods of opposition, the great need today is for full understanding between the people and the Government."

Dr. Prasad referred to Indians abroad particularly in South Africa, Burma and Ceylon and said with India becoming free, Indians in other lands were looking to us to bring about an amelioration of their conditions. India was following their fortunes with the greatest sympathy and interest.

The A.-I. C. C., Pandit Nehru's Address

Pandit Nehru outlined the Government of India's foreign policy as also those regarding Hyderabad and Kashmir in his address to the session of the All-India Congress Committee.

Pandit Nehru began by saying that there was a general complaint that India had been isolated, "in the world's political manipulations."

India's policy in the international sphere would be one of strict neutrality. "We want to be friendly with every country and follow our own line of policy on every question that might arise, remaining neutral on those not affecting us directly.

"The world today is split into two Power blocs. There is already some talk of war. But it is my firm belief that there will be no third world war in the near future. We shall take care not to align ourselves with one group or the other for temporary gains.

"What has been the result of the last two world wars? They have left behind them more problems. They have definitely led to more complications. This clearly shows that the old way of dealing with world problems through violence is not the path of peace."

"What is the duty of India in such a situation?" asked Pandit Nehru. Answering the question, he declared that, while India could not obviously join either of the two groups, her efforts must be directed towards bringing about an understanding between Soviet Russia and the United States of America.

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Pandit Nehru referred to the large number of telegrams he has been receiving daily suggesting that India should do something to stop the rot. He said that India was quite prepared to do her bit to bring about a compromise.

He indicated that he was quite prepared to go anywhere provided he felt that his visit would help in producing the desired results.

The question naturally arose as to whether he could afford to leave India in the present state of affairs in the country. Moreover, there was the problem of India, namely, of facing the world after what had happened in the country.

Continuing Pandit Nehru said that he would have gladly gone to any part of the world to help in the solution of difficult problems but the situation in India required his immediate and personal attention. He was, therefore, unable at the moment to leave the country. "In the past we had a great leader whose advice we often spurned when he was living. But we are all convinced that the world's illness today can be cured only by his methods of love and non-violence," he said.

Pandit Nehru then dealt with the Kashmir issue. He said : "We may have made many mistakes in the past and ourselves realized them later, but as far as the question of Kashmir is concerned from first to last, I feel convinced, we made no mistake whatever."

"We went to the United Nations on the question of Kashmir with a simple and straight issue. During the last four and a half months that the Kashmir issue has been before the Security Council of the United Nations, the Council discussed all points except the real point at issue. It was as clear as daylight to anyone who wished to see that the tribesmen who raided Kashmir could never have reached Kashmir territory without the connivance of the Pakistan authorities.

"This straight issue has been consistently baulked by the Security Council, though we have repeatedly asserted inside and outside the Security Council that the raiders had the connivance and support of the Pakistan Government.

"Comments in the Security Council by representatives of certain countries have been most deplorable and painful. Why these friendly countries should oppose us on such a clear issue, I am unable to understand. The only obvious conclusion is that our freedom has not in the least changed the attitude of these countries towards us."

The Kashmir problem, Pandit Nehru concluded, was not a Hindu-Muslim problem for the reason that the majority of the population in Kashmir were Muslims and they were bitterly opposed to the invaders. Moreover, they were all followers of Sheikh Abdullah and had endorsed the Maharaja's decision to accede to India.

The position in Kashmir thus was quite clear. Not only had the Maharaja decided to accede to India, but the National Conference had fully supported that decision. In spite of these facts, the Government of India had always indicated their readiness to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir as soon as conditions in the Kashmir valley made it possible for the people of Kashmir to decide freely whether they wanted to join India, Pakistan or remain independent.

Some foreign countries took it for granted that if a country had Muslims as its majority, then it should automatically join Pakistan. This was a mistaken notion which had no relation to facts and the situation. "We resent the attitude of those countries who think that all Muslims are Pakistanis, and always make a distinction between Hindu India and Muslim India," Pandit Nehru said.

Referring to the resolution on Kashmir passed by the Security Council, Pandit Nehru said that it was impossible for India to accept it, and Government's future course of action would be decided on the return of the Indian delegation.

"As long as Kashmir continues to remain part of India, it will be our duty to safeguard and protect Kashmir and fight whoever threatens its integrity," Pandit Nehru declared.

Dealing with Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said that as far as he could see, by compulsion of events—both geographical and economical—Hyderabad would have to accede to India. "There are two courses now open to Hyderabad—war or accession," he pointed out.

"War is a prolonged affair, and if we resort to it many new problems arise. We have, therefore, been trying to solve this problem by negotiation, but this does not mean that we are afraid of following the path of war."

Pandit Nehru said that the Government of India wished to apply the same principles to Hyderabad as in the case of Kashmir, Junagadh and other States, namely, that the wish of the people of the State should ultimately prevail. With that end in view Government had persuaded most of the Indian States to grant responsible Government to the people and Hyderabad was the only State where this had not been done so far.

"It is impossible for a feudal system of Government to continue in Hyderabad and full responsible Government must be established in that State as a matter of principle.

"The Government have before them similar questions of the Portuguese and French Settlements also and these will also be taken up in course of time."

Referring to the Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen and Razakars, Pandit Nehru said that their leader had been making utterances which, even leaving aside the speech which was denied, would be regarded as a hostile and unfriendly act against the neighbouring Government, namely, the Government of India.

"The main question that arises from the provocative utterances of the Razakars' leader is, who is the ruling authority in Hyderabad State now," Pandit Nehru said, "Is it the Razakars or the Nizam? Either the Nizam's Government approves of what the Ittehad-

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Muslimeen leader says, or it does not. If it does, then it must make that clear. If it does not, it must take action to prevent the Ittehad leader from indulging in such irresponsible utterances.

"The fact that the State Government has not taken action against him raises another question, namely, whether it is powerless to curb him and his followers; in other words, whether the Nizam's Government exists in the true sense of the word, or whether there is some other Government in the State operating behind the Nizam."

Pandit Nehru referred to the border incidents, and said that the Central Government and the Provincial Governments of Madras and Bombay were fully alive to the situation. If in spite of the indications they had, the Nizam's Government continued to connive at the exploits of the Razakars, its connivance was liable to be regarded by the Indian Government as a hostile act. The fact that the Central Government and the Provincial Governments were not vocal about the border incidents must not be construed as impassivity.

As a Government, they had to be careful about what they said. Any suggestions from the members of the A.-I. C. C. would be most welcome, but, despite the urgent nature of the problem it would be wrong to advise Government to "draw the sword and march."

The A.I. C. C., Patel's Message

The following is the gist of Sardar Patel's message to the A.-I. C. C.:

"It is with a heavy heart that under pressure of medical advice, I have to absent myself from this important session of the All-India Congress Committee.

"I know full well what mental anguish and physical agony afflict your hearts in regard to the situation in Hyderabad. You cannot but agree that I fully share your distress and that my heart grieves no less than yours for the victims of many a tragedy that is being perpetrated both inside and around the borders of Hyderabad. I also fully realize what stakes are involved in the question of Hyderabad's future relationship with the Indian Dominion and of responsible government in the State and I can assure you all that my colleagues in the Cabinet are fully conversant with and keenly alive to the situation. There are difficulties and complexities which must be present to you as much as they are present to us.

"I can assure you that nothing short of a satisfactory and honourable solution is desired by, or, indeed, will be acceptable to us. You can depend on us, as you have depended on us so far, not to give away any of India's essential interests in this problem. I do, therefore, ask you to extend your confidence and trust to your Government and to bear for a while that we can obtain an acceptable solution of this tangle.

"Any incautious word or public discussion in a charged atmosphere would not assist us. I hope, therefore, I can appeal to you to maintain calm and restraint for a little while longer and to leave it to the Government to discharge its obligations to the people of this country and of Hyderabad in full realization of the grave responsibilities which it involves.

"All of you must realize through what critical times the country is passing today. Eternal vigilance is proverbially the price of liberty. We are all realizing only too well the truth of that proverb. No Government has been called upon to face within such a short time of assuming power from alien hands problems of such diverse variety and of such magnitude.

"It is only because of the devotion, faith and loyalty of the people that we have been able to bear this burden with, what we can all claim to be, some success. We may have turned the corner, but we are not yet out of the wood.

"Indeed, in some respects, problems of far greater dimensions are still to be faced. Nothing is more necessary in such circumstances than the consolidation of our forces and of our resources. Unity and more unity must be our watchward. Within the short period of six months, we have already achieved a great measure of success in securing that unity in the sphere in which we thought it was most difficult, namely, the Indian States.

"This has been possible by the sacrifices of the people and by the patriotism and statesmanship of the Princes. When you think of apportioning credit or praise, I hope you will not lose sight of this factor. If, however, we have to solve the problem with which we are likely to be faced in the near future, it is most essential that we close up our ranks and pool our resources.

"As an organization, therefore, we must be even more closely knit and must now come together nearer and nearer. Discipline and increasing sense of responsibility in what we say and what we do, a more practical approach to the problems and a greater regard for national as against parochial considerations would seem to be the need of the hour.

Nehru's Statement to the Press

"The Government of India's patience in dealing with the issue of Hyderabad State is on the verge of being exhausted," declared the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, answering a question at a reception given by the Bombay Union of Journalists.

Pandit Nehru was asked whether the Government of India would intervene in Hyderabad State if the safety of the people in the State were endangered by the activities of the Razakars.

Pandit Nehru said it was not a question of accession, nor even of responsible government in the State, although these issues were important by themselves.

"The real question is this," Pandit Nehru said, "that a certain section of people in Hyderabad is fomenting hostile acts against the Government of India. We do not know if that section of people represents the Hyderabad Government. We do not know if the Hyderabad Government is powerless to check it, or maybe, it does not desire to check it.

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"In either event, the time has arrived when this hostility must cease. If the Hyderabad Government cannot stop it, other measures will be adopted to stop it."

Pandit Nehru also answered questions relating to India's remaining within the British Commonwealth, the country's future *lingua franca*, and the drive against Communists.

Asked whether in his opinion it was desirable for India to remain in the British Commonwealth, the Prime Minister said : "So far, India has decided to be a Sovereign Republic. The Constituent Assembly is proceeding on that line. It is a matter which will have to be eventually decided by the Constituent Assembly."

Pandit Nehru said, the point would have to be looked at from the trend of world events. India could not afford to adopt an isolationist attitude. Personally he thought that the closest relationship should exist between India and the British Commonwealth.

"If association with the British Commonwealth, however, means lining up with a certain set of Powers, then I would be against it," the Prime Minister said.

"I think it is a wrong policy to form nation groups. I am personally in favour of an Asian group for co-operation on the economic and cultural plane. We can have similarly some sort of close relationship with the British Commonwealth. If we can pursue our own policies without any interference, we can consider what kind of relationship we can have with the British Commonwealth."

Answering a question on India's national language, Pandit Nehru said it was obvious that English would have to be less and less in use as the official language. The Congress had been wedded to the Hindi, or Hindusthani. He did not like the term "Hindusthani," either in relation to the people or the language. The controversy was not merely in regard to whether it should be Hindi or Urdu, but in regard to the script also. Mahatma Gandhi had wished that Hindusthani should be India's official language, with both the Nagari and Urdu scripts. He entirely agreed with Mahatma Gandhi.

Pandit Nehru said that Nagari was, of course, the more popular script, but he did not like excluding the Urdu script. Even as regards the vocabulary, Hindi should not be exclusive. Simple words which were common all over the country should be included in it, in whichever language they had their root, even English. The richest languages in the world were inclusive languages. English was one such, and every year 5,000 words were added to it.

The Hindi-Urdu question was not a Hindu-Muslim question, but a territorial question and any outcry to exclude Urdu words and Urdu script as also any attempt to import into the Hindi language difficult Sanskritized words, was to be deprecated.

Explaining his remark at the A.-I. C. C. that the Communists were the most reactionary people in the country, Pandit Nehru said, black-marketers and hoarders were not the only reactionaries. All those whose policies and actions led to reaction were reactionaries, and as far as the Communists were concerned—and his remarks were confined to the Indian Communists—Government had evidence to show that they were planning nation-wide sabotage and the like in certain parts of the country.

They were also collecting arms to achieve their ends, Pandit Nehru added. It was with a view to stopping this kind of activity and nipping it in the bud that many of the provincial Governments had taken action and arrested certain of the Communists. The provincial Governments' measures were directed against certain individual Communists, who in the opinion of the Governments were planning sabotage of communications, and were not directed against either Communism or the Communist Party as such.

Pandit Nehru earlier replied to the points raised by Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor of the *Indian Parliament*. Pandit Nehru said : "Mr. Srinivasan has touched a very difficult and delicate subject. Obviously, we are facing complex situation in the country. When a State is faced with many problems it has to consider which problem should be given the highest priority. If there is a fire ; it has got to be put out. If there is a riot, it has to be put down. Similarly, if there is an attempt to upset the State, it has got to be put down. Today we have a national and an international situation which I think is not likely to lead to a world war in the near future. The internal situation in India is the direct result of a large number of factors arising after August 15.

"What has happened in India after that date is indeed very sad. Many of us who knew closely what had happened have not been able to recover yet from the mental shock of the events. Our shock was all the more because such things could take place in India which we had never dreamt of. These events eventually culminated in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

"Mr. Srinivasan has referred to the freedom of the Press. I am fully in agreement with that view but when we consider the freedom of the Press in the abstract, we have also to consider the freedom of the individual. You will all agree that when murder and arson are lurking about the streets, it is obvious that freedom of the Press has to take a second place and murder and arson should be put down first.

"Freedom of the Press, therefore, cannot have priority. I don't think I have changed my opinion in the least in regard to the freedom of the individual and the freedom of the Press. I think it is impossible to have any real growth without that individual growth of the individual and the Press.

Nehru's Press Conference

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at a Press Conference at Delhi on May 1, said that the Kashmir problem could be resolved only by two ways, either by continuing the war which India was carrying on or by other methods of settlement.

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The Prime Minister was asked as to how Government reconciled Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyanger's statement that India would not accept the decision of the Security Council, but on the other hand a representative of Czechoslovakia was being nominated on the U. N. Commission.

Pandit Nehru replied that it was three months ago that the question of nominating a member on the Commission came up and India was asked to nominate and it was then that the name of Czechoslovakia was mentioned and it was long before the changes in Czechoslovakia had taken place. Since we first made the nomination nothing had happened and it was taking effect now.

After explaining the stand taken by the Indian delegation Pandit Nehru pointed out that what the Commission was going to do or not was a different matter. India had nominated a representative and she could not withdraw it.

It was difficult for him to prophesy as to what Pakistan would do. The resolution was a complicated one. As a matter of fact, the first step in the resolution would have to be taken by Pakistan. Pakistan might indicate the steps they would take and would not take. A theoretical acceptance of the resolution and practical implementation of it were different. Outright rejection of the resolution would have one effect and modified acceptance was another thing.

Asked if India could accept the resolution in parts, Pandit Nehru said that India's approach to the matter was different from that of the Security Council. One of India's grievances had been that the whole origin and nature of the problem had not been considered. There was a lot of talk about plebiscite but the point remained that the question of a plebiscite had been raised unilaterally by India and nobody else. The question was not about a plebiscite but the conditions attendant to it.

Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar replying to a question as to whether Government would co-operate in the event if the Secretary-General of the U. N. now proceeded to implement the resolution without seeking modifications in it, said that the Secretary-General could not commence implementing the resolution unless India, before his doing so, undertook to do things which the Security Council had considered to be appropriate measures which we should undertake.

There was a stage between the passing of the resolution and commencement of its implementation which had not to be gone through—that was our own agreement to undertake to do things that had been suggested to us. As a matter of fact, he did not think that the Council would consider it worthwhile to implement certain parts if India did not give the undertaking to implement certain other parts.

The Prime Minister replying to another question stated that at the time when India took the Kashmir complaint to the Security Council there was the danger of military operations spreading and possibly involving India in a military conflict with Pakistan. India wanted to avoid that. She had, however, felt that in the course of the military operations she would have had to hit at the bases of operations which were in Pakistan across the border.

In a military sense India would have had to do it but on political and for other obvious reasons India did not want to do that and in order to avoid that she went to the Security Council to prevent Pakistan territory from being used as the base of operations. Unfortunately, however, even today Pakistan territory was being used as bases of operations.

It was absolutely true that not only small arms but things like ack-ack guns, which obviously tribal people did not possess, howitzers and mountain batteries of Pakistan were being used against our aircraft, presumably by people trained by the Pakistan Army.

The fact that Pakistan was supporting the Kashmir raiders was more established to-day than ever before and there was an abundance of proof. But the Prime Minister maintained it was India's desire not to get embroiled with Pakistan on this or any other issue and therefore India did not think in terms of any conflict with Pakistan. India shall continue her activities in Kashmir territories and as far as possible India shall avoid crossing over into Pakistan territory.

Pandit Nehru said that India had not recognised the so-called Azad Kashmir Government. He referred to "a hundred per cent falsehood" spread by the Azad Kashmir Government and published in Pakistan and further given currency by some of the Pakistan Ministers of alleged blinding of men by the Indian Army at Rajauri.

Pandit Nehru recalled the reports published by correspondents who had visited the area soon after it was liberated. Just before Indian troops arrived there there was a general massacre of civilian population and the whole place was reduced to a rubble and a large number of women were carried away. It was a horrible and a senseless massacre.

Oddly enough, when these things were happening, suddenly the story went out from Lahore that the Indian Army had blinded four thousand men. It was one of the most outrageous lie. He would like to know how these four thousand men were blinded and where were the blinded persons now. This was on a piece of the whole propaganda that was being carried on on behalf of the Azad Kashmir Government.

Answering further questions Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyengar said that the decision of the Security Council was not a legal decision. It was in the nature of an advice, offered. It was open to the Council, under certain other provisions of the Charter, to take legal action, but this particular resolution only recommended certain measures to the two Governments, India and Pakistan—measures which in their opinion were appropriate for bringing about a peaceful settlement. Therefore, it was not a decision

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which was imposed upon either Government. Legally the situation was not one in respect of which sanctions could be applied straightaway.

Referring to the Hyderabad situation Pandit Nehru gave a resume of his Bombay speech in which, he said, there had been an error of translation as reported. He had said that Hyderabad was so situated that it must have the closest possible relation with India or else there must be conflict.

There was talk of independence of Hyderabad. Independence signified independence in regard to foreign relations and defence—war. If Hyderabad could not have that right of war and defence and foreign relations then it was not independence. The Indian Union could not possibly tolerate any part of the Indian territory inside or on its borders to be potentially capable of being made into foreign bases. No Government in India could tolerate it and India's general policy must inevitably be to prevent that happening. It would endanger her security and lead to constant and ceaseless conflict.

Hyderabad must, therefore, necessarily form part of the Indian Union.

Having said that the question of accession as such, which India considered inevitable sometime or other, was not the primary issue today. But certainly India had never talked in terms of forcing by military methods any State to accession. Government had talked in terms of the people deciding the issue by plebescite or referendum and not the Army deciding the will of the people. The very important issue was the issue of responsible Government and from that other things might flow.

Whatever might have been the picture of India a year ago, today there was no part of India where there was no responsible Government actually functioning or on the point of functioning. No State or any other part of India had got autocratic rule except Hyderabad State. It was the one and only exception and socially speaking, it was a very backward State with its autocracy and feudal set-up. It was inconceivable to him to imagine that this kind of thing could possibly continue when the whole of India had changed. That itself would produce a conflict between Hyderabad and India surrounding it. Therefore responsible Government became an important and urgent issue.

Even so, the important issue was not even that but some kind of peace and order on the borders and internally in Hyderabad. That had to be given first priority because one could not have responsible Government or any Government if those troubles continued. During the last few months, these troubles had continued on the borders and there had been repeated major incidents—apart from minor incidents—when the Hyderabad police, sometimes people who were reported to belong to the Hyderabad Army and certainly the Razakar volunteer force had crossed the borders and done a good bit of shooting, killing and burning of villages.

On one occasion the Prime Minister recalled that in March last it was a peculiarly horrible incident and a number of people were killed in a cold and calculated way. Civilians were made to stand in a row of 20 and shot in the Indian Union territory.

Several instances of these raids occurred and as for minor raids there were any number. Quite apart from the insecurity created on India's borders and the feelings necessarily roused among our own people obviously it was quite impossible for any Government to put up with this kind of thing.

In the rural areas there was complete insecurity and burning of villages and occasional killing of persons and looting on large-scale. This was the first thing in Hyderabad that had to be tackled, and, therefore, the Government of India had pointed out that this so-called Razakar volunteer force must be curbed, that must be put an end to just as in India they had tried to put an end to private armies.

The Prime Minister emphasised that the Razakars were a private army which was controlling or, at any rate, harassing large parts of Hyderabad State. Either the State Government sympathised with them and encouraged them or were incapable of controlling them. There was no other third explanation.

These Razakars are undoubtedly committing what might be termed in international languages 'hostile acts' against the Indian Union. If the Hyderabad Government is encouraging and supporting them in those acts, then that Government is committing hostile acts. If it is not doing so, it is incapable of controlling them and then the Government does not count at all.

That is the fundamental question and other things take a secondary place. If they cannot be curbed and these raids take place on our borders, obviously we have to take the strongest measures against the raiders and if the situation inside Hyderabad territory is very bad, completely out of control of the Government there, then too we cannot look on.

Asked whether there had been an economic blockade of Hyderabad, the Prime Minister referred to the Standstill Agreement which he regretted had not been complied with at all ever since. In fact, almost within 48 hours of that agreement all manner of things happened. There was a loan by Hyderabad to Pakistan; there were some currency regulations; and the strength of the Hyderabad Army which under the Standstill Agreement was fixed at the figure of 7,000 was rapidly increased to 25,000; the police forces which were also limited to a certain figure were increased; in addition to this, the volunteer forces—the Razakars—went up to large numbers. These were all very serious breaches of the Agreement.

The Government of India was naturally interested in seeing that these additional Armies that were being raised were not raised and were not armed. The rule was, that normally, whatever arms the Government

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India might have supplied them were not supplied. Government of India had information that Hyderabad was trying their utmost by fair means or otherwise to get all manner of arms from foreign countries. Many were smuggled in. The Government of India had caught many in the act of being smuggled. It was found that they were being imported from various countries in Europe. Some were stopped and some of course went through.

"All these active preparations for war," the Prime Minister said, "were hardly in keeping with the standstill agreement or peaceful intentions and inevitably any warlike apparatus that we might have given them were stopped and to that extent we did not follow the standstill agreement either."

Many of these were stopped by the customs authorities and naturally certain things which ought not to have been stopped were also stopped but later when Government came to know of that, the authorities were directed to send them on.

So, what was happening was not exactly an economic blockade. If there was an economic blockade, it would be much more serious, affecting articles of food and other things. What had happened in effect had been with regard to weapons or other things which might go towards the making of weapon.

The Prime Minister stated that Hyderabad Government had said in regard to the Razakars' activities that certain irresponsible people had committed certain acts; but largely they had denied the charges against Razakars. For example, they had denied that Mr. Razvi had delivered a certain speech but the Government of India had got sufficient proof to maintain that the speech was made—the exact room in which it was delivered, the time at which it was delivered and in whose presence it was delivered.

Pandit Nehru said that in dealing with Hyderabad, they had to deal not so much with the Nizam, not so much even with the present Government but "with a set of people who were completely unreasonable, to use a mild word; no responsible Government can act on the level on which they are acting."

Asked whether the Government of India would relax their demand for the accession of Hyderabad if the State was prepared to comply with the other demands, the Prime Minister pointed out that there could only be two possible ways. One was accession to the Indian Union, which meant defence, communications and external affairs being controlled by the Union, in which Hyderabad also was represented. It was not submission to the Union but a partnership in a large association of units. That was one way. The other way was in not acceding but being in some kind of subsidiary association with India. Here again, the State would have to surrender the three subjects. It could either have a partnership with the Union with a voice in the affairs or a subsidiary association in which it did not get the benefits of a Union but had to yield the same subjects.

Congress Economic Programme

The Bombay Session of the A.-I. C. C. has passed a resolution appointing a Standing Committee to consider the implementation of the Report of the A.-I. C. C. Economic Programme Committee, move especially in regard to priorities. The industrial policy of the Government of India, declared last month, has not been in full keeping with the spirit and letter of the Economic Programme adopted at the Delhi Session of the A.-I. C. C. The main point in the programme, namely, the abolition of the Managing Agency system, which is the main engine for the concentration of wealth and power in fewer hands, has been evaded both at the Parliament while declaring the Industrial policy and at the Bombay Session of the A.-I. C. C. where a committee for "implementing" the programme has been formed. Shri Shanker Rao Deo moved the resolution and said, "True democracy cannot be established unless there is real decentralisation of Power and Production. We have to see that the decision taken by the Government is in the same direction as desired by the Congress." We frankly confess our inability to understand how, with the Managing Agency system in full vogue, this decentralisation of Power and Production can be effected. The resolution was in the following terms:

"The A.-I. C. C. has already given its general approval to the Report of the Economic Programme Committee of the A.-I. C. C.

"The A.-I. C. C. has given its specific approval to the aims and objects as laid down in that Report.

"In regard to more detailed suggestion made in the Report and in view of the Industrial policy announced by the Government of India, the A. I. C. C. appoint the following Standing Committee, with powers to co-opt for specific purposes, to consider the implementation of the general programme move specially in regard to priorities, and make recommendations from time to time to the Working Committee."

The members of the Committee are Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Chairman), Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Shri Shanker Rao Deo, Prof N. G. Ranga, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shri Jagjivan Ram. Shri Gulzarilal Wanda, Shri J. C. Kumarappa and Shri Annada P. Choudhuri.

Moving the resolution, Shri Shankar Rao Deo said, "The Government has come out with its industrial policy and we have to see to what extent the A.-I. C. C. report and the Government Programme run on parallel lines. It is the objective of the Congress to create a society based on democracy in which every one who puts in due amount of labour, will be assured of full opportunities for the advancement and fulfilment of his personality. It is only in such a democracy that the newly won freedom of India could find free expression. True democracy cannot be established unless there is real decentralisation of power

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and production. We have to see that the decisions taken by the Government are in the same direction as desired by the Congress. It is the policy of the Congress to avoid the evils of private capitalism and totalitarian regimentation of wealth. The Congress was to follow a middlepath and that was the keynote of its industrial policy." But unfortunately practice in the Government does not accord with profession in the Congress by the Congress Government at the Centre. In its declared industrial policy, it has leant heavily on the side of regimentation of wealth.

Cloth Scarcity

A press communique issued by the Government of India in the Department of Industries and Supply says that the Government have been viewing with great concern the rising trend in cloth prices which has followed the relaxation of control in January last. Government are constrained to observe, says the communique, that, with some honourable exceptions, neither the textile industry nor the trade has discharged the obligations to the public. When the decision for partial decontrol was taken, the textile industry through the Industries Committee of the Textile Control Board, gave Government the undertaking that it would assume the responsibility of fixing fair ex-mill prices and of arranging sales of cloth from the mills at these prices. The wholesale and retail traders have also repeatedly assured the Government that if the textile controls were removed and the trade allowed to operate normally, they would see that cloth was available to the consumer at reasonable prices. There is no justification whatsoever for the abnormally high wholesale and retail prices at which cloth is being marketed throughout the country. Some justification for an increase in prices on account of the recent steep increases in the price of cotton has been made but that does not explain why the piecegoods manufactured months before this rise are being sold at double and treble the stamped prices.

The main point in the Government communique seem to be their anxiety for tax evasion by the industry and trade. Their anxiety for the consumer appears to be no more than an eyewash. In it, the Government has not said anything that would encourage the consumer to believe that cloth at reasonable prices would be available in the near or even foreseeable future. It has only offered a justification for the step the authorities intend to take in order to prevent Tax evasion. It announces that the Government of India have decided that with immediate effect, the stamping of ex-mill and retail prices of cloth will be discontinued, this would naturally be welcomed both by the industry and the trade because the only means to compare the enormity of the black market charges on actual prices would henceforward disappear. The Indian cotton textile industry and trade have basely betrayed the consumer to a degree that has hardly any parallel in human history. The people of the country, for the last four decades, have purchased the rotten and coarse products of our mills in preference to finer and much cheaper foreign products in the name of Swadeshi. The boycott movement during the civil disobedience days have still further fattened them. The mills have thrived upon the patriotism of the people whom they completely betrayed as soon as an opportunity presented itself. During the last war the Government, in their desire to raise larger sums through fewer sources by way of excess profits tax, permitted the industry to raise cloth prices to an inordinately high level. Only a third of the production was left for civil consumption, the bulk having been requisitioned for the war. Now the war is over, and the need for requisition has disappeared, but the organisation of the millowners, for depriving the public of their legitimate share, is there and full use or misuse of this organisation, the Textile Control Board, is being made. The Government of India may not be willing to check the evil doings of these set of fat people who thrive upon the misfortune of their own kith and kin, but their pretension that these blood-suckers' activities cannot be stopped should better be not made. It is unbelievable that, knowing fully well that the activities of the textile industry and trade are concentrated into some 500 hands, the Government of India are really unable to check their wrong doings. If these men are social criminals, the Departments of Industries and Supply of the Government of India are not less than their abettors.

Provincialism

A burnt child dreads the fire. This appears to be the psychology of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his campaign against what he characterizes as "provincialism." For some months past he has been worried over the symptoms of disintegration brought about by this malady in our body politic. The latest occasion on which he unburdened himself against it was the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. We propose to share with our readers his condemnation of "provincialism."

> ". . . We have seen the outcome of communalism. It divided our country and then ultimately led to the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi. We are trying our utmost to put an end to the poison of communalism and shall continue to do so. But almost as great a danger as that which now stares us in the face is that of provincialism. The people of one province are becoming antagonistic to those of another and their mutual distrust is becoming serious. If we do not check this evil quickly and effectively, then we shall have a united India only in name and there would be large number of units always on the war path among themselves.

The Prime Minister of the Indian Union has been in public life for almost about 30 years. He has seen how communalism has moved from strength to

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strength, at last disrupting the unity and integrity of India. He has fought against it; he initiated a "mass contact" movement amongst Muslims to wean them away from this evil force. But all the same, they went in their own way heedless of the exhortations of the wisest among their leaders, the Muslim divines organized in the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind. One of the greatest scholars in the modern Islamic world, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, has recently told us how for forty years to a day, he has been warning his co-religionists against the dangers lurking behind the cry of exclusive Islam—certain credal conceits that separated peoples living in the same country, setting neighbours against one another. Others could tell the same story, of a gallant fight against narrowness and bigotry. Reason and enlightened self-interest proved inadequate as arguments for the expunging of communalism. If Pandit Jawaharlal had understood the reason for the failure of all this condemnation of Muslim communalism in India, if he had been clear in his mind with regard to the basic reason for communalism's triumph, he would not have used the easy method of condemning another narrowness, known as "provincialism". This condemnation would not suffice as it did not in the case of communalism. For, there are certain imponderables behind these two narrow sentiments that in human history have been known to play havoc with reason and the natural kindliness of human beings.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who in his own way, is a scholar and a keen student of affairs, with a sensitive intelligence attuned to high purposes and noble aspirations, should not rest with mere condemnation of "provincialism." He has seen how condemnation of the "Pakistan" idea could not halt any of the evils predicted; neither, we are afraid is it going to prove more effective in the case of "provincialism."

In the Andhra-Tamilian controversy, for instance, we heard of the latter monopolizing all the plums of profit in professions and in the services of the State. From this grievance issued the case for a separate Andhra Province to protect and advance the unique character of Andhra interests. In the case of Bihar and Assam, the fear of the Bengalee has been the driving impulse for what we see today as the quickening of a sentiment, which, in the absence of a better term, may be called Bihar and Ahom nationalism. These are regional peculiarities. But in their outward expressions, these have sought relief in certain activities that are positively dangerous to the unity and integrity of the Indian Union. And, so far as we can see, there is no indication that our Central Government intends taking any positive action to nip in the bud these anti-national aberrations. The controversy between Bihar and Orissa over Seraikela and Kharsawan is a symptom that is easily controllable as the appointment of the Commission to adjudicate on the dispute goes to show. The decision of the Nehru Government to set up an Andhra Province has helped to throw oil over all the wranglings between the Telugu and the Tamilians. The question of drawing up the boundaries of other linguistic ambitions stowed away in the waiting list need not cause any great difficulty.

These are details over which people do not carry their dissatisfactions to a crisis. But what is happening in Assam, for instance, is a danger-signal which the Nehru Government should take serious note of. The citizenship of the Indian Union is effective over the whole of its territory. The constitution that is being framed by the Constituent Assembly, holding its sittings at New Delhi, has asserted this right of its citizens in no uncertain language.

The procedure of the Bardoloi Ministry is the core of the evil that provincialism brings in its wake. Other countries building up a composite nationalism, framing the constitution for a Federal State, have had to steer clear of such short-cuts to ambitions. The United States of America has been the pioneer of Federalism in the modern world. The "founding fathers" of the great Republic had been confronted by conceits and ambitions, such as those that are illustrated by the activities of the Bardoloi Ministry of Assam. And how did they face up to these? Mr. P. R. Das described it in his Memorandum submitted to the Congress Working Committee in 1938 when it took cognisance of the complaints of Bihar Bengalees against the then Congress Ministry of the Province. We quote the relevant portion below.

> It is well-known that at the time of the Union of the United States there were centrifugal forces at work due to jealousies between one State and another. The great framers of the American constitution took note of this fact, and provided in Art. 4 Section 2 that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States' . . . It was found that this was not sufficient for the protection of the citizens against the discriminating legislation by any State; and so by a celebrated Amendment which was known as Art. 14. it was provided that no 'State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.' Mr. Bryce says that this Amendment secured the protection of citizens against unjust and discriminating legislation of any State.

Here is an experience that has come upon us. And here is the exemplary legislation to provide for situations that confront the Nehru Government today. They can take immediate action to neutralize the evil effects of activities such as those indicated above. They need not wait for the Constituent Assembly's final draft of Free India's constitution. Statesmanship consists in anticipating the arrival of dangers to the State. We will watch with interest how Pandit Nehru rises up to this challenge to his conception of ideal conduct in a State.

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West Bengal's Claim on Bengali-speaking Areas of Bihar

The demand for the inclusion of Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar within West Bengal has been gathering momentum but the Congress authorities seem to be as impervious to this claim as before. The attempt to put Bengal's claim into cold storage is quite clear. The Congress stands pledged to the principle of redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis. In a large public meeting recently held in Calcutta, Sj. Sarat C. Bose has pointed out that there were not more than eleven or twelve principal languages in India and if the provinces were redistributed on a linguistic basis there could be not more than eleven or twelve provinces in the whole of India. This, if done, would reduce the present maladjustment in the size of the provinces and would bring them on a perfectly national and scientific basis. There could be no real federation of India if the provinces were not redistributed on a linguistic basis. Sj. Bose said that there was no logic in the argument that redistribution of provinces on the basis of language would give rise to numerous provinces in India. There were in fact not more than 11 or 12 principal languages in this country, namely, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Oriya, Gujrati, Marathi, Pushtoo. Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and Assamese; of these Pustoo and Assamese were not spoken by a very large number of people. On this basis, with Pushtoo out in Pakistan, there cannot be more than eleven provinces in India.

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has at long last passed a resolution claiming the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking areas, but it seems to have stopped at that. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has publicly expressed himself against this legitimate claim of Bengal by emphasising the need for propagating Hindi in the Manbhum and Singhbhum areas for averting the danger to the "territorial integrity" of Bihar. Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Bengal member on the Congress Working Committee, has also said that Bengal cannot get back her lost territories because the Working Committee is against any such move. Following Dr. Rajendra Prasad's rebuke, the Bihar Government and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan have started frantic efforts to convert them into Hindi-speaking areas. Government aids to Bengali Schools are being so regulated that those who adopt Hindi as the medium of instruction will receive them. This is being done in clear contravention of the principle of cultural autonomy guaranteed under the Draft Constitution.

Sj. Bose said that he had heard that the West Bengal Premier, Dr. Roy, had once raised this question to Pandit Nehru. It had been reported to Sj. Bose that Panditji had replied that these things should wait now as there were more important problems before the Government to tackle. This attitude can only be construed as being one of trying to avoid the issue. The redistribution of Madras for the creation of a new Andhra province has been decided upon. The problem of Karnataka is on the anvil. A request for shelving comes only when the question of Bengal comes up for consideration. We had expected that the matter would be raised in the Bombay session of the A.-I.C.C. but nothing has been done. The last resort is the coming session of the Constituent Assembly. If the Bengal contingent to that august body do not rise from their slumber even at that time, they would be betraying their trust basely. Bengal reminds Dr. S. P. Mookerjee and Sj. K. C. Neogy about their part in this effort.

Review of India's Food Position

The Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who inaugurated the Conference of Provincial Premiers and Food Ministers at New Delhi, said that the country had been able to avert a catastrophe on the food front, but difficulties still remained and there should be no slackening of efforts.

Pandit Nehru added: "The solution of many of our problems depends upon increased food production. For some reason or other, enough attention and energy has not been paid in the past towards the realisation of this end which has never been in dispute. We have in hand the execution of many major irrigation projects, but the results of these will be available only after some years. But there are many ways of increasing production by more concentrated effort."

Ten Premiers and fourteen Food Ministers took part in the general discussion on the food situation in various provinces and States at today's session. The Conference was unanimous on the need for better organisation of Railway transport to meet increased demands of grain movements, and for adequate supplies of materials and implements necessary for increasing food production.

Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Food Minister, Government of India, addressing the Conference said :

"Our food position is not as bad as some people might imagine. If we maintain our determination to take all the steps that are necessary and expedient to help those parts of the country where the supplies are short and prices high, the country will have to face no major crisis on the food front."

Mr. Jairamdas continued : "Three months ago the Government were faced with the grave consequences of the failure of monsoon in a large number of districts in Madras.

"We had to put forth every effort to deal with those consequences. It was impossible to deal with them without the whole-hearted co-operation of some parts of our country as were luckily in a position to come to the succour of Madras.

"The Prime Minister took an active hand in securing this succour, and I am grateful to the Premiers of the more fortunate provinces for the splendid response they gave to his approach to them in the interests of Madras. I have not the slightest

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doubt that the continuance of such co-operation from the surplus areas of the country will enable us to tide over our present difficulties.

"After all our food position is not as bad as some people might imagine," the Food Minister said.

"If we maintain our determination to take all the steps that are necessary and expedient to help those parts of our country where the supplies are short and prices high, the country will have to face no major crisis on the food front. I will not trouble you with many figures; only a few may suffice as testimony of my belief.

"I would first take our internal supply position. The revised estimates of the yield of the seven major foodgrains of the country show that we have produced more than what we did last year, and this in spite of the large setback to the tune of about 1,200,000 tons in the crop production of Madras due to the failure of the monsoon.

"Whereas in the year 1946-47, India produced 39,538,000 tons of all these foodgrains, in the year 1947-48 the production was 40,425,000 tons. This means that we have produced nearly 900,000 tons more than last year though we are still deficit so far as the total needs of the country are concerned.

"The crops in some parts of Northern India which are coming to the market since the close of the year 1947-48 but not before the close of the calendar year 1948, have been above the average and I have an expectation that this circumstance should materially effect in a favourable direction both our supply and our price position in the coming few months.

"As you all know, India has had to depend on a certain quantity of imports from outside which have actually been to the tune of about 20 to 25 lakh tons. It is a lucky circumstance that in regard to the import of foodgrains also, the situation has considerably improved in the course of the last two months.

"In February, it was feared that we may not succeed in securing more than 1,700,000 tons during 1948. Today, as a result of various factors, the chances of securing 2,000,000 tons from outside India have definitely improved.

"At the same time there has been improvement in another direction also during these two months. While in February it was feared that the contributions from the provinces and States may not exceed 300,000 tons, today we have the confidence that the internal supplies available to the Central Government from the provinces and States would come up to 500,000 tons. We have a feeling that with the co-operation of all parts of the country, this internal surplus may reach even a higher figure. The change in the situation from February to April has thus been substantial.

"If we include the 500,000 tons of the carry-over from 1947, our total availabilities of foodgrains for distribution are now calculated to be of the figure of 3,000,000 tons. This situation has enabled the Government of India to increase its allocation to the deficit areas from 2,200,000 tons, our original commitment, to 2,600,000 tons.

"I need not emphasize that increase of imports from outside is the last thing which anyone of us wishes, and it may be possible to reduce our demands from other countries if our own country rose to the occasion in the next few months. Instead of paying crores of rupees to outside countries, we would prefer to give that money to our own people in return for foodgrains. We must speed up the arrival of the time when we need not import a single pound of outside food, and instead of 88 of our 183 districts in the provinces being deficit, we should have none but surplus ones throughout our Indian Dominion.

"Despite the improved internal surplus and import position, I do not want that we should be in any mood of self-complacence. The situation in the deficit areas needs all our attention. The difficulties the poorer sections of the population are experiencing as a result of high prices require speedy measures to deal with their problem. The Government of India are keeping a close watch on the day-to-day developments.

"We have circulated for your consideration a memorandum on the food position during the first quarter of 1948 which reviews the situation in different provinces and States, and states in conclusion some of the main considerations which are relevant for a decision in regard to further steps towards decontrol. That memorandum also gives some ideas of the gradual fall in prices in Northern India over the pre-decontrol black-market price though great divergences disclosed in the price of the same grain in different parts of the country due to difficulty or restriction of movement are also a feature of the price situation.

"We are trying to broaden the basis for our price statistics. Until recently we received price reports for only about 90 centres. Today we are receiving them from over 500 centres. In regard to some foodgrains the prices are definitely on the decline.

"In regard to others, they are maintaining a high level in the deficit areas. All the real causes of these high prices and all the steps that should be taken to deal with them will, I hope, be the subject of discussion in this conference.

"Various suggestions have also been made as to the direction along which our next steps should move. A section of the people is of the view that time has come for the complete removal of inter-provincial barriers to the movement of foodgrains. Some would propose the decontrol of free movement of one or other of the foodgrains, some would prefer that free movement may only be allowed towards the deficit areas, some suggest that an experiment in the removal of inter-provincial barriers may be tried for a limited area in the country.

"These are some of the matters in which I seek your guidance. There is also the question as to what should be our attitude towards any section which the may take, which would create

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difficulties in the free and full flow of foodgrains to where they are needed. I do not want to lose hope in the trading community. We want co-operation. They must play fair with the people in this hour of difficulty. These and other problems inherent in the present situation would need your consideration, and the advice you tender to us would be one of considerable value in coming to conclusions as to Government of India's future line of action.

The Conference then heard from the Premiers of Provinces and States a review of the food situation in their respective areas. While the Premiers from the surplus areas as well as areas on the verge of self-sufficiency expressed themselves satisfied with the results of decontrol, it is understood that the representatives from the deficit areas—such as Madras, Bombay, West Bengal, Cochin and Travancore—drew attention to the rather difficult situation arising in their areas where the prices of foodgrains had risen and were still rising to a point which might make it difficult for the poorer classes especially to get their foodgrains.

Profiteering by Government

When sugar was de-controlled, we heard of an arrangement by which the Government of the United Provinces was sharing the "loot" with the Sugar Syndicate, the organization of the capitalist managers who controlled the sugar market of India and exploited their monopoly position in the matter of sugar production and sale sanctioned by protective legislations. In a discussion in the Central Legislature the question of "the difference between the price of sugar before de-control and the price fixed afterwards" was raised. The report of the Finance Minister's reply, summarized in the Press, lifts a part of the veil over this transaction. Shri Shanmukham Chetty said that as a result of negotiations between the U. P. Government and the Sugar Syndicate, it had been decided that this difference of 14 rupees per maund should be divided in the proportion of Rs. 5 to the Syndicate to reimburse certain loss and the remaining Rs. 9 to Government. The Central Government had taken action on the same lines. The amount allotted to Government was to be earmarked for expenditure on the improvement of sugar industry and sugar cultivation. For the time being, the amount was being kept in suspense account. Mr. Chetty explained that out of Rs. 5 per maund given to the Syndicate, more than half the amount came back to Government by way of taxation and another portion went to labour by way of increased wages and only a comparatively modest amount was left with the Syndicate. The Finance Minister agreed with the view that commensurate benefits had not accrued to cane-growers, but said this was a matter entirely within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Government whose attention would be drawn to the point raised.

The Finance Minister's statement does not make it clear whether or not the Central Government is entitled to any share in this "loot". The public entertain a strong suspicion that the Government, Central and Provincial, have been making indirect profit at the expense of the people. In the matter of sugar and *gur*, the U. P. and the Bihar Governments have attained a certain amount of notoriety. The former are known to have been interested in the mustard oil and oil-seed business, exploiting the needs of other Provinces. And under the present economic dispensation, all Governments in the modern world find nothing objectionable in such practice, which is a satisfaction to the majority of world's population.

Compulsory Military Training

The *Hitavada* of Nagpur published a news, dated April 10 last, from its special representative, that the Government of the Central Province and Berar has made provision for Rs. one lakh (capital) and Rs. fifty thousand recurring for the next five years as grants-in-aid to the Nagpur University for the construction of armouries and other buildings at Nagpur and Amraoti towards part of the recurring cost of the scheme of compulsory military training for boys studying for the degree. The University had sent up such a proposal to the Provincial Government to arrange for military training. Their scheme was to open centres at Nagpur, Jubbulpur, and Amraoti to impart military training to 1,380 students in four batches of 345 each. We were further told that the Government had decided to start a school at Tripuri where the session of the Congress was held in 1939 over which Subhas Chandra presided. It will be residential, where in addition to intensive military training, students will have instruction in agriculture, arts and science.

We have not heard of any such scheme for West Bengal whose people have to make up a greater leeway in life military, thanks to the "martial" and "non-martial" theory of the British military bureaucracy. During the last few months since August, 1947, we have been insisting on the urgency of some such measures for the rehabilitation of the morale of the Bengali people, and in our April number we welcomed the Territorial Forces formation scheme announced on April 8 last by the Defence Minister of the Central Government. Under the scheme, the Indian Union has been divided into eight Regions of which West Bengal and Cooch Bihar forms one unit. We should like to know whether the West Bengal Government have applied their mind to giving shape to this scheme. The Territorial Force to be organized offers the greatest opportunity in 1[illegible] years to the Bengali people for retrieving their position in the armed forces of India, and we cannot think that any Government of the Province will let it go neglected. We do not know adequately what other provinces have been doing in the line. But of this we are convinced that the people of this province will not that will be remiss in this direction.

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of theirs. In this connection, we desire to sound another warning note. There may be the temptation to recruit the Territorial Force in our Region from the hill tribes who live in our northern districts. British military policy had generally avoided the plains of India as recruiting grounds, and we are not yet assured that this vicious tradition has been given the go-by. For ourselves, we cannot imagine its continuance in Free India. Our scheme of reform and reconstruction gives the utmost importance to the Militarizatoin of our people.

Pakistani Exodus to India

The Bombay *Times of India* featured a special article from its Karachi correspondent describing the perturbation of Pakistani leaders at the increasing numbers of Muslims, who had "opted" for Pakistan, being anxious to return to their original homes in the Indian Union. He appears to have discussed matters with Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman, provisional President of the Pakistan Muslim League, and the summary of the article bears the stamp of truth about the "disillusionment" of the Muslims with conditions as they found there on their arrival at what they had thought would prove to be "a hospitable harbour in times of stress and suffering." But experience of eight months has been a great wakener; they came up against the "indifference" of Sind and West Punjab Governments, and the hostility, open or veiled, of Sind and West Punjab Muslims. Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman appears to have elaborated the "demoralizing effect" of this "return movement" from Pakistan to the Indian Union both on the *Mahajreens* (Muslim refugees) and on those who could not go to Pakistan. The provisional President of the Pakistan Muslim League is said to have tried to impress on the Central Pakistan Government's Prime Minister, Janab Liaquat Ali Khan, this undesirable state of things. The Muslim minority in the Indian Union may be demoralized at the return of Muslims from Pakistan, the land of the milk and of the plenty; "it may even lead to some movement for the re-union of Pakistan and India at no distant future." This prospect apart, the economic interpretation of *Mahajreen* discontent has a solid basis, and has been described as follows:

> Khaliq-uz-Zaman is stated to have requested the Pakistan Government to persuade Sind and West Punjab to dispose of their cultivable lands—1·5 million acres in the Lower Sind Barrage area and 1·5 million acres in Abbottabad area of West Punjab—at the rate of four acres per head. As the land soil was much more fertile than that of the United Provinces, he was sure that the new cultivation would feed the entire four million refugee population.

The Indian Union is not also free from this phenomenon. There is restiveness in the United Provinces and in West Bengal, for instance, at this foundation of "refugees"—a word that sounds hateful to men and women who had been in one of those historic catastrophies that were presaged by unplanned movements of population. Thus those Pakistanis who had "opted" for the land of their dreams might now repent at leisure. But the authorities of the Indian Union ought to be watchful of their movement. There will remain amongst them "fifth column" elements whom the Pakistan authorities may be sending to India with fell purpose. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should not be generous at the expense of the safety of the Indian realm. In this view of the matter, his fitful declarations against a "re-union movement" are neither here nor there. He should be silent about it, cultivating that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Interests of Indian Muslims

Disastrous results of communalism in Indian politics were referred to by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad when they addressed the fifteenth annual session of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind in Bombay.

Requested by Maulana Hafizur Rahman, General Secretary of the Jamiat, to inaugurate the session, Maulana Azad said that many important things had happened since the last session of the Jamiat and they were today faced with some issues of fundamental importance.

What was the spirit that had brought these changes, asked Maulana Azad, and said that it was the demon of communalism in politics. It had during the last few months, caused the splitting up of India and raised barriers, both material and psychological, between peoples and communities. "I started my public life in India in 1908 and never during the last 40 years of my career in this country have I missed an opportunity of warning the people against the danger of communalism in politics. Wrong paths lead to unhappy results and partition was one such result. Partition of India had brought in its wake communal disorders and much unhappiness to vast sections of the people. Partition was an artificial solution, and a makeshift solution only creates more complexities."

The Jamiat had always stood in the forefront of the country's fight for independence.

The Jamiat was always nationalist in its outlook and could not be described as a communal organisation such as the Muslim League was.

The Muslim League agitation had caused the Muslims on one hand and non-Muslim communities such as the Hindus and Sikhs on the other to drift apart. Unless this was remedied, all communities including the Muslims would be engulfed in a complete disaster.

To avert a greater catastrophe than what they had already experienced, it was now necessary to find a true foundation for political activity based on a change of heart and outlook, realising that all were children of the soil with equal rights and opportunities. It was with this aim in view that the leaders of the Jamiat at a meeting held in Delhi in November last,

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took certain decisions and called for the dissolution of politico-communal organisation among Muslims.

This decision was endorsed at another gathering attended by over 100,000 Muslims held in Lucknow in December. The foremost organisation affected by the decision taken at that meeting was the Muslim League. Many subsidiary bodies in the Muslim League had no doubt dissolved themselves. What the Muslim League itself did now was of little moment. But the path before the Jamiat-ul-Ulema was clear. Its Working Committee had already taken certain decisions in spite of eschewing politics, the Jamiat would still have a vast field in which to serve the community. There were many problems in the educational, cultural, and religious fields where the Jamiat could do excellent work. They must align their activity to modern trends and move with the times.

Pandit Nehru expressed his pleasure in being able to come and address the Jamiat in spite of his heavy programme. He said that not only in India but throughout the world people's minds were today being exercised by issues of a fundamental nature. India was greatly changed during the last seven or eight months. It has passed through times that had shaken it to its foundations causing wounds both to the body and to the soul.

All this was the result of communal politics. It was again communal politics that had led to the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. That unhappy incident had opened the eyes of many people to the danger that had always been in their midst and had caused a searching of hearts.

On the other hand, said Pandit Nehru, "Pakistan openly says that it is a State based on religion. No doubt, it also said that the minorities there need have no fear, but how far that was real it was difficult to say.

"In India too there were many communal-minded people. But the Congress had taken a path which was clear for all to see. The A.-I. C. C. at its meeting in November last, under the inspiration and direct guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, took certain decisions, keeping in view the difficulties that the Indian Muslims were experiencing. The Congress wanted that no Indian should think of himself as a Hindu, a Muslim or any religious entity so far as politics was concerned. It was only in this way that the country could make any progress."

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, presiding over the 15th session of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind described the partition of the country as "a great political blunder" and the enforced sudden exchanges of population as "the greatest sin visiting the country."

The Maulana said that the names of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad—"the greatest friends of the Indian Muslims"—would be written in letters of gold in the history of India.

The President said that there never had been any Hindu-Muslim question in India before the British came, whether under Hindu rulers or Muslim rulers. Even fanatic Muslim rulers like Aurangzeb had Hindu Ministers and Hindu rulers had Muslim Ministers.

The scheme of dividing the country, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani said, was fostered by British agents to keep their hold on India. He even put the blame for last year's rioting in Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab upon British district officers, who, he said, engineered them so as to make Pakistan a stronghold for themselves. Their idea was that Pakistan, being the weaker nation, would always need British help if the relations between the two countries were embittered.

If, along with partition there had been a pact for the protection of the minorities, the rioting would have been on a much smaller scale.

The Maulana said: "The Congress has decided that India shall be a secular State. It is the duty of every Muslim to support the Indian Government and serve the country to the best of his ability. This will be the best safeguard for the Muslims."

The President disapproved of the talk of solidarity of Muslims in the two countries. With the division of the country, the interests of Muslims in India and those in Pakistan had also been divided.

"Our duty now is to look after the interests of the Indian Muslims," he said, "and not of those across the border. We want that the relations between India and Pakistan should be cordial and friendly. But if at any time there are serious differences between the two countries, our policy will be guided by the interests of the Indian Muslims, and not by the interests of Pakistan Muslims who can look after themselves."

Maulana Hossain Ahmad Madani's claim that there had never been any Hindu-Muslim question in India before the British came, is not historically quite correct. History of Bengal and Madras specially, and India generally, tell a different story. Association of some Hindus in the Moghul Administration was one of its features no doubt, but it cannot be denied that Hindus as Hindus were cruelly persecuted which stopped only when they embraced Islam. We need not go into that historical detail here, but there is no use denying the fact that destruction and desecration of Hindu temples, building of mosques with building material procured from destroyed Hindu temples, and abduction of Hindu women had been ugly features of Indo-Islamic relations and all of them had the general support of almost the whole of the Muslim Society. Intense hatred for Hinduism, because it is idolatrous, and bestial desire for abducting Hindu women should be completely shed by the Indian Muslims if they really desire to open a new chapter in Indo-Islamic relations. It is by this process of transformation in their general attitude and outlook that the real interests of the Indian Muslims will be best safeguarded.

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Pakistan's Reaction to U. N. Decision on Kashmir

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, defining the reaction of the Pakistan Government to the resolution of the United Nations Security Council on the Kashmir problem, addressed a press conference of about fifty foreign and local journalists. It is needless to point out that Mr. Liaquat Ali's statement has the typical Pakistani refrain of false-hood and arrogance.

"If and when the Good Offices Commission of the United Nations comes we will try to point out to the Commission the flaws in the resolution and ask them to see things for themselves. We hope to convince the Commission that it is impracticable to get a fair plebiscite and this is the extent to which we propose to help the Commission. We are hoping that after the Commission has seen things for itself on the spot it will be able to advise the Security Council and also convince India of the justness of Pakistan's case which is really the just demand of the people of Kashmir. It is for this purpose that we have nominated under protest and without prejudice a member on the Commission."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan explained the signi-ficance of the nomination of Argentina on the good offices commission by Pakistan and said: "Knowing that the vast majority of the peo-ple of Kashmir wish to accede to Pakistan, the only fair way whereby their will can be ascer-tained would be to withdraw all contending forces from Kashmir and set up a neutral administration to take the vote. There is a fundamental defect in the Security Council's resolution. We do not deny that the democratic method should be followed in ascertaining the wishes of the people but the Council has, in our opinion, destroyed on one hand what it had conceded by the other in the way of conditions which can bring about a fair and free plebiscite.

"They cannot by their present resolution create those conditions which any fair-minded person would accept as enabling the people of Kashmir to express their will freely and without any fear of intimidation of any kind.

"What the Security Council provides for now is to ask Pakistan to tell the tribesmen to withdraw and there it must be remembered that the vast majority of those who are fighting against very heavy odds fighting a valiant battle are the sons of the soil itself. The number of tribesmen is comparatively very small in the forces of Azad Kashmir."

The Prime Minister of Pakistan continued: "It is the people of Kashmir who have been bravely fighting for their very existence.

"The tribesmen are notoriously independent people. They are gravely agitated over the atrocities that have been and are being committed against their Muslim brethren in Kashmir and elsewhere. They are deter-mined as far as it lies in their power to prevent the repetition of those atrocities and I must frankly state that in this matter the people of Pakistan fully sympathise with them."

The Prime Minister maintained that while the resolution stated that Pakistan should use its good offices in persuading the tribesmen and the Pakistan nationals to come out of Kashmir it only provided for a gradual progressive withdrawal of the Indian forces.

"India is at present conducting a major war in Kashmir and has concentrated a very large force there. As a matter of fact, according to some reports the strength of the Indian forces in Kashmir is stated to be three divisions.

"The removal of a division of troops at the present moment would only amount to a sort of a token with-drawal as this would still leave behind a terribly large force. But as the resolution stands India will be able to argue that they have carried out the wishes of the Security Council but in actual practice Kashmir would still remain virtually occupied by the Indian military forces. The resolution gives the government of Sheikh Abdullah a loophole for creating a State force which may be out of all proportions to the internal require-ments of the State yet Pakistan is asked to use its good offices to remove the tribesmen and Pakistan nationals but Pakistan has not been permitted the means to achieve this objective. The use of Pakistan forces has also been made subject to the agreement of the Government of India. Do the Security Council really expect that just by whistling Pakistan will be able to make these people withdraw from a fight which they regard as sacred and which they regard they are waging to save their lives and to save themselves from destruction?"

"I do not see," said the Prime Minister, "how we can convince the tribesmen of a fair deal to the Mussal-mans of Kashmir when we are ourselves not convinced that a fair and impartial plebiscite would be held under this resolution. This is our main problem."

"The other major defect". Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan pointed out, "is the presence of Sheikh Abdullah at the helm of affairs in that state.

"The world knows that Sheikh Abdullah has been proclaiming his hatred of Pakistan and we do not see how a Government headed by such a man even though it may also contain a few nominees of other parties is likely to create conditions in the administrative and plebiscite machinery which will enable the people of Kashmir to express their will freely and without fear."

He reiterated that the resolution is impracticable for the purpose of ascertaining the true opinion of the people.

A "Confession"

Shri Konda Venkatappya, the octogenarian Congress leader of Andhra Desa, drew Gandhiji's attention to the demoralization that had come over Congress members. He charged Congress members of the Madras Legisla-

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ture with exploiting their positions for personal profit. Gandhiji referred to this letter in the *Harijan*, and made it a theme of one of his after-prayer statements at New Delhi. The Madras legislators silently pocketed his rebuke, and by this silence wanted to take the edge off this exposure of their degradation. But their effects were not, we are glad to notice, wholly lost. The emergence of a new party out of the Madras Congress Legislature Party bears out the truth of the charges made by the Andhra; it also shows that the leaven has been working. This party is to be known as the "Congress Legislature Party Reform Group," and about 25 members have already joined it. The pledge taken by the members is a sort of "Confession"—acknowledgment of sin against the spirit and practice introduced into our national organization under Gandhiji's inspiration. It deserves reproduction, therefore.

> I shall not make any recommendation or appeal to any Minister or Government Officer so as to invite him to be guilty of nepotism or favouritism or make any appointment or do any act merely to oblige relations or friends, even if they be Congressmen. I shall not ask for, demand or recommend issue of permits, licences, etc., to persons merely because they happen to be friends or relations of Congressmen or even partymen. I shall not ask for the transfer of Executive Officers merely to oblige relations and friends or partymen unless I am reasonably satisfied of the necessity therefor. I shall not directly or indirectly encourage formation of parties or invent slogans of a nature intended to create division, communal or sectional. I shall not do anything as a legislator which would run counter to Gandhiji's views about social or economic uplift. I swear I am a teetotaler and wear nothing but khadi. I agree that my aim is to make the Presidency self-sufficient with regard to food and clothing. I shall try my utmost to spread khadi throughout the country of the earliest possible time. I shall not do, write or say anything which will bring the Congress into contempt. I shall not make use of my position in the Legislative Assembly so as to wrongfully or illegally make money for myself or enable any friend or relation of mine to do so. I shall not abuse or misuse my power as legislator for unworthy purposes.

We wish the Reform group all success, and we hope other provinces will follow the lead of Madras.

Britain Today

The Rt. Hon'ble Hugh Dalton, M.P., the first Chancellor of Exchequer in Mr. Attlee's Government, wrote an article which a weekly contemporary has reproduced, captioned as "The Challenge of 1948." Therein he spoke of "a new British industrial revolution, spiritual as well as material." The article that we have seen does not indicate the lines of "spiritual" revolution that he wanted to see evolved. It may be that he visualized it in the scheme of emigration from their crowded island that would open before Britons in "the Britains beyond the Seas"—to quote the words of a Liberal Prime Minister of Britain—the wide spaces of the Commonwealth and the Empire that are hungry for emigrants of British stock. It is quite possible that in Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and East Africa, these emigrants will form the bands of pioneers—"part of a planned re-settlement of the British race within the Commonwealth." There is nothing spiritual about it. For instance, the Australian void is there to fill up, and we are told that four lakhs of Britons have already registered their names at Australia House; only shortage of shipping space appears to be halting the flood. And the Australian people and Government have made no secret of their determination to keep the flag of "White Australia" flying in the face of the non-white peoples of the world, the "lesser breed" of men and women, to quote the expressive Kipling phrase. In this, the southern continent has the "spiritual" support of the greatest Anglo-Saxon power today, the United States of America. But this prospect of the renewal of Britain with Commonwealth and American help has a dark patch which is creating discontent in the "old country." The following summary of news and views cabled by *Reuter* on March 22 last reveals a part of the picture.

> The *Daily Express* today broadcasts the "Last of the British Empire" if a plan—alleged to be under consideration by the Washington State Department —for America to take over Britain's economic responsibilities in Australia, India, New Zealand and Egypt, goes through.
>
> The *Daily Express* said that the *New York Times* had indicated the existence of such a plan. The *Express* attacked the British Premier, Mr. Clement Attlee and most of his colleagues for having "damaged" the sterling area.
>
> This paper also indicated that because of this South Africa was moving towards a separate monetary system.
>
> The *New York Times* forecasts a new and terrible price that Britain will have to pay for the proposed "second injection of dollar aid," the *Daily Express* editorial said.

Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

On March 8 last, the Prime Minister of the Indian Union incidentally referred to "the fact that Pakistan's publicity in the United States was being carried on through the British Information Services." Significantly enough, during the same day, within a few hours, the Controller of B. I. S., Mr. D'Arcy Edmondson, sent a denial to this charge—"We have not at any time undertaken any publicity for Pakistan," said he. A writer under the pen-name of "One Who Knows," said something which went to show that by protesting too much and too early Mr. Edmondson laid himself open to suspicion. It may be true that formally the B. I. S. did not handle Pakistani propaganda against the Indian Dominion. But "One Who Knows" revealed the trick of the game.

Since August 15 last, the B. I. S. has gradually turned over to the Pakistan Government representatives in the U. S. A. much of its anti-Indian propaganda machinery, its techniques, contacts, outlets, mailing lists, etc., and has been active in aiding and supervising the building up of a

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effective Pakistan publicity organisation in America. In fact, Pakistan's publicity in the United States during the past few months has been directed not so much from Karachi as from the B. I. S. headquarters in New York under the direct supervision of the British Embassy in Washington. As a result, Pakistan has been receiving a much better press in the United States than India has been.

The same fingers are still engaged in this game. During the last war an Indian had been discovered to undermine his national leadership. He wrote two books—*What does Gandhi Want?* and *Report on India*; these were distributed free in America by the B. I. S., by the British Consulate and even by the Indian Agency-General, then under Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai. "The Who Knows" asserts that the second book

. . . is being extensively distributed even now, and its total distribution up-to-date reported to have exceeded half-a-million copies. This has been achieved by the simple expedient of getting the U. S. Army authorities to arrange its reprint in the *U. S. Army Journal Series*, and thus ensuring its widest possible distribution among the American armed forces."

Thus it will be seen that Mr. Edmondson's story is a tergiversation which is worse than a down-right lie. Mr. Kingsley Martin, editor of the London weekly, *New Statesman and Nation*, told the world recently of the spiritual affinity that he found between the Muslim Leaguers and the British members of the Pakistan bureaucracy, civil and military. We had known of its existence for long, for forty years at least since Lord Curzon's days. If the relation still persists, we need not be surprised. The class to which these bureaucrats belong are still ascendant in Britain; their anti-Indian bias is notorious. After August 15, 1947, they try to find satisfaction through working against India through hidden channels.

Parity!

We used to hear from Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah demands for "parity" between Hindus, more than 70 per cent in undivided India, and Muslims, about 25 per cent in the country. But even with India divided, this "parity" business does not appear to have left us. Two items of news that appeared in the Daily Press prove that even in "Pakistan," the land of the pure, and in "Hindustan Hamara," there is the same competition. Karachi and Simla are determined to run a neck to neck race.

Karachi: More than 200 cases have been registered against members of various departments rather than the police service for offences connected with the looting and misappropriation of evacuee property in West Punjab. The accused included 18 Magistrates, 13 Tehsildars, 31 Civil Court and Revenue employees, 12 P.W.D. men, 36 Railwaymen and 62 employees of the Excise, Canal, Education, Agriculture, Civil Supplies and Postal Department. . . .

Simla: Replying to a question in the East Punjab Assembly, Sardar Swaran Singh, the Home Minister, stated that 138 officials had been arrested in the East Punjab so far, for participating in the loot during the last communal disturbances. The Home Minister revealed that property worth Rs. 2,30,233 had been recovered from these officials.

Historical Records

The Governments of West Bengal and East Bengal appear to have landed themselves into a foolishness as the following note prepared by the Regional Survey Committee for Bengal and Assam, appointed by the Indian Historical Records Commission, goes to prove. Acharya Jadunath Sarkar, the great historian, is President of this Committee, Dr. R. C. Mazumdar is Convener, and Dr. N. K. Sinha is the Secretary; the members are all outstanding historians in this part of India. Any proposal by such a Committee, challenging an executive decision, should lead to its revision as suggested in revision also quoted below. We wonder why the Governments concerned could not consult this Committee before. Steps like this will be avoided in future if they act up to advice tendered in the last resolution of the Committee.

The Regional Survey Committee for Bengal and Assam appointed by the Indian Historical Records Commission has learnt with surprise that the Government of West Bengal have agreed to divide the records of the old Bengal Government Record Office with Eastern Pakistan on a fifty-fifty basis, only records up to 1834 being exempted from division because they belong to the Government of India. The West Bengal Government are reported to have decided that if the Original Consultations of one year remain with them the Proceedings Volume of that year should go to Eastern Pakistan and *vice versa*. This basis of partition is due to a wrong conception of the character of these records. The Original Consultations are not arranged chronologically nor according to subjects but according to the order in which different items come up for decision. The Proceedings again cannot sometimes be correctly understood without reference to the Original Consultations. There are also some gaps in the Original Consultations. We do not know how the West Bengal Government have decided to divide the records of other categories—such as the Indexes, Registers, Abstracts of Proceedings or Consultations, Diaries and Order Books. The principle of archival amputation adopted by the West Bengal Government as described above is unsound, being entirely at variance with international usage. An Archive is a living organism, because it is the result of the activity of an administrative authority. It consists of a body of related documents. A division not only harms the transferring power but does not confer any benefit on the acquiring power. It naturally results in the paralysis of reference service and the greatest injury to future historical investigation.

This Committee requests the West Bengal Government to follow the example of the Government of India in this respect, which is in accord with international usage—No record is to be torn away from the place in which they exist, but the Pakistan Government besides keeping the records in their areas, can fairly claim to get a full inventory and

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authenticated copies of such other records of the Government before partition as they require.

Arrangements should be made for micro-filming records. The West Bengal Government should make full use of the micro-filming machines in their possession to supply copies of required documents to Eastern Pakistan, the work being spread over a number of years and all *bona fide* researchers from Eastern Pakistan should be given access to the old Bengal Government Records until the work of copying is completed. Those records of the Old Bengal Government that have already been sent to Dacca should similarly be micro-filmed for the West Bengal Record office.

RESOLUTIONS

In the interests of the Records themselves and their unimpaired usefulness in future, no less than in the cause of historical research, we request the Government of West Bengal to drop the above-mentioned haphazard and mechanical plan of division and to come into line with the scientific scheme of division followed in Europe and America as also by the Central Archive of the Indian Union.

The Committee further requests the West Bengal Government to make it a rule to consult this Committee before any action is taken on the disposal of the Records of the Province of West Bengal.

Karl Marx on Russia

The founder of the Communist philosophy has been accepted as the law-giver of the Soviet Union. Living in mid-19th century, Karl Marx could not escape the prejudice against Russia and Slavdom. And the London *Tribune* rescues from oblivion his adverse opinion of the Pan-Slav movement which, many think, has staged a come-back under Stalinist leadership. The class which dominates over the Soviet Union today were not ignorant of Marx's opinion when they accepted his philosophy as inspiration to their life, as guide to their conduct. It may be regarded, therefore, as a noble revenge on their part of Marx's vitriolic judgment on their people's life. In the present controversy between West Europe and East Europe, the following opinion of Marx, published in the *Die Neue Odezeitung* in April, 1855, will be used as a weapon against the Soviet Union:

> Pan-Slavism is a movement which endeavours to undo what a thousand years' old history has created. It cannot achieve its aim without sweeping Turkey, Hungary and half of Germany off the map of Europe. Should this result ever be accomplished, it could be made to last by no other means than the subjugation of Europe. Pan-Slavism has now transformed itself from an article of faith into a political programme. By now, it is no longer only Russia, but the whole Pan-Slavistic plot which threatens to found its realm on the ruins of Europe. This leaves Europe only one alternative—subjugation through slavery, or the lasting destruction of the centre of its offensive strength : Russia.

K. Natarajan

The death of this doyen amongst Indian journalists in his 79th year removes, we think, the last survivor of the "social reformers" who had started their work under the expansive eyes of Mahadev Govind Ranade. Early in life he was connected with the *Indian Social Reformer*, and when this paper was transferred from Madras to Bombay, young Natarajan made his choice, left his home Province, and found in Bombay the atmosphere for the growth and for the quickening of the cause that he had made his own. He found there kindred spirits, guides and mentors of whom Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, the President of the Lahore Congress, was the ablest. The school of thought in social and political reform to which Natarajan belonged was characterized by "sweetness and light", and its members could not persuade themselves to share the philosophy and practices that became in Maharashtra associated with the name of Balwant Gangadhar Tilak. And through the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th, they were found in opposition to the new Nationalism that burst over the country specially during the latter period. The "social reformers" did not recognize this new awakening as a fulfilment of their programme of reform and reconstruction, and even when Gandhiji emerged into the leadership of the people and took up many of their items of reform, pushing these ahead, they maintained an aloof attitude. As editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, K. Natarajan lived through these decades as an independent observer and critic of men and things; and even his opponents respected this attitude of his. When he became editor of the *Indian Daily Mail*, started by one of millionaire Petit family of Bombay, he brought to the discharge of his new duties the same detachment and equanimity. During the last few years, he led a life of retirement; but his interest in affairs continued almost to the last. It was a pleasure to read his occasional contributions to his old paper, shot through and through with reminiscences of a more equable age. He lived to see the advent of a freer life for his country, for which he had striven, dreamt and aspired.

C. R. as Governor-General

It has been officially announced from Buckingham Palace that the King, on the recommendation of His Majesty's Government of India, has approved the appointment of Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, the present Governor of West Bengal, as Governor General of India in succession to Lord Mountbatten who will relinquish his appointment on June 21, 1948. C. R. accepted appointment to succeed Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General of India was received with pleasure both in London and in India. His appointment as Acting Governor-General during Lord Mountbatten's trip to London on the occasion of the wedding of Princess Elizabeth was regarded at the time as significant, and indeed been thought of for the higher office in succession.

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THE EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATURE AND JUDICIARY OF THE UNION OF INDIA

A Comparative Study

By RAMAKANT N. PARIKH, M.A., LL.B.

The Executive

According to the Draft Constitution, the President is to be the executive head of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India (S.D.R.I.). All executive authority shall vest in the President. The President is to exercise his functions on the advice of the Council of Ministers, headed by the Prime Minister who will be selected by the President. Other Ministers shall be selected by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. This is one of the salient features of the Draft Constitution and requires close scrutiny.

This means that the President's powers are controlled by the Council of Ministers, particularly by the Prime Minister. Theoretically, there is much to be desired in this sort of a system of checks and balances. In practice, it is very probable that the system may give rise to occasional frictions which may weaken the administration. This is very likely to happen when both the President and the Prime Minister are equally powerful personalities, or are members of different parties. Of course, the power to select the Prime Minister is vested in the President. It all depends on how this power is exercised. In case, the leader of the majority party in the Parliament is to be the Prime Minister, very little of the power of selection is left to the President who has only to give sanction to the decisions of the majority party in the Parliament. If, on the other hand, the President is to have real authority to appoint a Prime Minister of his choice irrespective of his position in the Parliament, it is conceivable that he will be more than favourable to the President. In this case, the Prime Minister's office may lose much of its significance. Thus, on the one hand, there is a danger of conflict between the President and the Prime Minister, on the other hand, the office of the Prime Minister is liable to become a nonentitious institution. Much depends on the personality of the two, and on the conventions that may be followed from time to time.

In effect, this sounds as a compromise between the form of government that prevails in the U.S.A. and the form of government that exists in England. In the U.S.A., the President has very wide executive powers. He is independent of the Legislature, namely, the Congress. Even after the people have given a mandate against his party in the mid-term election of the Congress, he has "the right divine to govern the nation". He is the supreme head of the State. Once he is elected, the Congress (Legislature) cannot remove him. His will is predominant and in his actions, the feelings of the people are supposed to be reflected. As Caleb Cershing has said, no head of a department can lawfully perform an official act against the will of the President. The President combines in him the two offices of the King and the Prime Minister. In England, however, the King is merely a titular head of the Government. For all practical purposes, the Prime Minister is the supreme head. A Prime Minister with a stable majority in the House of Commons commands all the executive and legislative powers. He is a political centre. Thus the system of executive that is proposed in our Draft Constitution seems to have been designed with a view to meeting half way the two distinct forms of Government that prevail in the two advanced countries of the world.

The President of the S.D.R.I.* is to be elected by an electoral college for a term of five years. Comparatively speaking, this term of office is pretty long. The President of the U.S.A. is elected for a fixed term of four years. Though the Prime Minister of England, who is the *de facto* executive head, is elected for the term of five years, there is every possibility of his losing the office before the termination of his tenure. His position is precarious in the sense that it depends on the vote of the Parliament.

Again, a restriction has been imposed on the re-election of the President of the S.D.R.I. He can seek re-election only once. That is, one can remain s the President of the S.D.R.I. for a maximum period of ten years, consecutively or otherwise. There is no such limitation in the case of the President of the U.S.A. or the Prime Minister of England. It is a well-known fact that Frederick Roosevelt was elected as President for four times in succession. Of course, partly the emergency created by the war was responsible for his successive elections; but any way there was no impediment to his standing for the contest. In England, there is absolutely no restriction on the same person being elected as the Prime Minister again and again. In English history, there are notable cases of long and continued holding of the office, as for example Gladstone, Disraeli or Baldwin. The limitation put on the re-election of the President of the S.D.R.I. is justified, in view of the fact that the term of office is proposed to be of five years. To work as a President for more than ten years is too heavy a responsibility

* The Sovereign Democratic Republic of India.

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to be imposed on any one. And even if some one is prepared to bear the burden, he should not be allowed to do it, in his own interests as well as in the interests of the nation. In fact, the wisdom of keeping such a long tenure of office may be doubted. The tenure should be sufficiently long to impart stability and to facilitate the implementation of the plans, but it should not be so long as to give rise to a stale and wooden administrative machinery. This point is to be specially considered, as once a President is elected he cannot be removed, howsoever incompetent he may prove himself. He will stick to the office for full five years and nothing can come in his way. In view of this monopolistic position, one should ponder whether the tenure of five years is rather long or not. If such a long tenure is accepted, the imposition of a limitation on re-election will be quite justified.

Like the President of the U.S.A., the Indian President is also to be elected indirectly by an electoral college. The members of both the houses of the Union Parliament and the elected members of the State Legislatures are to form the electoral college. Thus, the members of all these legislative bodies have a heavy responsibility of electing the executive head of the State. It is in the nature of things that the President shall be elected by an indirect election. For, the Direct Democracy of early Greece can no longer be practised by the vast multitudes of population.

No extraordinary qualification will be demanded of a contestant for a Presidential election. In the first instance, he should not be less than 35 years of age. This is, in a way, superfluous, as hardly any one below that age would command such a wide influence as to be elected to the Presidency. And in case some one does, why should he be debarred? Pitt the Younger became the Prime Minister at the age of 24, and quite a successful one. It seems our constitution-makers have preferred wisdom that is supposed to accumulate on passing years to the zeal of a youth. Perhaps an experienced elder is expected to be a more worthy President than a visionary young man.

Another requirement for acquiring eligibility is that he should be qualified for the election of a member of the Lower House. This means that any adult whose age is not less than thirty-five and who has a domicile in India can become the supreme executive head of the S.D.R.I.

It cannot be helped remarking that the draft is silent on a woman's eligibility for the supreme executive post. Hence, a woman over the age of 35 is equally eligible to contest. Let us hope that we shall find a worthy President, unlike other countries, in some lady who will grace the Executive throne.

The Parliament of the Union of India

The Parliament of India will consist of two Houses, the Upper House to be called the Council of States and the Lower House, the House of the People. The Council of States will represent States as units, while the House of the People will represent the people of the Union of India as a whole. Though the distinction is very delicate it is important in a Federal State. Federalism implies the co-existence of two well-defined authorities; and the people owe allegiance to both of them. In the words of Dicey, a federal state is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity with the maintenance of state rights. That is why a bicameral legislature is absolutely necessary in a Federal State. As a general principle, in the Upper House where the States are represented as units, all States should have equal representation, irrespective of the size or the population of a State. While in the Lower House people should be represented according to the population; that is, each State gets the seats in proportion to its population. The actual application of this principle can be observed in many federal countries.

In the U.S.A., there are two Houses of Legislature—the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the Senate, each State sends two representatives irrespective of any other consideration. For the House of Representatives, members are elected on the basis of population. The Constitution provides that the number of representatives should not exceed one for every thirty thousand of the population, but each State has at least one representative. In the Upper House of Switzerland, all full cantons send two representatives, while half-cantons send one. In the Commonwealth of Australia also, the Senate (the Upper House) consists of thirty-six members selected in equal number of six by each of the six component States. However, this practice is not observed in Canada. The Senate of Canada is a nominated body. Its members are elected for life by the Governor-General on the advice of the Cabinet. This is an exception to the general practice in a federal state, of allowing all Constitution Units to have equal representation in the Upper House.

According to our Draft Constitution, the Council of States will consist of 250 members of which fifteen members shall be nominated by the President and the remainder shall represent the States as Units, and will be elected by the legislatures of States. The House of the People will consist of not more than 500 members who will be elected by direct vote of the people of the Union. There will be not more than one representative for 500,000 of the population and not less than one for 750,000 of the population.

While bicameral legislature is necessary in a Federal State, it is not uncommon in Unitary States also. Though England and France are Unitary States there are two houses of legislature in both the countries. It is obvious, however, that in a Unitary State the Upper House will be based on a different principle, such as to serve as a corrective body, rather than to represent the Units. It would function as a brake to the hasty and ill-considered action of one chamber. In England, the House of Lords consists of

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about eight hundred members who are mostly hereditary peers created by the Crown. It is understandable that they would not enjoy the powers in equal measure with those of the House of Commons which is an elective body, reflecting the will of the people. The Parliament Act of 1911 has put a serious restraint to the exercise of the powers by the Lords. The effect of that Act is that the Lords have no substantial control over ordinary legislation, as a Bill may be passed, if certain procedure is adopted, after two years even though the Lords withhold concurrence. With respect to a money bill, the Lords have absolutely no voice. Even if the Lords do not consent, a money bill can become law on the lapse of one month after it has been passed by the Commons. Thus, for ordinary legislation, the power of the Lords has been restricted to "suspensive veto of two years," and for money bills they have no voice. However, they have substantial political power, but that is exercised by a few experienced members of the House.

In France, the two Chambers—the Council of the Republic and the National Assembly—are elected on territorial basis. The Council is renewed by one-half every three years. The National Assembly may elect, by proportional representation, Councillors not exceeding one-sixth of the total number of the Council which cannot be less than 250 nor more than 320. War cannot be declared without a vote of the National Assembly and the previous advice of the Council of the Republic. The National Assembly votes upon the laws. It cannot delegate this authority. The Council of the Republic examines bills passed in the first reading by the Assembly, and renders advice.

Though our Upper Chamber (Council of States) will be an elective body, it will not enjoy powers regarding money bills on equal terms with the House of the People. A money bill can originate only in the House of the People. After it has been passed, a money bill shall be transmitted to the Council of States for its recommendations and the Council shall, within a period of thirty days from the date of its receipt of the Bill, return the Bill to the House of the People who may accept or reject the recommendations.

The question of respective powers of the two chambers is rather complicated. On the one hand, it may be argued, the House that is elected by the direct votes of the people should have a superior position as it reflects the will of the people. On the other hand, it seems that the Upper House should enjoy all powers on equal footing with the Lower House inasmuch as it is an elective body. Again, it will represent States as units and hence it should not have an inferior position, lest it may cause among the States suspicion and lack of confidence in the federal structure.

The Senate of the U.S.A. is perhaps the most powerful second chamber in the whole world. Its consent by a two-thirds of majority is necessary for making treaties. The importance of this provision will be realised if it is recalled what a difficult situation arose when after the first World War the Senate refused to ratify the acceptance of the covenant of the League of Nations even though President Wilson had signed it. Again it has the power to try all impeachments. In Switzerland, the two Chambers—the Council of States and the National Council—have absolutely equal powers in theory. No measure can be enacted unless it has been approved by both. In practice, however, the Council of States has assumed an inferior position.

In the Dominion of Canada, the Senate has equal powers with the Lower House (the House of Commons) and somewhat inferior powers with regard to money bills. It lacks, however, popular support as it is a nominated chamber. According to Laski, it may not command even its own confidence.

In the Commonwealth of Australia, the Senate has equal powers with the House of Representatives (the Lower House) except with regard to money bills. It has not attracted much talent as able men prefer to go to the Lower House, which *by convention* controls the Executive.

So far as the duration of the Houses is concerned, the Draft Constitution seeks to provide a formula which is a sort of compromise between various systems. The House of the People will be elected for five years. But the President may, in an emergency, extend it for one year. It may be dissolved earlier by the President. The Council of States will not be subject to dissolution, but as nearly as practicable, one-third of its members will retire on the expiration of every second year. This is in accordance with the practice prevalent in the U.S.A. The Senate of the U.S.A. is elected for six years, but one-third of its members retire every second year. In Switzerland, the method of choice as well as the term of office of the members of the Council of State is decided by cantons themselves. Hence there is no uniform practice. Fourteen cantons elect their representatives for four years, eight cantons elect for three years and three cantons elect for one year only. In Canada, the Senate consists of members nominated for life by the Governor while the House of Commons is elected for five years. In Australia, the term of the Upper House (Senate) is six years, one-half retiring every three years, while the Lower House (the House of the Representatives) is elected for three years, but may be dissolved earlier by the Governor-General.

The President has a right to address both or either of the Houses of Parliament and may send to the Parliament message with regard to any Bill which is pending. The Parliament should give precedence to the matter referred to in his message over other business. This has been adopted from the U. S. A. where the President has such rights. Again, the President shall address the Parliament at the

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opening of each Session and shall inform the reason why it has been summoned. This is in vogue in the U. K. where the King addresses the Parliament.

Provision has been made for the joint session of both the houses for certain kinds of business. There will be a joint session when a Bill has been passed by one House and rejected by another,—or the Houses have finally disagreed as to the amendment to be made in the Bill or more than six months elapse from the date of the reception of the Bill by the other house, without being passed by it. If a Bill is passed in the joint session by a majority it shall be deemed to have been passed by both the Houses. In some other countries also, there is a provision for joint sessions to transact certain extraordinary business. For example, in Switzerland, the Council of States and the National Assembly meet in the joint session for electing the Federal Council (Executive), the Federal Tribunal, the Chancellor and the Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army, for deciding conflicts of jurisdiction and for exercising rights of pardon.

The effect of this provision for a joint session would be that the Upper House will not exercise any of its powers in an unreasonable manner. In fact, the whole range of its powers is narrowed down by this provision. The result is that the Upper House will function more or less as a mere advisory or consultative body in a way that establishes supremacy of the House of the People which reflects the will of the people. On the other side, it is a sad reflection on the representation of States as Constituent Units.

The Federal Judicature of India

There is no better test of the excellence of a Government than the efficiency of its judicial system.
—Lord Bryce

The existence of an independent and impartial judicial system is absolutely necessary for the safeguard of rights and liberties that the Constitution may bestow upon the people. In a Federal State, the judicial system is all the more important as it is considered to be the custodian and guardian of the Constitution. The division of powers, supremacy of the constitution and rigidity of the constitution: these are essential features of a federation. From this it follows that there should be a body to interpret the constitution and to secure its observance. This means that a well-organized and independent judicial tribunal is the *sine qua non* of a Federal State. The modern States have tried to realise the importance of the judiciary and have tried to make it independent and impartial.

The Supreme Court of the U. S. A. has a power to declare a law unconstitutional, if a law passed either by a State Legislature or by a federal legislature is against the terms of the Constitution. Two examples may be given of the exercise of this power. In 1791, the Congress sanctioned the establishment of the Bank of the United States in the face of violent opposition from certain States. The Bank opened a branch in Baltimore in the State of Maryland, the legislature of which imposed, in 1818, a stamp tax on the circulating notes of all banks located in the State without its own charter. The Bank refused to pay the tax. The Supreme Court, in an appeal filed by the Bank against the decision of the Maryland Court, held that the Congress had an implied power to start the bank and therefore the State law was illegal and void. Similarly, the Supreme Court can declare a federal law unconstitutional. In 1916, the Congress prohibited inter-State trade in goods made by child labour. This law interfered with industry, a matter that was within the jurisdiction of the States. Hence the Supreme Court declared the law passed by the Congress unconstitutional. On the same ground of interference with industries, the National Industrial Recovery Act was declared unconstitutional in 1935.

Such a thing is impossible in a Unitary State like England. The Parliament is a sovereign body. It can pass any law and no authority can question its validity. Not only that but Parliament can, by an amendment to the law, virtually override the decisions of the Courts. As for example, Parliament enacted the Trade Disputes Act in 1906 as it did not approve of the judicial decision in the Taff Vala Case (1901). It was declared in this case that the Trade Union as a body was bound to suffer for the mistakes of the officers of the Union in the conduct of a strike. Parliament thought that the Trade Union movement will be hampered, so it passed the Act, by which the Trade Union was not to be held responsible for the mistake of its officers.

According to our Draft Constitution, there shall be a Supreme Court of India. It will have original jurisdiction in any dispute between the Government of India and one or more States or between the Government of India and any State or States on one side and one or more States on the other, or between two or more States, in so far as the dispute involves any question on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends. Thus, the Supreme Court will be, just as in the U.S.A., the custodian and guardian of the constitution. It can declare any law either passed by the Union Parliament or the State Legislature null and void. The States will have, therefore, no fear of encroachment by the Centre upon the spheres specifically allotted to them, and upon the acts which are within their jurisdiction.

On its appellate side, the Supreme Court shall conduct certain appeals. Thus, for example, an appeal may be filed to the Supreme Court from any judgment, decree or final order of a High Court if the High Court certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the constitution. If the High Court has refused to grant such a certificate, the Supreme Court may itself grant

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special leave for similar reason. Appeals may also be from the States which constitute at present the British Indian Provinces if the High Court certifies under certain circumstances, such as, when the amount or value of the subject-matter is not less than twenty thousand rupees.

As ancillary functions of the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court has to give its opinion if the President consults it on any vital question. Similarly, it has to decide an important dispute if it is referred to it by the President.

When it is realised that the Supreme Court has to perform vitally important functions, it is necessary to understand how the Supreme Court will be constituted. For, ultimately much depends upon the persons who constitute the Court.

The Supreme Court will consist of the Chief Justice of India and not less than seven judges. Judges are to be appointed by the President after consultation with such of the Judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts in the States as may be necessary. The Chief Justice should be always consulted.

The method of appointment of Judges is one of those ticklish problems that have puzzled the political thinker and scientist alike. There are three different methods of appointing judges. They may be nominated by the Executive, as is the practice in most of the countries; or they may be elected by the Legislature as is done in Switzerland and U.S.S.R., or they may be elected directly by the people, following the method prevalent in some of the Swiss Cantons and the States of the U.S.A. None of these methods is perfect, as the judges may tend to become subservient to the body that appoints or selects them. Experience of all the countries shows that, on the whole, appointment by the Executive is the best method, provided certain conditions are observed. In case of the system of election by either the Legislature or the people, Judges have to adopt all sorts of tactics in order to secure votes. This means, the Judges have to woo the political parties. That is why in the U.S.A., Britain, France, Canada, Australia and other countries the Judges are appointed by the Executive. With a view to making them independent and impartial, generally it is provided that Judges shall hold office "during good behaviour." Our Draft Constitution provides that a Judge of the Supreme Court will hold office till he attains the age of sixty-five. He cannot be removed unless certain procedure is followed. The President may pass an order of removal if an address supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting has been presented to him by both the Houses of Parliament, desiring the removal of a Judge on the ground of either misbehaviour or incapacity. In other words, it means that he will hold office during good behaviour, unless incapacity is proved. Even on this ground, the Parliament has to secure a majority by two-thirds. That means a few dissatisfied members cannot remove a Judge unless there is a strong proof of his misbehaviour or incapacity. Under these provisions, his position is quite independent. Not only that but his salary, allowances and rights in respect of leave as well as pension shall not be varied to his disadvantage, after having been fixed up by the Parliament at the time of his appointment.

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THE INDO-IRISH PARALLEL

A Study in Dominion Status

By Prof. J. SEN, B.A. (Oxon)

The description of the British Empire as a Commonwealth of Nations or Free States has an air of smugness about it. It suggests uniformity without variation and a pattern of freedom for all. This association has changed so rapidly in meaning and content during the last century that to fit it into a phrase or a formula would be to deny its very richness and vitality. We have travelled a long way since Durham's time. Canada and Australia led the way and South Africa joined the procession, the entry of the Irish free State gave the first touch of colour and quickened the pace, and today more have joined up, India, Pakistan and Ceylon. There was a time when members on the march looked to Canada for leadership and inspiration, for a time the Union of South Africa forged ahead and left others behind, and now India is catching up with the rest and going full steam ahead.

In spite of variations the Irish struggle in many ways has supplied the inspiration, the technique and ideal of the Indian independence movement. The signposts on the Irish road to freedom are clear to all students of Empire politics,—the Irish awakening of the eighteenth century after age-long oppression, exploitation and domination by the Anglo-Scottish Protestant settlers, the spacious days of Grattan, the Anglo-Irish Union, the Repeal movement, Home Rule agitation, the death of Home Rule, Sinn Fein and Civil War, the birth of the Irish Republic, partition and dominion status, and the removal one by one of all symbols of association with the Crown and the Commonwealth. But this is perhaps an over-simplification of Anglo-Irish relations and of the Irish revolution. Irish temperament and emotion, the Irish sense of nationhood, Ireland's debt to France and

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continental political thought and her devotion to a rigid doctrine of freedom or independence are some of the characteristic features of the struggle distinguishing it from the simple demand of the elder Dominions for equality and sovereignty. Ireland has not gone the way of Canada or Australia. She has attained dominion status, not in the usual constitutional or evolutionary manner, but through armed resistance and revolution; though enjoying dominion sovereignty she has refused to "come into" the Empire or Commonwealth; though acceding to the Statute of Westminster she has not accepted her association with the Crown and Commonwealth as "Free" and unfettered and has dogmatically stood aside when other Dominions have freely admitted their loyalty and obligations to the British Crown; while the British Dominions, on the whole, have been off-shoots of the British race, messengers and outposts of British culture and power, Ireland, a Gaelic nation, has herself been a mother and nursery of nations, a giver of emigrants, developing her own Gaelic culture and guarding it against the contamination of British culture which is a foreign culture.

The true starting point of the Irish struggle is the Easter Week Rebellion of 1916. The constitutional method, an essentially British method, of solving the Anglo-Irish dispute was given up, the ideal of Home Rule under the British Crown was abandoned, the English doctrine of compromise was rejected, and Ireland quickly assimilated the rigid, doctrinaire and absolute political theories of the continent. The ideal behind the Revolution of 1916 was that of Rousseau, not that of Locke or Burke, the theory of natural rights, not the evolutionary doctrine of the British philosophers. The men of 1916 were a few intellectuals, but they forced the pace of the Irish struggle and opened before the Irish people the vision of complete and absolute freedom. The martyrs of 1916 kindled the fire, and out of its ashes was created the ideal, the catchword, the dream of a Republic, sovereign and independent. Patrick Pearse, one of the leaders of the Easter Week Rebellion, wrote as follows some time before his execution:

> "I make the contention that the national demand of Ireland is fixed and determined, that the demand has been made by every generation, that we of this generation receive it as a trust from our fathers, that we are bound by it, that we have not the right to alter it or to abate it by one jot or tittle . . . Ireland's historic claim is for separation. Ireland has authorised no man to abate that claim."[1]

Even when the rebellion collapsed and Ireland descended from her dream to the hard reality of the Anglo-Irish treaty, Erskine Childers, in a speech before the constituent assembly, questioned whether "this assembly shall, or even can, surrender its own independence," and he reinforced his argument by Rousseau's doctrine of the purity of the "general will." The surrender of national independence was an injustice. Even if the community willed this surrender, its will was no longer pure.[2]

The Treaty of 1921 marks the anti-climax in Ireland's struggle. British persuasion and genius for compromise won the battle. Ireland crossed from revolution to constitutionalism, descended from dream to reality, from full and unfettered freedom to Dominion Status, and bowed down to partition, waiving for the moment the ideal of an undivided state. Since 1921 the one thread running through all the Anglo-Irish controversies has been the unnoticed but nevertheless growing triumph of the British constitutional technique over the dying doctrine of the Easter week proclamation and of the First Irish Dail setting up a united sovereign and independent Irish republic. Griffith, Collins and Cosgrave succumbed to British blandishments. So did De Valera on assuming office in 1932. Political reality killed political romance. A new fact, the imperfect state, killed the old dream of establishing here and now the perfect Irish Commonwealth. When Griffith and others of the Irish delegation defended the treaty of 1921 by saying that they had accepted "freedom to achieve freedom," they surrendered for ever the Irish brand of freedom which was full and clear for the British variety which in the event has proved to be a snare. From 1932 onwards De Valera, protesting his attachment to the Irish Revolutionary doctrine of 1916-19 and removing one by one all the symbols of Irish association with the British Crown and Commonwealth, has nevertheless yielded to the gentle pressure of the British parliamentary method and of British culture; and Ireland today, whatever internal and symbolic freedom she has won, remains, where she was a quarter century ago, a British Dominion, although Eire's constitution does not admit it, and a state split in two. "Ireland had moved too rapidly to freedom to be certain where its essence lay."[3]

A synoptic survey of the Irish and Indian struggles for fredom, of the growing and fading emotions on both sides, of rising and falling fortunes, and of the final scenes in the developing tragedy would not only reveal numerous points in common but also some characteristic deviations. India, like Ireland and unlike other dominions, began as a conquered and subjugated race. The English conquest meant strong and unbiased Government no doubt, as in Ireland, but it also begot a long trail of oppression, exploitation and domination of an ancient and wholly different people by the ruling race. Poverty and degradation, the twin evils of foreign domination, had the same corroding effect on the Indian and Irish mind, and Macaulay's malicious description of the Indian character has its parallel in the Swift's healthy castigation of Ireland in the eighteenth cent[illegible]

1 *Survey of British Commonwealth—The Problem of Nationality*, (Institute of International Affairs), p. 99.

2 Mansergh: *The Irish Free State: Its Government and Politics*, pp. 43-4.

3 Pakenham: Peace by Ordeal, p. 320.

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eighteenth century as "this land of slaves where all are knaves and all are knaves."[4]

And yet this misery and degradation generated in both lands a strong nationalism impatient of alien rule and exploitation, and a cultural renaissance which supplied the vital spark to the revolutionary struggle that followed. Dean Swift, in his *Drapier's Letters*, wrote as follows:

"I have looked over all the English and Irish statutes without finding any law that makes Ireland depend upon England, any more than England does upon Ireland."

Addressing his own people he says:

"By the Laws of God, of Nature, and of your country, you are, and ought to be, as free a people as your brethren in England."

This was the first sign of Irish awakening. For about two centuries from that day to the growth of Sinn Fein under Griffith's leadership Ireland developed a fanatical nationalism opposed to British political and economic exploitation. The *Drapier's Letters* in their historical context are a passionate protest against economic exploitation and a plea for Irish self-sufficiency. From economic self-sufficiency to political freedom was an easy step, and nineteenth century Irish history is a record of growing political nationalism, reinforced by a cultural revival with its centre and source of inspiration in the Gaelic League. The Indian struggle has been woven in the same pattern as the Irish. It began as a struggle for "Swadeshi" and developed into a campaign for "Swaraj," reinforced by a cultural renaissance, deeper and more widespread than the Irish movement. India not only became a nation in the political sense, she began a discovery of her glorious past and started a literary revival which has produced vastly more momentous results than the Irish Gaelic movement. Notwithstanding her deep divisions in the past, flamboyantly exposed by her critics, and her communal and sectional differences in the present, India as a political and cultural unit has been taken for granted, and all revolutionary movements and plans for constitutional reform have started with the premise of Indian unity. In Ireland, the Home Rule agitation down to 1914, also stood on the indisputable foundation of an indivisible state. The conflict between the north and the south, between Protestant Unionists and Catholic nationalists was yet of a more. As Bernard Shaw put it in his characteristic and trenchant manner:

"I am a genuine, typical Irishman of the Danish, Norman, Cromwellian and Scotch invasions. I am violently and arrogantly Protestant by family tradition, but let no English Government therefore count on my allegiance. I am English enough to be an inveterate Republican and Home Ruler."[5]

The present century began for both Ireland and India on a note of robust optimism followed by disillusion and discord. Home Rule for all Ireland was all but achieved in 1914, party differences were buried and Ireland as one unit stood by England in her hour of trial. The Anglo-Irish problem came so near a complete and final solution that Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary, declared on the eve of the war that "Ireland was the one bright spot." But behind this "brightness" worked the dark Hegelian dialectics. Home Rule for all Ireland generated the Ulster separatist movement, and the agonising process ended in the partition of Ireland and the acceptance of Dominion Status by the Irish Free State. In India, the optimism and the emotion created by the Russo-Japanese war were arrested by the Partition of Bengal, the seeds of disunion were sown and the first steps were taken towards a divided India by the separate electorate system of the Morley-Minto scheme.

The Indo-Irish parallel is closer from the second and third decades. In 1921, Ireland crossed from revolution to constitutionalism and England began her conquest of the Irish mind by the liberal and parliamentary method. In India, in 1919, the British Government took the irrevocable step of introducing the British type of parliamentary democracy which began a subtle penetration of the Indian mind, and has been working like a ferment in Indian politics from that day to this. Since then the broad fact in the Indo-Irish parallel has been the growing urge towards an annulment or avoidance of partition. In Ireland, the Constituent Act of 1922 built on the foundation of "freedom to achieve freedom." One by one the symbols of association with the Commonwealth were rejected. Ireland did not for a moment surrender her ideal of a sovereign and independent republic, and the External Relations Act and the revised constitution of 1937 underlined this ideal. But the major premiss in De Valera's programme has been the ending of partition. Force had failed to maintain Irish Unity during the critical years 1914-19, now the British parliamentary and persuasive method was tried, the doses of 'freedom' administered to the Irish Free State, the rejection of all forms of violence and even the declaration of the Irish Republican Army as an illegal organisation (1936) were all meant to serve the major aim of Irish politics, a reunion of the two Irelands. De Valera thought that 'liberation' was almost achieved and he was heading towards 'unification.' But fifteen years of Fianna Fail administration failed to achieve either liberation or unification. Ireland is still far from the 1916 ideal of freedom. She is still a member of the Commonwealth whether she admits it or not, and the prospect of a union of all Ireland is still a mirage in Irish politics.

India started under better auspices than Ireland. Ireland was out to unsettle a settled fact, India tried her best to avoid a split. Ireland created a doctrine of freedom and wrecked the unity of the State, India refused to define freedom and tried to save both freedom and unity. The movement for freedom and unity raced together. This explains the twin ideals of Con-

[4] Jonathan Swift: *The Drapier's Letters.*
[5] G. B. Shaw: *John Bull's Other Island*, Preface for Politicians.

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gress—united India and Swaraj. In achieving this, the path of negation and armed resistance was given up, violence was eschewed, in place of a rigid doctrine of independence a more viable doctrine of freedom was formulated and all major political parties agreed to tread the path of negotiation and parliamentary or constitutional technique. This has been the one thread running through the tangled skein of Indian politics. Whether India learnt by Irish experience is a matter of conjecture. As it is, India escaped the Irish "Peace by Ordeal," deliberately and with eyes open she chose the constitutional path, she tried to devise a Government for all, "a Government that divides us least," and trimmed her ideal to suit the prevailing trend of politics in order to prevent a repetition of the Irish disaster of 1916-19.

And yet India today, like Ireland, stands divided. The subtle persuasive and constitutional device has failed to keep India together. Communal agreements or pacts, proposals for an Indian federation, the Cabinet Mission plan—these and other palliatives not only failed to arrest but even helped the rupture that was growing within the body politic. In theory or strict law, the unity of both Ireland and India has been consistently admitted. Apart from the device of Home Rule which in essence was Home Rule for all Ireland, the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, which was an official recognition of the two-nation theory was given the appearance of an all-Ireland solution, the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921 was of the same pattern, the Constituent Act of 1922, as the preamble shows[6], built on the same foundation, and it was as late as 1924 that a Boundary Commission created a separate State of Northern Ireland which was finally given *de facto* though not *de jure* recognition by the new Irish Constitution of 1937. In India, beginning from the federal scheme of 1935, all solutions have had the appearance of all-India solutions. The Cabinet Mission plan had that one merit, if no other. Even the Mountbatten plan of June 3, 1947, was a plan for all India. But behind this facade of Indian unity worked the western democratic process. Congress, treading the constitutional path, had to admit the logic of constitutionalism. Self-determination, again a western doctrine, followed logically from the democratic notion. De Valera and others had argued that if the British would only consent to 'stand aside', the Irishmen of North and South would settle their differences on the principle of Government 'by consent.' But the Northerners did not 'consent' to the British 'standing aside.' India also walked into the snare of logic. Self-determination, logically pursued, tore the veil of the Mountbatten plan and India accepted partition. But truncated India is still called 'India' which is no more a reality but a legal fiction.

Unity has been sacrificed, what of status? Ireland began with a clear-cut doctrine of independence and ended with dominion status. India has never formulated a doctrine and is trying to discover her right place in the comity of nations. That there are risks in doctrines is clear from the Irish case. The one part of the British Empire which has completely separated itself from the Empire is the United States. Lecky's vivid and eloquent description[7] testifies to the absence of any doctrine behind the American revolution. There was no fog in the American mind. The rapid march of events led the colonists forward and it was an English revolutionary, Thomas Paine, who in an anonymous pamphlet with the significant title "Commonsense" for the first time pointed to the establishment of an Independent American Republic as the only solution. India, splendidly equipped for an independent role, has failed to give her ideal of independence a concrete shape. Much more than any other part of the Empire, much more than Ireland, India has been a mother and nursery of nations, not only developing the highest type of culture but even carrying that culture far and wide and creating a cultural empire of her own. This culture has penetrated not only the student, the scholar and the common man, it has even run through the gamut of Indian politics. When Pandit Nehru holds the Asian Relations Conference or writes the *Discovery of India*, he not only tries to interpret the beauty and majesty of India's past, the variety and unity of India's culture and her claim to Asian leadership, he also indicates India's stature among the nations of today. But whatever height India may have attained in metaphysical speculations she has produced no political philosophy. Her ancient treatises on politics, like those of Kautilya and Manu, are positive and practical, not speculative in the western sense. While India has taken the road to freedom she has no clear-cut definitions for freedom or sovereignty or independence. The doctrinaire freedom of the Irish republicans may have cost the Irish people the freedom of their dream, but an imperfect freedom such as India has been trying to achieve has been leading her to a *cul-de-sac*. After toying with dominion status, Congress, at its Tripuri session, declared independence to be the goal, and the Independence Day Pledge declared that India must secede from the British connexion and attain Purna Swaraj. The goal is stated but not defined. Two years later (August 8, 1942), the A.-I. C. C. passed the "Quit India" resolution and demanded independence. But independence was not given a precise content. Independence meant the withdrawal of British power. It emphasised India's self-determination to determine her own constitution. It laid down no doctrine, clearly it did not envisage separation[8] from the Commonwealth. The Draft Constitution of India (February, 1948) is a thoroughly practical document with no possible reference to the people as the source of all power and

6 Leo Kohn: *The Constitution of the Irish Free State*, p. 33.

7 Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. ...

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Article 2 of the Irish Constituent Act. There is nothing in the form of Oath to indicate India's Status,[9] and the Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly, declaring India to be "a Sovereign Independent Republic" is replaced by one declaring it to be a "Sovereign Democratic Republic,"[10] a significant departure which has raised more problems than it has solved. "There is nothing much in a name," the Preamble declares, and there is no doubt that words have lost their old meanings now-a-days. The Austinian theory of sovereignty and the gloss of Sir Henry Maine are no more applicable to the fast-changing and plastic politics of today. Freedom, sovereignty, independence are used promiscuously. Eire is a 'sovereign and independent republic' according to the constitution of 1937; Iraq obtained sovereign and independent status in 1932, Egypt became sovereign and independent in 1936, the Union of South Africa asserted its status as a sovereign and independent state by the Status of Union Act and the Executive Functions and Seals Act of 1934. Obviously these words are now mere cliches and have lost their old values like a hat which has lost its shape because everybody wears it.

That India, after August 15, 1947, has become independent, completely independent, is being proclaimed, and with a ring of sincerity which is beyond all doubt, by all responsible leaders. And yet India is a Dominion, at any rate for the present, not like the Irish Free State which accepted Dominion Status under pressure from Lloyd George who threatened Ireland with "immediate and terrible war" but of her own free will.[11] In normal times there is nothing to lose and everything to gain from Dominion Status as it is today. But a dominion is put to the severest and most practical test at a time of growing international tension. Foreign relations and foreign policy become more vital than internal sovereignty. Freedom of action in theory has to be put into practice, and a Dominion has to make up its mind without restraint or embarrassment. And this becomes clearly impossible, however slender the tie and whatever the treaty with Britain or members of the Commonwealth. Independence granted by an Act of the British Parliament is secondary independence, and Britain legitimately expects some *quid pro quo* and genuine support from every dominion in her hour of trial.

Sir Alfred Zimmern, talking of the British Empire after the first World War, described it as "an entente".[12] His purpose was to emphasise the predominantly non-British character of the Empire and the looseness of the tie. But in the context of history an "entente" has a sense more significant and vital than that. When on the eve of the war an Entente Cordiale was formed with France or a "triple entente" with France and Russia, Britain emphasised rather the obligations of members than their freedom of action in view of the impending war with Germany. India is a Dominion, a non-British Dominion bound by no ties of race, religion or culture with the British Units of the Commonwealth, and yet the obligation rests on her of helping Britain during the coming crisis. That Britain too is anxious about it is evident from the outspoken speech of Admiral Taylor in the House of Commons* on March 8 last in which he expressed his concern that owing to the establishment of the new dominions, different from Canada, South Africa and Australia "who are our kith and kin," Britain might not have naval bases in the Indian Ocean in view of the possibility of a third world war.

The forthcoming session of the Constituent Assembly will indicate India's final choice. In the making of that choice a great deal will depend upon the psychological factor of the moment. Years ago, Subhas Chandra Bose, in his book, *The Indian Struggle*, had indicated in the plainest terms where India's destiny really lay. He had argued clearly against Dominion Status and in favour of the fullest independence. There was a sting in Anglo-Indian relations in which the present generation, in the traditional Indian spirit of tolerance and forgiveness, may forget, or may not. Whatever the decision, let it be frank and clear. If India chooses to come out of the Commonwealth, no one is going to prevent it. If, on the other hand, she elects to remain a Dominion, the moral as well as the legal obligations of a Dominion should be frankly appreciated and fulfilled.

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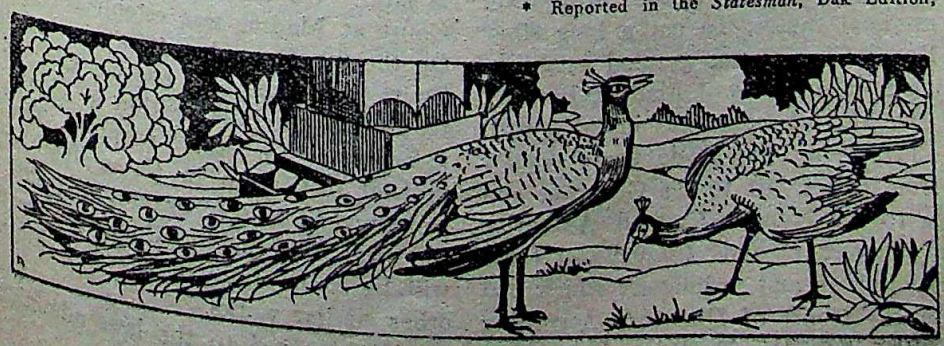
9 *Draft Constitution of India*, Schedule III, p. 166.
10 *Draft Constitution of India*, Preamble.
11 After the Cabinet Mission proposals and before the Mountbatten plan, Shree Radhakrishnan, speaking on the objectives resolution in the Constituent Assembly frankly stated his objection to Dominion Status (A. C. Banerjee: *Constituent Assembly of India*, p. 300). But Pandit Nehru's speeches clouded the issue (A. C. Banerjee: *Ibid*, pp. 193, 194-5, 200, 308).

12 Sir Alfred Zimmern: *The Third British Empire*, pp. 44-5.
* Reported in the *Statesman*, Dak Edition, March 12, 1948.



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JUDICIARY IN FREE INDIA

By S. C. MITTER Barrister-at-Law

I

The first question which logically arises, is, what is the position of the present judiciary? Next, what is its historical background? What changes from time to time came over the judiciary from the time the East India Company and later on the British Crown appeared on the stage? What is the constitution of the present courts in India with reference to appeals to the Privy Council? What is the position of the Judiciary in other countries? These are more or less allied questions which follow one after the other. The Judiciary in India for the last two hundred or three hundred years was not altogether free from executive interference. These are relevant enquiries for a proper appreciation of my suggestions as to what shape the future Indian judiciary may or should take. At the same time we cannot altogether overlook technicalities mixed up with the subject under investigation.

Now I come straight to a brief historical retrospect. From 1600 to 1765, the East India Company were primarily traders. The constitution and privileges of the Company were defined by Elizabeth's famous Charter of 31st December, 1600.

In 1615 the necessary authority was given to the Company by grant of James I, who had renewed Elizabeth's Charter and made it perpetual by the Charter of 1600. But the first provision for the exercise of judicial powers by the East India Company was made by Charles II in 1661.

The transition of the Company from a trading association to a territorial sovereign invested with powers of Civil and Military Government proceeded a step further when by Charter of 1668 Charles II transferred the Island of Bombay to the Company. The Company was authorised to make laws and ordinances for the good government and administration of justice of the Port and Island and of the inhabitants thereof and also to exercise authority through its Governors and other officers. The privileges of the Company were renewed and confirmed by James II's Charter in 1686. James II conferred upon the Company the power of establishing a municipality to authorise the Mayor and Aldermen to become a Court of Record with power to try civil and criminal causes. To cut a long story short, in 1726 a Royal Charter was granted establishing or reconstituting municipalities at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and the Mayor's court was invested with civil jurisdiction. Provision was made for a regular system of appeal from this Court to the Governor and Council and thence to the King in Council. Authority was given to the Governor and Councils of these settlements to make bylaws and ordinances which had to be confirmed by the Court of Directors. According to some judicial authorities, the English criminal law was introduced at the Presidency towns of India by the Charter of 1726.

From 1767 to 1786, came British Parliamentary intervention. The establishment of the Company's territorial sovereignty in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was a direct prelude to Parliamentary intervention in its affairs. In 1769, a new agreement was made by Parliament with the Company for five years.

On the 26th of March 1774, by a Charter was established the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal and which was a Court of Record. This Court consisted of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Justices. By Clause 3, they were appointed by the King under the Royal Seal and they held office during the King's pleasure. By Clause 4 they were Justices of the Peace and Coroners in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and were given such authority as the Justices of the King's Bench in England. Sir Elija Impey was its first Chief Justice. Within three years after the Queen's Proclamation were enacted the Civil Procedure Code, the Criminal Procedure Code and almost immediately thereafter the Indian Penal Code. They applied to the whole Indian Empire and all Courts were governed by the procedure therein laid down except the Supreme Courts established by Royal Charter. Along with the passing of these Codes one uniform system of administration for justice was adopted.

The next step was the abolition of the Supreme Courts in the three presidency towns and to constitute in each presidency town a High Court of Judicature which would be supreme over all the Courts both in the presidency towns and in the mofussil.

On the 6th of August 1861, an Act was passed whereby the Crown was empowered to establish, by Letters Patent, a High Court of Judicature for Bengal and, by similar Letters Patents, High Courts at Madras and Bombay and to abolish the Supreme Court and the Sadar Dewany and Sadar Nizamut Adawluts. It is not my purpose to analyse or examine the differences provisions of the Letters Patents which speak for themselves. The next statute which bears on the subject is the Government of India Act of 1935. I shall deal with it later. On the 25th of December 1800, a Supreme Court at Madras was established by a Royal Charter. On the 8th December 1823, was constituted a Supreme Court at Bombay by another Charter. It is impossible to go into details within a short compass nor is it necessary for this purpose. The history of the judicial institution in the mofussil and of the Sadar Dewany and Sadar Nizamut Adawluts which existed at the same time as the Courts of the presidency towns will be found fully discussed in Morley, Cowell and other similar works.

With regard to the laws administered, the Courts

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established by the Crown and Parliament for the most part applied English law both civil and criminal; exceptions were made in favour of Hindus and Mohammedans that in suits against parties of either of those religions, by whomsoever they might be brought, whether by Europeans or Natives of the soil, the law of the defendant should prevail. Their proceedings were also governed by the English law of procedure until 1834, they for the most part were amenable to the legislative authority of Parliament and to such regulations of Government as the Supreme Courts might choose to acknowledge and register.

The Mofussil Courts, on the other hand, had nothing to do with English law but were amenable in all respects to the regulations of Government or where no regulations were applicable, were directed to proceed according to justice, equity and good conscience; that is to say, in cases for which no law was provided the Judges were authorised to use the best discretion they possessed. There was no law of contract, no law of succession, no law of transfer, no territorial law, no law of evidence, no law of administration of deceased estates, barring Hindu and Mohammedan law. The wide field from which all specific law was absent, was gradually reclaimed and brought within the limits of civilization. The process was very slow and until the establishment of the Indian Law Commission, the Imperial Legislature in 1834 could hardly be said even to have started work. The procedure of those courts was such as was from time to time prescribed by the Regulations, which by the constant process of repeal and amendment gave a very uncertain and obscure expression to the rules which they provided.

To cut the long history short, the abolition of the East India Company, the assumption of direct responsibility of Government by the English Crown and the consolidation of the Indian Empire under the Queen in 1858—all these tended to amalgamate the rival sets of judicial institutions and bridge over the wide gulf separating the laws they administered and the procedure they observed. A uniform criminal law, a uniform system of Courts, of procedure, civil and criminal, equal liability to the jurisdiction with due regard for exclusive rights to personal laws based upon religion were required as a basis upon which to found a just and impartial administration.

II

Here I touch upon briefly some aspects of comparative jurisprudence and give only the barest outline of the French, the American and Russian systems of judiciary and refer in passing to the Dominion constitutions of Canada, Australia and South Africa.

In France, the judiciary was called the *noblesse de robe*. Judges were appointed by the Minister of Justice. A Judge cannot be removed except with the consent of the Court de Cassation, the highest Court of appeal. Between 1879 and 1883 by a process of purification (Purification) Judges whose loyalty to the Republic was suspected, were removed. In America, on the other hand, the Judiciary is independent of the Legislature and the Executive. The Judiciary has to interpret any legislative enactment and any question which arises as to the contravention of the constitution.

Federal Judges are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate and they hold office for life removable by impeachment. State Judges, on the other hand, are elected by the citizens except in seven States where they are appointed by the Governor.

In all the States, except in two, Judges are appointed for life and their terms of office vary from 2 to 21 years, the average being 8 or 10 years. The average salary of a State Judge is about £1,200 a year while in New York it is £3,500 a year.

Now, to refer to the Dominions, Canada is organised under one form of federation and Australia under another. South Africa prefers a union to a federation. The reason for this lies in their past history. I refer to the British North America Act of 1867, to the Commonwealth Act of 1900 and to the Union of South Africa Act of 1909 for a proper understanding of the constitutions of the Dominions and their judiciary and I also refer to Egerton's book *Federations and Unions in the British Empire*. As regards the system of the British judiciary, I invite the reader's attention to Maitland's *Constitutional History of England* and Jenning's *Law and Constitution*.

Contrast all these with the picture of Soviet Russia and see how the Soviet mind and thoughts, their entire outlook have been revolutionized in an incredibly short time. There exists much ignorance or misconception of the Soviet attitude. The Soviet constitution adopted in 1936 and now in force is, in fact, the third form in which Soviet democracy has expressed itself.

What is true democracy? Soviet Russia best answers the test laid down by Abraham Lincoln, namely, Government of the people by the people and for the people. In Soviet Russia, the vast masses of people enter into the administration. In other Western countries or even in America, only the elected representatives of the people do so partially. The concept of democracy permeates 'people's justice' in Soviet Russia. In the words of Lenin, every single citizen must take part in the Courts and in the country's administration. It is a task of gigantic difficulty.

There are now 27,000 People's Courts in the Soviet Union, one Court to every 6,000 inhabitants. Above these Courts are the Regional Courts and above them again is the Supreme Court of each republic. And the ultimate judicial tribunal in the land is the Supreme Court of U.S.S.R. The Regional and Supreme Courts have both appellate and original jurisdiction over important cases. The Supreme Court of U.S.S.R. tries criminal cases of exceptional importance, such as those involving even a member of the Central Executive Committee. It also tries disputes between constituent republics. There are also courts called "Comrades Courts" which exist in every factory and block of teachings.

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I should like to stress the fact that the Soviet attitude towards Courts of Justice is that they exercise an educative influence on those sections of the population which still lag behind. As Lenin said, 'Courts are a means of education for discipline.' The Court is not bound by any formal rules of evidence.

III

Next I come to the question as to what is the position of the Indian judiciary under the Government of India Act of 1935. I leave out the consideration of the prior Act of 1919 because the present Act of 1935 and not its predecessor may have some bearing on the question as to what is likely to be or should be the position of the judiciary in the new constitution. Sections 200 to 204 of the Constitution Act of 1935 deal with the establishment of Courts, appointment, removal and salaries of Judges of the Federal Court. The jurisdiction of the Federal Court is also dealt with in Sections 204 and 205. All these provisions will of necessity be repealed and my suggestion is that the appointment of Judges under the new constitution should be from the Bar; they should be persons best fitted by their learning and eminence as lawyers and jurists to be Judges of the Supreme Court of free and independent India. They should be persons above party politics and not aligned to any particular group. My next suggestion is that Judges should not be removed at the will and pleasure of the majority of elected legislature of the union, but may be removed from his office on the ground of misbehaviour or of infirmity of mind or body, if the Supreme Court on reference being made by the member in charge of law come to the conclusion that the particular Judge should on any such ground be removed.

Next as to jurisdiction At present the Federal Court's jurisdiction is confirmed to disputes between units of the federation or between the federation and any of the units.

The Federal Court has no authority to entertain suits brought by a citizen even with the consent of the Federal Court.

Section 213 of the Government of India Act, 1935, deals with appeals to the Federal Court from High Court in British India.

Section 205 will obviously be enlarged and will include any ground on which a person could have appealed to the Privy Council whether as of right or after a certificate had been granted by the High Court.

Under the existing Constitution Act, the Federal Court is assigned four kinds of jurisdiction:

(1) Original Jurisdiction in disputes between the federal units or between the federation and any of federal units.
This jurisdiction is wider where the dispute relates to provinces or the federation or any of the provinces.
(2) Appellate jurisdiction in relation to appeals from the High Courts in British India and Federal States.
(3) Advisory jurisdiction under which a question of law may be referred to by the Governor-General for opinion and report.
(4) Fourthly, the federal legislature is empowered to extend the appellate jurisdiction of the Court so as to hear appeals in civil cases from the High Courts in British India.

The subject under the law head is an indispensable feature of any autonomous constitution based on the U.S.A. or on the Dominion model.

Next comes the Indian Independence Act of 1947. It is enough for our present purposes to note that this Act leaves the present Indian Judiciary the same as under the 1935 constitution.

Even apart from that, it is necessary that the law of All-India application, *e.g.*, those made by the Central Legislature should be interpreted uniformly for the whole of India by a common and supreme tribunal. The J. C. of the Privy Council is now the ultimate tribunal to hear certain appeals from India. In 1926 by the Civil Appellate Jurisdiction Act passed by Parliament two additional Judges with Indian experience had to be appointed to hear Indian appeals on a fixed remuneration of £4,000 a year.

The jurisdiction which hitherto has been exercised by Privy Council will soon be exercised by the Supreme Court of India more speedily and cheaply for the benefit of the litigants who wish to appeal to the Supreme Court and the number of appeals to the Supreme Court will necessarily increase and there will certainly be more effective appeals than appeals to the Privy Council. Another suggestion that I put forth is the introduction of a circuit system.

The ancient Panchayet system in India's history now, of course, fallen into disuetude, contains the roots of the circuit system still prevalent in England and in the province of Orissa. This system is not without its advantages particularly in a vast sub-continent like India where litigants have in some cases to travel over 200 to 300 miles to come to the place where their cases are heard and disposed of.

The next suggestion is that Judges should be appointed from amongst the members of the Bar and never from the Civil Service. Public opinion strongly supports my views and for sound solid reasons. My third suggestion is that the retiring age for Indian Judges should be raised from 60 to 65 at least.

IV

What is in store for the future Indian Judiciary and what will be the constitution of our courts, are questions at this stage in the melting pot.

Nevertheless I should like to point out to the public and the leaders of our country that a matter of very great importance must not be overlooked by the framers of our constitution; I mean the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. This topic has very even the most eminent thinkers, judges, jurists and administrators for a long time past, both in this country and elsewhere and I can do no better than refer to the passage in Dicey's *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Edition pp. 337 and 339.

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The Judiciary should always be independent of the Executive and/or any manner or kind of Executive interference. Then alone you can establish a firm rule of law as a check on the vagaries of the Executive—more so as I find that autocracy or dictatorship has a fascination for some of the present-day Indian politicians.

I hold very pronounced views on this topic and speaking for myself I shall go on protesting, if need be, against the executive interference of the judiciary in any manner, shape or form, even if my cry be a cry in the wilderness. In this unhappy country of ours where particularly over a quarter of a century, communalism has been the bane of Indian administration, coupled occasionally with nepotism and intrigue even in the highest quarters, how is it possible to reach that degree of perfection and impartiality in any branch of public administration whether of the judiciary or of any other field ?

If you really wish to be partial to merit, may I say in all humility to rise above intrigues and communalism. Keep the fountain of justice pure and unsullied. Then and then alone, all our Judges will be bold enough to face the criticism or onslaughts of people, however adverse or perverse. Then and then alone, will the realisation come to the Judges, slowly but surely, that in the words of Lord Alkin, "the path of criticism is a public way and the wrong-headed are permitted to err within prescribed limits and that justice is not a cloistered virtue." Be sensitive by all means but not oversensitive. Go wrong for it is a human frailty but you have no right to be intellectually dishonest. You have no right to 'hate your conscience and not your wrongs'. Be firm but courteous, quick but never impatient, kind but on no account indulgent. If I am setting up a higher degree of efficiency I owe you no apology.

If you have a conviction, cling to it ; fight for it and work for it. Try to be men of honest convictions. It never pays to be weak-kneed or servile. It is only the intellectually and morally strong who can fight hard and stand their ground. At the same time have patience with everybody. We must learn to respect one another's point of view and at the same time live up to our own convictions with courage, faith, and humility. These virtues will never come if communalism and intrigue be our motto in judicial administration.

V

The last point is about codification which has much to do with future judiciary. What is going to be the kind of law in future India which our Judges will be called upon to administer is a very important question when the constituent assembly is busily framing her future constitution. Even in England where the constitution has evolved through centuries and had been unwritten to start with, the modern tendency, beyond question, is to hedge it with any number of statutes. Perhaps for the present time order will continue and the same statutes will speak. In the process of evolution the law changes as society advances. In cases of written constitutions, the same thing happens practically all the world over. We live as it were in the midst of codes, statutes and Acts—Acts in the past, Acts in the present and Acts yet to come. Just as a tiny seed is said to contain a mighty oak, so it seems, a nation's mind and thoughts are reflected in a large measure in their statutes and codes. At stated intervals and in different stages how the law will change none can tell.

Even more so, where there is a written constitution there springs up, as time rolls by, a number of codes. And it may be a good thing that with the growth and evolution of a written constitution for India the practice of citing too many decided cases will gradually become a thing of the past. Personally, I think the habit of relying too much on precedents without proper appreciation of the points in debate and of the facts and implications of decisions cited is a bad training for lawyers and has been a kind of slavery which engulfed many legal talents. May I suggest in all humility that our future Judges should discourage that practice. The centre of gravity perhaps will change with the passage of time and the emphasis will shift from citation of cases to correct understanding and application of well-established principles to concrete cases.

I look forward to the day when the Indian judiciary will adopt the Hegelian Dialectic and effectively function by trying to synthesise the various systems of legal thought with the progress of society. We can not live as an anchorite peninsula. We are willynilly in the stream of world events. I also visualise the day when our Indian Courts and Judges of the future India will clear away the much too dry legalistic formula and train the Indian mind to elucidate truth and interpret life from the angle of juristic principles rather than through the refracting medium of decisions, misleading or otherwise. The doctrine of *stare decisis* must not be carried too far and be made a fetish of at the sacrifice of justice. Cases are or may be useful only in so far as they lay down principles of general application to lead us to truth, to lead us away from confusion and chaos.

Like pure mathematics or pure logic there can be no such thing as pure law, because the life of the law is experience as is argued by a famous jurist. It is mixed up and co-extensive with social progress, experiences and complex facts of life. The judiciary of a country, if it is to serve a really useful purpose, must adjust itself to and harmonize with the varying needs of a country. It must be suited to the genius of the people. Therefore, whether the future Indian judiciary will be fashioned after the American or Russian pattern or be based on English principles or be evolved in another way, it is difficult to prophesy but whatever form or shape it may take or of whatever type it may be, one thing that seems to be clear

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and which is my conception of future Indian judiciary is that it must be co-ordinated not only with the union centre but with the provinces *inter se*. This must be borne in mind. Thinkers with vision move perhaps a hundred years ahead of their time. What a great mind or a free thinker thinks today is accepted by commonalty at a much later time. Law once it is written or codified after having expressed the feelings and sentiments of the people acquires some amount of rigidity like the one in a straight jacket till it is worn out and outlives its utility with the gradual evolution of social ideas, needs and institutions. Therefore, at a time when India has just emerged as a free and independent unit to take her rightful place in the comity of nations, at the dawn of her renaissance of a new civilization, the framers of her constitution, her jurists and her judges and her leaders have got to be thinkers of the highest order and look into the seeds of time and say which will grow and which will not. With the dawn of a new era, India in a new brave world needs today as never before and demands of her leaders what H. G. Wells would call "historical vision" if the newly achieved independence is to remain our precious possession.*

* Address delivered to the Calcutta University Law College Union on 6. 10. 47.

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THE BASIS OF ORGANISATION OF OUR ARMED FORCES

By D. M. SEN, B.SC. (Econ.) Lond., B.A. (Cantab.)

A layman must not incautiously pass judgments on military affairs. Knowledge and experience are nowhere more valuable than in the conduct of armies and navies, and it is sometimes quite harmful for civilians to dabble in questions which would be better solved by trained military men.

Yet, it is also recognised that civilians have a part to play in the higher control of the Armed Forces. Hence, Churchill was the British Defence Minister to whom the Chiefs of Staff were responsible. Hence, the President of the United States is the head of the armed forces. Hence, a civilian is more often than not the responsible Minister in charge of the army and the navy and the air force.

For the conduct of the armed forces is, at bottom, not essentially different from the organisation of large numbers of men in a political party or a business enterprise. The men must be organised to carry out orders and the details must fit in, as in a jigsaw puzzle, to make up the broad strategy which the leaders wish to follow. There are thus two elements in the successful organisation of an army (or a navy or an airforce). First, there is the problem of securing unquestioning obedience, just as there is the same problem in the political following of a large party or the staff of a vast business organisation. The sanctions and incentives may be different, but the problem is the same.

Secondly, there is the problem of organisation. Even if you have the right men and the right plan of action, in order to get your plan of action translated into *action*, you need organisation. The larger the number of men being controlled, the larger and the more intricate will be the organisation. Here, too, the parallel between a political organisation and a military one holds good. Just as a political plan could be realised by a variety of political methods, so too a military plan could be realised by a great number of alternative or simultaneous military methods. For instance, if we want to reduce a town to ashes, we might conceivably arrange it to be bombed from the air, or bombarded by ground or naval forces, if ground and naval forces could reach the town. Whenever there are alternatives and whenever the control between the leader and the follower is not direct (as it cannot be in the case of a large number of followers, whether they be political or military followers), there is need for organisation. But, again, there is no inherent mystery in the organisation of the armed forces.

The implication is, of course, always there, that behind the men and the organisation, there is the plan, the strategy. War is a continuation of policy, said Clausewitz, which is of course so obvious, yet so commonly forgotten.

Our Strategy

We, Indians, are a peaceful nation, and covet nobody's territory or wealth. We do not seek military glory, nor do we take up the sword in pursuance of a proselytizing mission. Our only strategy is the defence of our motherland. Our legions will not, we hope, tramp the world seeking foreign gold or foreign graves. We, the true sons of India, desire nothing more than that we shall have peace and freedom within our borders. Our borders, therefore, must be inviolate. Our freedom we must regard as the most precious object in life, dearer than life itself. As a people, to secure our borders and our freedom must therefore be our strategy.

The Indian people must maintain their Armed Forces for this purpose only—to defend the country and its freedom at all costs, using any and every means within their power. The armed forces are there for the purpose of fighting, when called upon to do so. The future of any nation must ultimately depend on the armed forces in cases of emergency.

This must be the sole aim of the Indian army—to fight for the defence of the motherland at all costs and against all comers. There must be no relaxation, no weakening, no second thoughts on this; otherwise we might not have an army at all.

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Army and Politics

The guardians of the people are, thus, answerable to no one but to their own patriotic conscience. Politicians may afford to fail; but an army in conflict can rarely survive a thorough-going defeat. There are, of course, historical cases when armies have managed to survive disastrous defeats; but all such survivals have depended on either extraneous political considerations or the pity of the conqueror. In general, however, when the power of a contending army is broken in battle, there is nothing left for the defeated people to do but to surrender.

The responsibility of the armed forces is, therefore, of a grave nature, but fortunately it is a clear-cut responsibility. "Never to surrender the charge of defending the country," may well be taken as the honourable assignment of those who bear arms on behalf of the people of India.

If we remember this basic responsibility and charge of the army, it will be apparent that the maxim, "the army must not have any politics," means merely that the army must not take sides in the day-to-day political strifes and struggles. Its charge is clear; whatever the government or the ruling party, it must continue to shield the country from outside aggression.

I have heard, with much concern and grief, many Indian high officers say that the Army should have no plans to defend the people and the territory of India against India's most aggressive neighbour, because to formulate such plans would be to take part in "politics", and would thus mean a betrayal of the maxim that the army should have no politics. Could we ever imagine a more fantastic argument?

The army's *raison d'etre* is to plan for defence against any possible contingency and where the possibility of a contingency has turned into a certainty, it is surely the primary duty of the army to plan for averting any certain impending threat.

Already, at the time of writing, our armies are clashing against invaders of Indian territory in Kashmir. The reports so far say that the small Indian contingent has had to fall back; the gallant Lt.-Colonel defending Srinagar has been killed in action by the invaders. Is it not mere common prudence to plan and to recruit and to train our army in such a fashion as to enable it to fight India's first political enemy effectively and successfully?

Policy and Recruitment and Morale

I have explained that there is in the minds of some of our high officers no clue at all as to the planning of our defence, or as to where our forces might be required to be deployed, not because they are inefficient, or lacking in zeal, but because they confuse hopelessly the profession of the army and that of politics. Fearful lest they might slip into politics, the newly-promoted Indian army officers protest love for all of India's worst enemies, and instead of planning for defence, indulge in bonhomie.

Not to be a political army does not mean that the army should be oblivious of the fundamental political duty of every army, as of every citizen, to defend the integrity of the State.

If this principle is accepted that the army should be non-political so far as day-to-day internal political struggles are concerned, but should be intensely conscious of its fundamental political duty of defence against all aggression against the State, whether from external or internal sources, the policy to be adopted for the recruitment and training of army personnel becomes at once self-evident.

Only those persons will be recruited whose fidelity is assured in every circumstance. Subject to this over-riding condition, the army of a democratic State should be democratic in every other way. The people and the army can never be separated, and it is futile to have an army on the obsolete ideas of martial and non-martial races, when the country has become one closely-knit community.

Equally, it is absurd to recruit those to our army, about whose loyalty and political, mental and cultural affiliation we are uncertain. More than that; we know that certain sections of our old India agitated and worked whole-heartedly for the destruction of what they called "Indianism." They declared themselves as forming a separate nation, and subsequently a part of the country was torn asunder to give these sections of our population their "homeland." At last, they found out that the "homeland" was far too far from the actual homes of many of the rebels, and rather than trek through thousands of miles to reach their homelands, they decided to stay where they originally were. Have they changed their mind, then? Was it all a nightmare? Did they not persuade themselves that they were a nation apart?

The answers to these questions are well-known to us. Let us, then, be brave, and speak out the truth. Men who have poisoned their souls through long years of self-persuasion become different from the normal run of human beings. They suffer from what the psychologists would call "a biassed attitude", and there is no gainsaying the fact that some persons belonging to one community have thus become biased against another community, against India, against the Congress, against peace and prosperity among certain sections of people, against any rational and sensible outlook on politics. How can the majority of Indians ever get the wholehearted and honest co-operation from them?

Apart from this, however, there should be no bar based on caste, or on any differentiation regarding martial and non-martial races.

Compulsory or Voluntary Recruitment

Except in times of emergency, voluntary recruitment would seem to be most suitable. There should, however, be provisions and facilities for universal military training for all Indians for two years, say from 18 to 20.

We, Indians, need such military training. Our minds work too theoretically, mainly because we have been so rigidly divorced from the practical world. We talk of life, as if life were a matter of logic only. We tend to credit life with rationality, which in fact hardly ever exists in life. We imagine our adversaries to be noble creatures, engaged, as it were in a verbal battle, who

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would never be unfair or hit us below the belt. How often we have come across a completely futile and foolish complacency regarding the communal threat to the peace and prosperity of the Indian people! Yet years ago Tagore wrote vehemently against such complacency. He regretted that there were so many in India who, when injured and wronged, merely died with a prayer to God, who never had the guts to thrash justice into the wrong-doer's head. He wanted his countrymen to be born in a place "where the head is held high and the mind is without fear."

But, as I have said before, we Indians do not know how to take a realistic view of life. An early military training may therefore prove to be a very effective curative.

Anyone who objects to universal military training may be reminded that the English have not only provisions for such training, but they compel every youngster to join the colours for a short period. And, surely our "intelligentsia" will never call the English militaristic.

Officer Class

Promotion to the rank of an officer from other ranks should in my view, be fairly liberal, and should account for about half the peacetime officer force. That is the ideal; for the present, this ideal may be unattainable due to the low educational standard of other ranks.

Direct recruitment to Officers' Training Centres should be fair and free, subject to the condition stated above that only loyal sections of our population should be allowed to compete for such recruitment.

The Officer, however, must be technically and morally trained to do his duty. About technical training, there can be no divided opinion; hence, I shall not deal with this problem.

The aspect of moral training must not be neglected, particularly in the circumstances of India. Every officer must be a confirmed zealot, an unmitigated fanatic for his country's honour and security. Every officer must be a strong point. The Russians had political commissars among army officers, so that the army officers could be properly trained about the political issues involved. So too in India we must have our political army officers, whose job it will be to ensure that the morale of the army is never broken, who will ever inspire the army to greater and greater glories.

In this connection, one may say that the present policy of entrusting the British-recruited Indian Officer with all the important jobs of our National Army is of doubtful wisdom. We must remember that the British-recruited Indian Army Officer (or the I.C.S. man, for that matter) is, in no sense, a patriot. He has technical qualification, no doubt; but we must go without technical qualification for a while to build up a sound, patriotic, national army.

This question would not have come up to my mind with such firmness, if I had not met a very high-ranking Indian Army Officer recently who seemed to me to be completely without any patriotic sense at all. He was of course a British-recruited man. He was full of praise for every oppressor and every enemy of India. Yet I was told he was going to be responsible for making some part of the policy on which the future Army was to be based. This gentleman, and his de-Indianised wife, were good "jolly party" men; but I wondered if he was, or ever could be, a fervent Indian whose one and only interest in life was the well-being and continued prosperity of India.

Industry and the Armed Forces

My readers will be shocked to hear that India intends to train many of her highly-placed and highly-skilled officers in the training schools and naval centres of England. The reason is simple. We have not got required equipment.

This lack of equipment will also force us to send our naval vessels to English ports and docks for the slightest repair.

It is obvious that the armed forces depend *wholly* on the state of industry of a country, both for the training of personnel and for providing the necessary equipment.

To have efficient armed forces, a country must therefore have an efficient industrial hinterland, which should be our first concern to develop.

Conclusion

In this article, I have tried to deal with the basis on which alone an efficient army can be built. In the context of the Indian political situation, I have urged, it will be unwise to have indiscriminate recruitment. There should be choice in favour of proved loyalty. We cannot tinker with the security of our country; hence we cannot tinker with the army, the protecting shield. We must be aware of those who have proved false in the recent past. Subject to this over-riding consideration, we should have a democratic army in every sense of the word. This democratic army should not only be militarily trained, but should be made fully conscious of its political charge, the defence of the land.

Behind the army, there will stand the whole manhood population of India, already trained in the military arts by one or two years of voluntary army training.

And behind the combatants will be the new industrial State of India, ready to make its contribution towards the safety of the country by supplying the combatants with the latest arms and ammunitions of war.

And thus, with internal peace secured and our frontiers rendered inviolate by the sure protection of our National Indian Army, we shall proceed to build the noble edifice of the new State of India, inspiring and upright, unassailable, a constant warning to all evil forces. We have achieved a political revolution; we must complete it by a mental revolution. The atmosphere of lethargy and irresponsibility must now give way to one in which the noble sentiments of life can have their reward. If need be, we will take hard decisions to bring about that atmosphere. As one of the main institutions of State, we will have our Army in this new atmosphere of national resurgence. Only thus will we have a worthwhile Army.

Oxford, November, 1947.

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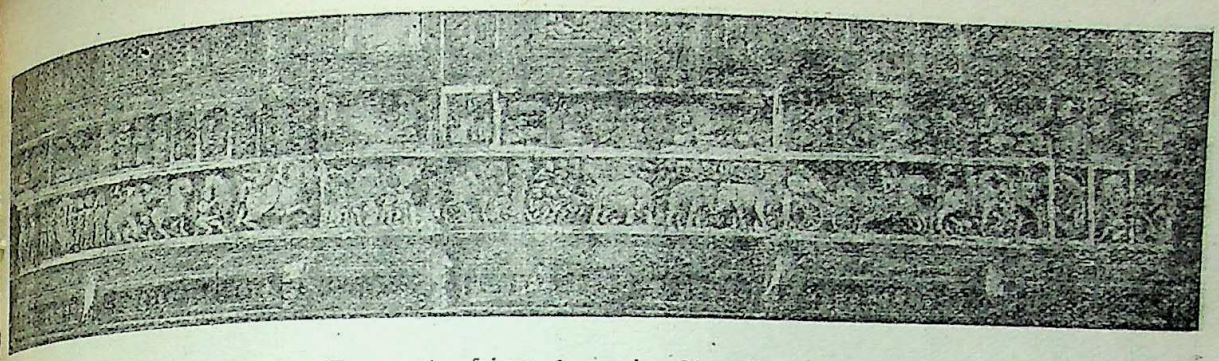

Scenes of hunting in a forest : Terracotta frieze from the Char Bangla group of temples, Baranagar, Murshidabad

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ARE THE BENGALIS A NON-MARTIAL RACE ?

By S. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

We are taught to believe that the Bengalis are non-martial but are they really so ? It is an irony of fate that the word 'non-martial' is applied to the Bengalis through history and the great epics bear eloquent testimony to their martial spirit and glory from time immemorial.

"The Rama epic records a tradition that the Vangas acknowledged the supremacy of the ruler of Ajodhya." "The Sabha Parban (52. 17) of the Mahabharata . . . refers to the Vangas and the Pundras as well-born Kshatriyas."—*History of Bengal*: Dacca University Publication, edited by Dr. R. C. Mojumdar, Vol. I, pp. 37-38.

In the great Kurukshetra War we find that Vagadatta, the King of Pragjyotish, took the side of Durjyodhana and fought against the Pandavas. Again the Mahabharata states that Basudeva, the King of Pundra, Mahauja of Kausikikachcha (at present the district of Hooghly), Samudrasena and Chandrasena of Vanga and the King of Tamralipta were defeated by Bhima.*

"The great epic refers . . . Bhimsena in the course of his eastern campaign subdued all the local princes of Bengal including Samudrasena, his son Chandrasena, and the great lord of the Pundras himself . . . They took part in the internecine side of the Kurus and the Pandus and appear in the battle-books of the Mahabharata as allies of Duryodhana."—*History of Bengal*: Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, p. 38.

To form an idea about the different ancient city states of ancient Bengal, it is worthwhile to quote a few lines from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, which states :

"At the time of the Mahabharata, north and east Bengal formed with Assam the powerful kingdom of Pragjyotish or Kamrupa as it was subsequently called . . . This kingdom stretched westwards as far as Karatoya River . . . south-west of Pragjyotish between the Karatoya and the Mahananda lay Pundra or Pundra Vardhana."

"The happy discovery of the fragmentary early Brahmi inscription from Mahasthan (7 miles from Bogra), attributed to the Maurya period, has at last settled the identity of the historic Pundravardhana."—S. K. Saraswati : "Forgotten Cities of Bengal," *Calcutta Geographical Review*, March, 1936.

"This kingdom was in existence in the third century B.C., as Asoka's brother found shelter there in the guise of a Buddhist monk . . . East of the Bhagirathi and the south of Pundra, lay Banga or Samatata, on the west of the Bhagirathi was Karnasuvarna (Burdwan, Bankura, Murshidabad and Hooghly). The capital was probably near Rangamati in Murshidabad district."

"The reputed capital of Sasanka, a city described by Hiuen-tsang as being 20 li in extent and as containing the famous Lo-to-mochich Monastery, has been sought to be identified with the site of Rangamati, picturesquely situated on the west bank of the Bhagirathi, six miles below Berhampur."—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, p. 1.

Lastly, there was the kingdom of Tamralipta :

"The ancient Tamralipta is now represented by the modern town of Tamluk, now miles distant from the sea, a Subdivisional headquarters in the district of Midnapur, where a few mounds are now all that remain of the rich port. Coins and terra-cotta plaques, laid bare in chance-diggings, trace back its history as early as the second century B.C."—*Ibid*, p. 20.

". . . Suhma, comprising what now constitutes the districts of Midnapore and Howrah. During the ninth century, the Pala dynasty rose to power in the country formerly known as Anga, and gradually extended their sway over the whole of Bihar and north Bengal . . . The Senas rose to power in the east and deltaic Bengal towards the end of the tenth century and eventually included with their dominion the whole of Bengal proper

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* ततः पुण्ड्राधिपं वीरं वासुदेवं महाबलम् ।
कौशिकीकच्छनिलयं राजानञ्च महौजसम् ॥
उभौ बलभृतौ वीरावुभौ तीव्रपराक्रमौ ।
निर्जित्याजौ महाराज बंगराजमुपाद्रवत् ॥
समुद्रसेनं निर्जित्य चन्द्रसेनञ्च पार्थिवम् ।
ताम्रलिप्तञ्च राजानं कर्वटाधिपतिं तथा ॥
(महाभारत, सभापर्व)

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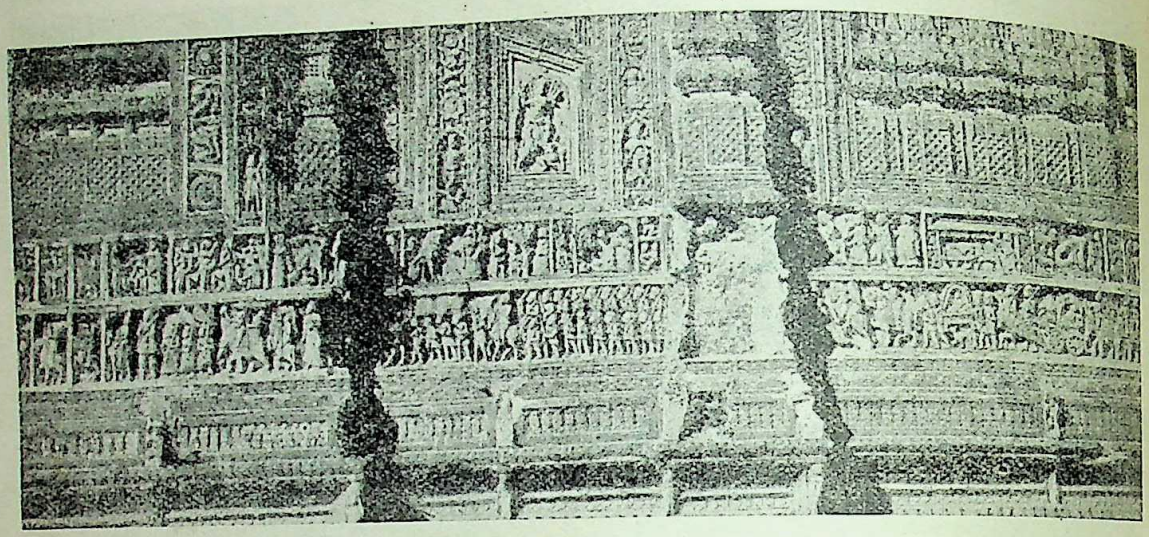

The march of a *chaturanga* army : Terracotta frieze from the Char Bangla group of temples at Baranagar, Murshidabad

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from the Mahananda and the Bhagirathi on the west of the Karatoya and the old Brahmaputra on the east."—*Ibid.*

Another interesting page of the Mahabharata describes Bengal's chivalry thus :

"The Bhishma Parban gives a thrilling account of a lively encounter between a scion of the Pandus and the mighty ruler of the Vangas. Beholding that lance levelled at Durjodhana, the lord of the Vangas quickly arrived on the scene with his elephant that towered like a mountain. He covered the Kuru King's chariot with the body of the animal. Ghatotkacha, with eyes reddened with rage, flung his up-raised missile at the beast. Struck with the dart the elephant bled profusely and fell down dead. The rider quickly jumped down from the falling animal and Durjodhana rushed to his rescue."—*History of Bengal* : Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, p. 38.

"The Harivamsa also states that Sudeva, the son of Basudeva of Pundra, was called *Prithag-akshauhinipati, i.e.*, the holder of 21,870 elephants, 21,870 chariots, 65,610 horses and 109,350 infantry.*"

"About 500 B.C., Prince Bejoy, son of Raja Simhabahu of Simhapur,(at present Singur, Dist. Hooghly) with his 700 followers conquered and colonized Ceylon. Of course, it is legendary in Bengal but the *Mahavansa* and other Buddhist works tell us how as early as about 500 B.C. Prince Bejoy of Bengal with his 700 followers achieved the conquest and colonization of Ceylon and gave to this island the name of Sinhala after that of his dynasty—an event, which is the starting point of Sinhalese history."—R. K. Mookherjee : *History of Indian Shipping*, p. 157.

Supporting the above, the Dacca University Publication *History of Bengal*, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, states in page 39 :

"While epic stories recall the military prowess of Bengal rulers 'of fierce energy' the Pali chronicles of Ceylon preserve memories of another field of their activities. A prince, named Sihabahu*, who inherited the kingdom of Vanga from a maternal ancestor, renounced his claims in favour of a relation and built a new city in the kingdom of Lala which came to be known as Sihapura . . . The eldest son of Sihabahu was Vijaya . . . with his followers he sailed in a ship to Sopara, north of Bombay. But the violence of his attendants alienated the people of the locality. The prince had to embark again, and eventually 'landed in Lanka in the region called Tambapanni.' The date assigned by the Ceylonese tradition to the arrival of Vijaya and his 'lion-men' (*Sihalas*) in the island is the year of the *parinirvance* according to the reckoning of Ceylon (544 B.C.)"

The fresco painting of Ajanta cave still bears testimony to Vijaya's expedition. Bengal, the land of heroes, has been depicted now as non-martial.

"The Agni-purana (245—21 ff) refers to Anga and Vanga as important centres of sword manufacture. The sword manufacture of Vanga we are assured 'were characterised both by keenness and their power of standing blows'. (*Cf.*, P. C. Chakravarti : *The Art of War in Ancient India*, pp. 163-64.)"—*History of Bengal* : Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, p. 657.

It was Bengal's martial strength that checked Alexander's ambition. It was the heroes of Bengal for whom the great Macedonian could not advance farther than the Beas and the tide of conquest was turned to Babylon.

"In the case of Bengal, dated history begins only from 326 B.C., with the famous stand made by the warriors of the Gangaridai and the Prasioi to resist the threatening onslaught of Alexander who had advanced to the Hyphasis and was eager

* पौण्ड्रस्य वासुदेवस्य तथा पुत्रं महाबलम् ।
सुदेवं वीर्य्यसम्पन्नं पृथगक्षौहिनीपतिम् ॥
इति श्रीमहाभारते खिलेषु हरिवंशे विष्णुपर्वणि रुक्मिणी हरणं नामैकोनषष्टितमोऽध्यायः ।

* *Pali* : Sihabahu = *Sanskrit* : Simhabahu.

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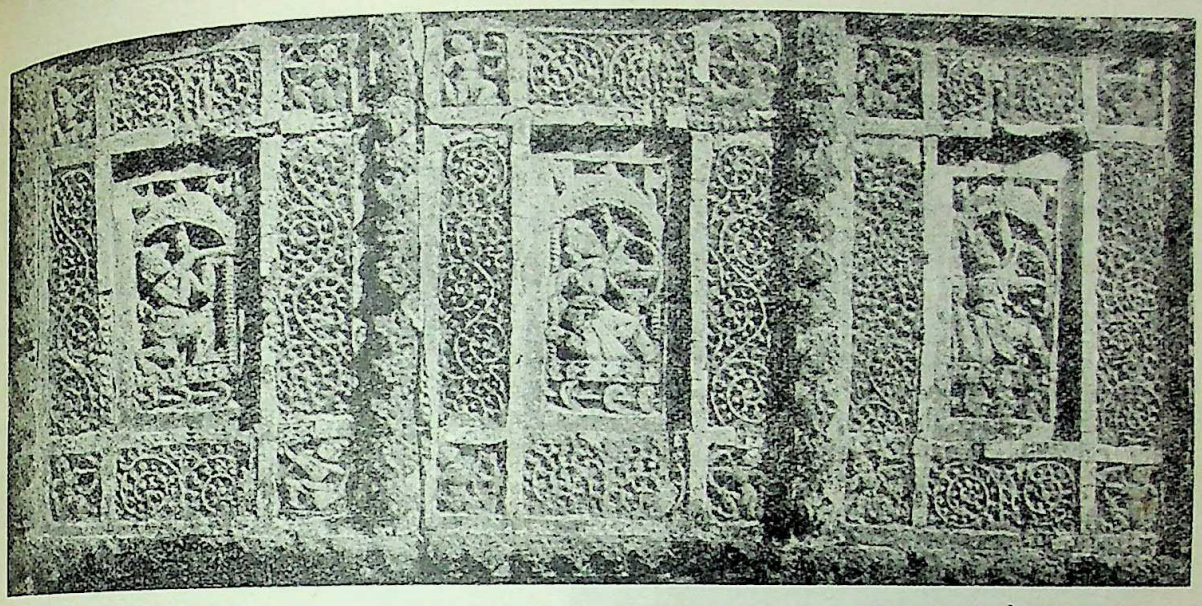

Fight from chariots : Terracotta panel from Sham Rai Temple, Vishnupur, Bankura
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to penetrate deeper into the interior of India. A considerable portion of the country now constituted the dominion of a powerful nation, whose sway extended over the whole of ancient Vanga, and possibly some adjoining tracts. Greek and Latin writers refer to the people as the Gangaridai (variant Gandaridai). The Sanskrit equivalent of the term is difficult to determine. Classical scholars take the word to mean 'the people of the Ganges region.' Curtius, Plutarch and Solinus agree in placing them on the farther, that is, the eastern bank of the Ganges . . . Plutarch refers to 'the kings of the Gandaridai and the Prasioi' implying the existence of a plurality of such rulers. They were reported to be waiting for Alexander with an army of 80,000 horse, 2,00,000 foot, 8,000 war chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. As the King, mentioned by Curtius and Diodorus, had only 20,000 horse, 2,00,000 infantry, 2,000 four-horsed chariots and 3,000 or 4,000 elephants, the additional forces mentioned by Plutarch may, in the opinion of some, point to an extra contingent furnished by a second prince who may be identified with the King of Gangaridai proper if the first ruler was the monarch of the Prasioi . . . When Alexander reached the Beas and was eager to cross over the Ganges valley, the information reached his ears that the king or kings of the Gangaridai and the Prasioi were awaiting his attack with a powerful army. The shock of battle was narrowly missed. The war-worn veterans of the Macedonian king persuaded their leader to trace back his steps to the Hydaspes and ultimately to Babylon."—*History of Bengal* : Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, pp. 35, 41, 43 and 44.

The military prowess of the undaunted sons of Bengal, who forced Alexander to retreat from the Indian soil, is certainly creditable.

This gallant stand of the Bengal warriors was so heroic and famous that Virgil, the great poet of the first century B.C., states in his *Georgics* (III, 27) :

"On the doors will I represent in gold and ivory the battle of the Gangaride and the arms of our victorious Quirinius."

It is a pity no doubt that a nation once reputed for its military prowess and martial habit is now called non-martial. Bengal, the then centre of Indian sword manufacture, is now turned to the manufacture of clerks.

Maharaja Sasanka of Gour whose capital was Karnasuvarna, reigned about 25 years (600-625 A.D.) and by dint of his prowess, he conquered Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and annexed them to his kingdom. He is the first known king of Bengal who extended his suzerainty over territories far beyond the geographical boundary of that province.[1]

The deeds of valour of the Bengal army has also been recorded by Kalhana, the writer of the famous chronicle of Kashmir *Rajatarangini*, when they marched to Kashmir to demolish the household deity of the Kashmir King as a revenge for some act of treachery of the latter. He records : "Perhaps it would be difficult even for the creator (of the Universe) himself what the Bengal army did."[2]

Amongst the other kings of Bengal, the Pala Rajas are the most remarkable in the history of India and they "ruled over Bengal and Bihar with varying fortune for over four hundred years."[3]

We read in the Khalimpur copper plate of Dharmapala that succeeding the throne of Gour, Dharmapala subdued with ease the Bhojas, Matsyas, Madras, Kurus, Yadus, Yabanas, Abantis, Gandharas and Kiras and conquered Kanouj.*

1 *History of Bengal* : Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, p. 59.

2 *Rajatarangini*, V, 333. Translated from *Brihatbanga* : Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Vol. I, p. 226.

3 R. D. Banerjee : *Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 265.

* "भोजैम्मत्सै समद्रे कुरु यदु यवनावन्ति गन्धार
कीरौभुव्यै र्व्यालोल मौलि परिणतैः....."
—*Gaudalekhamala*, p. 14.

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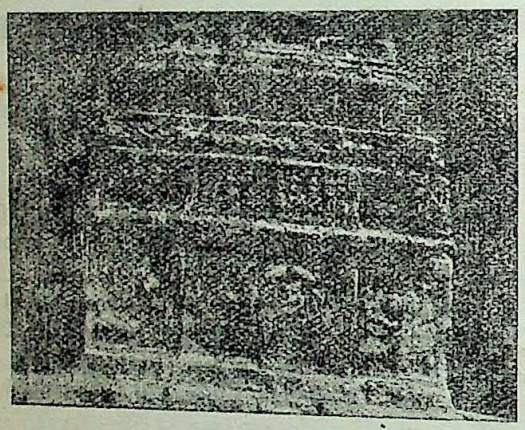
Regarding the location of these places Prof. Kilhorn says :

"Kanyakubja itself was in the country of the Panchalas in Madhyadesha. According to the topographical list of the Brihat Samhita, the Kurus and Matsyas also belong to the middle country, the Madras to the north-west, the Gandharas to the northern and the Kiras to the north-east division of India. The Avantis are the people of Ujjayini in Malava. Yadus, according to the Lakkha Mandal Prasasti, were long ruling in part of the Punjab, but they are found also south of the Jamuni, and south of the river and north of the Narmada probably were also Bhojas who headed the list (*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. IV, p. 246)."—*Gaudalekhamala,* p. 21.

The conquering ambition of Dharmapala did not abate after the conquest of Kanouj. "That Dharmapala



Naval engagement : Terracotta panel from Radhabinod Temple, Jaydeb Kenduli, Birbhum
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proceeded far beyond Kanouj in course of his military campaign is proved by V 7, at the Monghyr copper-plate (No. 6)."[4]

It is further recorded :

"The Nalanda C. P. of Dharmapala (No. 3) refers to the traditional five old military divisions, *viz.,* elephant, cavalry, chariot, infantry and navy but there is no reference to any officer-in-charge of chariots."[5]

"Dharmapala's reign is the most glorious period of the history of Bengal. With the co-operation of the Rashtrakutas the Bengal army compelled the Gurjaras to retire once more into the confines of the Indian desert. The defeat of the Gurjaras was so crushing that for a generation they did not venture out of their homes . . . During Devapala's reign, the Bengal army fought with the Rashtrakutas in central India and repelled an invasion of Tibet-Burma tribes, known as Kambojas, in the north. Devapala's cousin Jayapala conquered Orissa and Assam for him."—R. D. Banerjee : *Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India,* p. 260.

There are various copper plates preserved in the different Museums of India which narrate the military activities of the Bengalis and their gallant fight with powerful princes.

The restoration of Varendra by Ramapala (his paternal kingdom) from the Kaivarta King Bhima was another notable event of the Pala period. It was a civil war no doubt, but from the *Ramacharitam* of Sandhyakara Nandin we can see that Ramapala had to take much trouble to regain his fatherland from the Kaivarta King Bhima, "a king of unusual ability, "in whose possession there were excellent cavalry, elephant-troops, etc., having no rivals (to fight them) for which Ramapala felt himself powerless to adopt any effective means to recover Varendra."

"By a lavish offer of land and enormous wealth, he gained over to his side a number of powerful chiefs who possessed well-equipped forces. . . . This detailed list of independent or semi-independent chiefs of Bengal may be regarded as the most important historical information."—*Ramacharitam.*

The following chiefs or *Samantas* joined Ramapala :

"1. Viraguna. He was King of Kotatavi in the south. Kota is perhaps to be located in the district of Cuttack or in its neighbourhood in Orissa on the strength of a passage in *Ain-i-Akbari* which refers to Mahal Kot-des with three forts under Sarker Katak in Subah Orissa.

2. Jayasimha. He was a King of Dandabhukti and defeated Karnakesari, King of Utkala. Dandabhukti comprised the southern and south-western parts of the Midnapore district.

3. Vikramaraja, ruler of Bala-Balabhi, which included the village of Devagrama.

4. Lakshmisura. He is described as lord of Apara-Mandara, and head of the group of feudal chiefs of the forest (Atavika-Samanta-Chudamani). Mandara has been identified with Sarkar Mandaran of *Ain-i-Akbari,* whose headquarters Garh, Mandaran, is now represented by Bhitargarh, miles to the west of Arambagh in the Hooghly district.

5. Surapala, ruler of Kujavati, which may be identified with the locality of that name about miles north of Nayadumka.

6. Rudrasikhara, ruler of Tailakamps, which has been identified with Telkupi in the Manbhum district. The region is still known as Sikharbhum, evidently after the surname Sikhara of the ruling family.

7. Bhaskara or Mayagalasimha, king of Ucchala.

8. Pratapasimha, king of Dhekkariya, which has been identified with Dhekuri near Katwa in the Burdwan district. The Ramganj copper-plate proves that Dhekkari was set up as an independent State by Isvaraghosa, probably at the time when revolution broke out against Mahipala.

9. Narasimharjuna, lord of Kayangala-Mandala, which has been identified with Kankjol south of Rajmahal.

10. Chandarjuna of Samkatagrama which cannot be identified.

11. Vijayaraja of Nidravali. It has been suggested (by Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri : *Studies in Indian Antiquities,* p. 158) that he is identical with Vijayasena of the Sena family who

4 *History of Bengal,* Vol. 1, p. 106.
5 *Ibid,* p. 279.

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originally settled in Radha and ultimately established his sovereignty all over Bengal. But there is no definite evidence in support of this identification. On the other hand, Nidravali being one of the *Gaus* of Varendra Brahmanas, it was most probably situated in North Bengal.

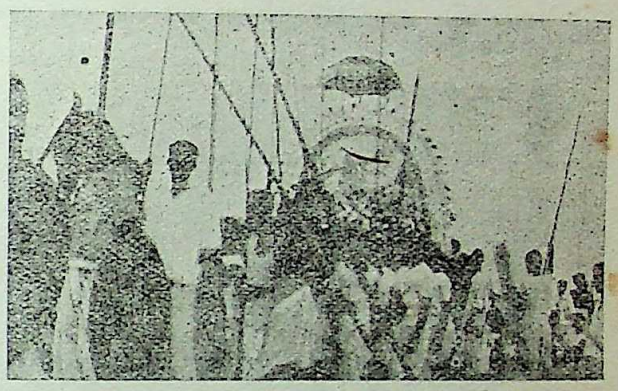
12. Dvorapavardhana, ruler of Kausambi, which is probably now represented by the Pargana Tappe Kusumbi in the Bogra district. There is also a village called Kusumba in the same district.

Soma of Paduvanva not identified. Some other chiefs also joined Ramapala; being joined by the large and well-equipped forces of the confederate chiefs consisting of cavalry, elephants, fleet of boats and infantry, King Ramapala felt strong enough to make an attempt towards the recovery of Varendra. He despatched a force under Mahapratihara Sivaraja, the nephew of Mathana, who crossed the Ganges and devastated Varendra. There is no reference to any pitched battle, but presumably the frontier guards of Bhima were defeated and the way was made clear for the crossing of the river by the entire force . . . The entire force of Ramapala crossed the Ganges by means of a flotilla of boats and safely reached the northern bank' . . . After Ramapala had crossed the Ganges with his huge army, Bhima opposed him, and a pitched battle took place. The tumultuous battle, which is described in nine verses (11, 12-20) was conducted with equal vigour and ferocity on both sides. Both Bhima and Ramapala took a very active part in it and kept close to each other (11, 14). But 'by an evil turn of destiny' Bhima, seated on his elephant, was taken prisoner (11-17, 20). This decided the fate of the battle. Bhima's army fled, and his camp was plundered by the 'unrestrained soldiers' of Ramapala (11, 20-30). . . . Perhaps Bhima organised some resistance to Ramapala by sending secretly from his prison messages to his allies. For, in the next verse (11, 38) we are told that his friend Hari rallied his forces and blockaded those of Ramapala . . . Hari put up a valiant fight and at first scored some success (11-38 ff). But Ramapala's son, who was put in charge of the fight 'exhausted the golden others by his wartime gifts' (11-43) and evidently managed to create some discord between Hari and Bhima's followers which caused obstruction to each other (11-41). Finally Hari was won over and this sealed the fate of Bhima's army which, it is said in 11-39, was 'made to swell by ill-equipped soldiers.' After having crushed this rising of the enemies Ramapala took a terrible vengeance upon Bhima. Vitpala led Bhima to the place of execution, where important members of his family were executed before his very eyes. Then Bhima himself was killed by means of a 'multitude of arrows' (11. 45-49). Thus ended the life of Bhima and the rebellion of Varendra."—*Ramacharitam* of Sandhyakara Nandin: Edited with Sanskrit commentaries and English translation by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. Radhagovinda Basak and Pandit Nani Gopal Banerji Kavyatirtha.

Though it was a civil war and the Bengal army fought against each other, it certainly reflects the military prowess of Bengal and it further tells us that not only the King but even the Samantas of Bengal had their individual military organisation and the art of war was known to the mass. The tall masculine heroic figures of the Kaivartas of Bengal remind us of their heroic deeds of the past. Though poverty and misery have sucked their blood, still if they are trained they may be the best soldiers. "Kautilya argues that it is possible to infuse spirit and enthusiasm even in the timid 'by means of discipline and training'."[6]

"It is an axiomatic truth of history that a people living along the sea-coast, with opportunities of harbourage, or in inland territories intersected by large and navigable rivers, naturally develops an aptitude in the art of plying boats. The sea and the river become a part of their life and blood."—Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, *The Art of War in Ancient India*, pp. 60-61.

He further records:



The immersion ceremony of the Goddess Durga at Khalia and Amgram, Faridpur

"The people of Bengal seem to have become famous for their nautical resources very early in history. In his *Raghuvamsa* (IV, 36), Kalidasa characterises the Vangas as expert in the art of plying boats (*nausadhanodyatam*). Epigraphic evidence proves that harbours and dock-yards were well-known in the sixth century A.D. A copper-plate grant of Dharmaditya (dated, 531 A.D.) refers to a *navata-ksheni* or ship-building harbour, though we do not know where exactly it was located. Another grant of the same monarch speaks of *nau-dandaka* or ship's mast. A few centuries later when the Palas became the rulers of Bengal, they seem to have utilised this nautical aptitude of the people in building up a regular fleet for fighting purposes. Contemporary records refer to this fleet as *nau-vata* or *nau-vataka*, and to the admiral in command as the *naukadhyaksha*. The Khalimpur copper-plate of Dharmapala describes this royal fleet as 'proceeding on the path of the Bhagirathi' and thus making it seem as if a series of mountain tops has been sunk to build another cause-way for Rama's passage."*—*The Art of War in Ancient India.*

6 Dr. P. C. Chakravarti: *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 85.

*"स खलु भागीरथी पथ-प्रवर्त्तमान नानाविध नौवाटक-सम्पादित सेतुबन्ध निहित शैलशिखरश्रेणी विभ्रमात्....."

—The Khalimpur copper-plate of Dharmapala: *Gauḍalekhamala*, p. 14.

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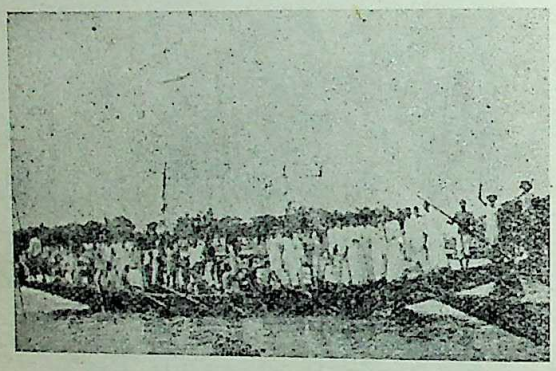
"The Kamouli grant speaks of a glorious naval victory which Vaidyadeva, the Minister of Kumarapala, won over an unknown enemy in southern Vanga, near the mouths of the Ganges.

"The naval power of Bengal seems to have long outlived the collapse of the Pala Dynasty. The epigraphic records of the Chandras, the Varmans and the Senas prove that the river-flotilla continued as an important instrument of offence and defence under them. As in the Khalimpur copper-plate of Dharmapala, so in the Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena, the Bengal fleet is described as proceeding on a conquering expedition 'up to the whole course of the Ganges.' There was, however, a change in the nomenclature of the Admiral. The *Naukadhyaksha* of the Pala period was replaced by the *Nau-vyapratakа* or *Nau-balavyapratakа* of the Sena period. The use of the term *bala* after *Nau* brings out the real character of the fleet.



Villagers enjoying the Vijaya Dasami. Spears and shields are to be noted

"It may be noted here that Bengal's reputation as a naval power continued even in the madiaeval period. Husain Shah (1498-1520), the most prominent of the independent Pathan rulers of Bengal, maintained a powerful fleet, with which he once invaded Assam. Pratapaditya is also credited with a fleet of seven hundred fighting vessels, equipped with all the instruments of war. Shaista Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, is said to have gathered a numerous fleet of armed galleys to check the depredations of the Arakan pirates, both Maugh and Feringi."—Dr. F. C. Chakravarti : *The Art of War in Ancient India*, pp. 61-62.

The *History of Bengal* further records :

"Apart from the specific references in *Raghuvamsa* to the naval forces of Bengal and the general reference in foreign inscription to Bengal as a sea power (*Supra*, p. 37, f.n. 3 ; p. 55, f.n. 1), ships are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of Bengal, and there is probably also a reference to a ship-building harbour in an inscription of Dharmaditta (*Supra*, p. 51). We have also references to naval fights in south Vanga during the reign of Kumarapala (*Supra*, p. 168) and a naval expedition to the west sent by Vijayasena (*Supra*, pp. 244-45)."—*History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 179.

From very early times till the eighteenth century Bengal played an important part in naval affairs. When some of the present civilized nations were confined to their own country and sea voyages were beyond their dreams, it was the Bengalis who proudly sailed out on trading voyages to distant shores, the seas and even conquered countries and est colonies. Almost all the kings of Bengal were for their mighty naval power. Even now of the coastal districts are credited for their and merit in the marine departments.

An elephant is now almost a curiosity inhabitants of Bengal. Very few elephants can in the province. But there was a time when was famous for her elephant troops.

"The elephant forces of Bengal are quently mentioned in many inscriptions, effective strength is indirectly admitted even records of many foreign foes which refer formidable array in glowing terms."—*Bengal* : Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, p. 279.

"In the *Arthasastra* (Bk. XX, Ch. 2), says that 'elephants bred in countries Kalinga, Anga, Karusa and the east are those of Dasarna and western countries are quality, and those of Surastra and Panchaja tries are of low quality.' It may be mentio that just as ancient writers have ascrib surprising unanimity the pre-eminence in breeding to the north-west, they have pre-eminence in elephant-breeding to the instance, it is noted in the Santiparva (101, distinguishing characteristic of the easter they could fight skilfully with elephants *matanga yuddhesu-kusalah*). In the *Ra* (IV 40, 83 ; VI 27, 54), while describing paigns of Raghu, Kalidasa speaks of the elephant forces of the Kalinga and Ang Similarly, Vakpati refers to the king of the as 'powerful in the possession of a large war-like elephants'."—Dr. P. C. Chakravarti *Art of War in Ancient India*, pp. 54-55.

Such was the position of Bengal in the period, and she kept her tradition intact up Mahomedan period, as Abul Fazl the historian also records in his *Ain-i-Akbari* elephant forces of Bengal.

The military strength of Bengal was not ble even on the eve of the Mughal period.

"Daud, Suleman's younger son, assuming insignia of royalty, ordered the Khutba to claimed in his own name through all the Bengal and Bihar, and directed the coins stamped with his own title, thus completely at defiance the authority of the Emperor Ak He found himself in the possession of treasure, 40,000 well-mounted cavalry, 3,600 try, 20,000 guns of various calibres, 140,00 and several hundred war-boats, a force which to him sufficient justification for a contes Akbar."—V. A. Smith : *Akbar the Great* 2nd edition, p. 124

The late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, Curator, Museum, writes in his article, "The Naval Acti the Indians":

"A unique period of martial activity upon Bengal during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Daud, the last Sultan, lost his life in 1576 A.D. in the Rajmahal in a trial of strength with the

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of Akbar; but the Hindu and Muslim Zamindars of Bengal took up the struggle with alacrity. The wonderful struggle of the Bengal Chiefs has not yet received the recognition it deserves at the hands of the historians."

Though after some time Bengal was included in the map of Akbar's India and the yearly revenue was fixed by the Emperor to be Rs. 1,06,93,152, this fixed was never fully realised.

"The province of Bengal paid a nominal sub-mission to the throne of Delhi, but during several reigns had been virtually independent."—Mill's *History of British India*, Vol. II, pp. 131-141.

It is well known that the twelve *Bhuiyas* of Bengal had sufficient army at their command including war-boats and gun-powders which inspired them to fight on many occasions against the Emperor of Delhi. In this connection the names of Raja Pratapaditya, Isha Khan-Masnad-i-Ali, Kedar Rai and Sitaram Rai may be mentioned.

"The Bengal Chiefs were strong in war boats, and mainly with the help of this arm of offence, they managed to defeat the greatest generals of Akbar again and again and drove them out of Bengal. Akbar went to his grave in 1605 A.D., with Bengal yet unsubdued. Jahangir, on his accession had to make huge preparations for humbling the proud Bengal Chiefs. The thrilling accounts of the struggle of the heroic Bengal Chiefs can be read in detail in the page of the *Bahari-stan-i-ghaybi* by Mirza Nathan, a young Mughal Lieutenant and an actual participator in the struggle. The Mughal army was under the command of Islam Khan, the Mughal Governor, and the Mughal fleet of war-boats was commanded by Intiman Khan, father of Nathan. The most powerful Bengal Chief of the period was Pratapaditya, who possessed 700 war-boats, but he did not join in the country-wide struggle against Mughal imperialism and attempted to conciliate the new Mughal Governor by presents and promises of help. Isha-Khan-Masnad-i-Ali, the most powerful Chief of Eastern Bengal, master of Mymensingh, Tipperah and a half of the Dacca district, and Kedar Rai, master of Vikrampur (southern part of Dacca district), Faridpur and Sandwip, had fought all their lives against Akbar. But they were both dead by this time. Isha Khan died peacefully in 1599 A.D., and Kedar Rai died fighting the Mughals in 1604 A.D. The leader of the struggle during the reign of Jahangir was Musa Khan, son of Isha Khan, the Zamindar of Bhawal (northern part of Dacca district) and some Hindu and Muslim Zamindars of Pabna, Dacca and Sylhet. After six years of hard struggle, in which several stiff naval encounters took place, the chiefs at last submitted and Bengal became a Mughal province in 1613 A.D."—Dr. N. K. Bhattasali: "Naval Activities of the Indians." (*Hindusthan Standard—Puja Annual*, 1944), pp. 193-194.

We have seen the military prowess of the united forces of Bengal in the field of Kurukshetra (in the Hindu period), against Alexander the Great (in 326 B.C.), for the restoration of Varendra as allies of Magadha (in the Hindu period); we have also seen the heroic struggle of Bengal against Mughal imperialism. This certainly shows the martial spirit of the race.

It is admitted on all hands that *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl is the most authoritative history of the Mughal Government. In his history Abul Fazl gives a fine description of the Bengal army of different places, wherein places are located as Sarkers, Parganas and Mahalas (comparable with districts, subdivisions and thanas of the present day).

Sarker's name	Present position	Cavalry	Infantry
Jannatabad or Lakhnauti	Malda	500	17000
Fathabad	The whole of Faridpur, a small portion of Jessore, southern Bakharganj, portion of Dacca District	900	50700
Mahmudabad	Northern Nadia and Jessore & Faridpur	200	10100
Khalifatabad	Southern Jessore & western part of Bakherganj	100	15000
Bogla	Bakherganj & Dacca	..	15000
Purniyah	Western portion of the present district of Purnea	..	5000
Tajpur	Eastern Purnea, east of the Mahananda and western Dinajpur, Rangpur and Bogra	100	50000
Ghoraghat	Portion of Dinajpur and Rangpur and Bogra	900	328000
Pinjarah	Northern east of the town of Dinajpur & the greater part of Dinajpur District	50	7000
Barbakabad	Portion of Maldah, Dinajpur and a large part of Rajshahi and Bogra District	50	7000
Bazoha	Portion of Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, Mymensingh and reaching in the south a little beyond the town of Dacca	1700	5300
Sonargaon	Both the sides of Meghna & Brahmaputra containing portions of western Tipperah & Noakhali	1500	40000
Sylhet	Sreehatta	1100	42920
Chittagong	.. ..	100	1500
Sharifabad	Birbhoom, Burdwan	200	5000
Sulaimanabad	Northern portion of Hooghly and some portion of Nadia and Burdwan	100	5000
Satgaon	24-Parganas & western Nadia and southern west Murshidabad	50	6000
Mandaran	Western Birbhoom over Raniganj and the Damodar to above Burdwan	150	7000

[1] *Hindusthan Standard—Puja Annual*, 1944, p. 193.

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—Colonel H. S. Jarrett : *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 131-141 ; and H. Blochmann, M.A. : "Geography and History of Bengal" in *J. A. S. B.*, 1873 (No. 3), pp. 215-218.

Regarding elephants and war-boats, Colonel H. S. Jarrett states in p 129 (*Ain-i-Akbari*) that the Subah of Bengal had 1170 elephants, 4260 guns and 4400 boats. The history of Bengal or for the matter of that the whole of India, would have been otherwise, had not Mirzafar, the Supreme Commander of Sirajuddaula, betrayed the unfortunate Nawab by false representation, misleading the gallant Bengali Generals, Mirmadan and Mohanlal and stopping the battle of Plassey on false pretence. In World War I, the service of the 49th Bengal Regiment in Mesopotamia was highly appreciated by the military authorities.

It is difficult to ascertain the time and age as to when the image worship came into vogue in Bengal. However that may be, it is clearly evident that all the deities of the Hindu Pantheon are adorned with weapons. In Bengal, the Goddess Durga is worshipped with great pomp and eclat. Her hands exhibit various weapons and attributes such as *sarpa* (snake), *dhanush* (bow), *asi* (sword), *chakra* (disc), *trisul* (trident), *parasu* (axe), *vajra* (thunderbolt), *sankha* (conch). The blowing of the conch gives the signal for fight. Spears and shields are not merely qualifying attributes but they are actual weapons of war, and there are separate *mantras* for them. If the Bengalis are non-martial, why they would worship the arms with which their deities are adorned ? Still, in the southern part of Bengal, the Vijaya Dasami Day is performed with great enthusiasm. People of all communities assemble in boats, dressed like warriors with shield, sword, spear, lance, sankha and drum and take the image of the Goddess Durga to the river for the immersion ceremony. After the immersion ceremony is over, they play with various weapons and perform boat-races. Does it reflect in any way that the Bengalis are non-martial ? If so, why should this martial inspiration still tingle in their veins ? In what part of the world, weapons are so associated with religion, worship and gods. Still do we pray to the Goddess Durga or Sakti :

"Oh Mother, beetow upon us the glory of victory in battles."*

The records of different eras point definitely to the conclusion that the Bengalis are not only martially inclined from time immemorial but they are renowned in the world as brave and active soldiers and their deeds of valour have been recorded by many foreign historians. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali says :

"The popular notion that the military profession was the exclusive monopoly of the Kshatriya caste is wholly without foundation, and a 'nation in arms' is an entirely modern concept—a legacy of the French Revolution in the world. Nor there is much truth in the statement that caste prevented the growth of a feeling that fighting for or defending one's own country was every one's business and not for a particular class of people.'—Dr. N. K. Bhattasali's article in *The Modern Review*, 1930, p. 15[illegible] and *The Art of War in Ancient India* by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, p. 190.

"Hopkins says that the mass of the epic army was composed of the lowest classes, mixed with barbarians and foreigners . . . In the *Arthasastra* (Bk. IX, Ch. 2), Kautilya approves of the employment of Vaisya and Sudra troops in the army. The Agnipurana specifically lays down that the Sudras have a right to the art of war and that they along with the mixed castes, are expected to contribute to the defence of the state."

The Brahmins are generally known as priests but they were also allowed to serve as soldiers, "if unable to support themselves as priests."

"It is well known that some of the most celebrated warriors in the Mahabharata such as Drona, Asvathaman and Parasu Rama were born in the priesty class. . . . Alexander in the course of his campaign in India met with most stubborn resistance from the Brahman confederacy of the Indus Valley." And that is why he "regarded the Brahmans as his worst enemies, and his hand fell heavily upon them."—*The Art of War in Ancient India* by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, pp. 78-79.

In the Hindu period there were many Brahmin Generals and Commander-in-Chiefs who are credited for their notable victories.

"In the kingdom of Orissa under the Ganga dynasty, the Mahasthana Brahmans used to contribute a substantial number of military recruits of the peasant militia of the state. To this day some of their descendants bear the family title of *Senapati* meaning commanders of armies."—*Ibid*, p. 81.

We need not recount here the stories of the thousands of martyrs who courted death and life-long imprisonment with smiling face during the Swadeshi days and the period following that great Movement for that is current history.

The Bengalis have forgotten their glorious past. They must remember that they are descendants of heroic forefathers. They require inspiration and inspiration only in order to realise their real selves. They have brains and they possess the true martial spirit.

* "संग्रामे विजयं देहि....."

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CHILDREN'S CITY

If pleasure in learning and successful adjustment in real life are any test, Blochman City, California, has established a brilliantly successful precedent in modern education. Its teacher and founder, Mrs. Bina Fuller, justifies her methods by quoting noted United States educator John Dewey's dictum that school should be life itself. "All I have done," she says, "is to crystallize his philosophy with something you can see and feel."

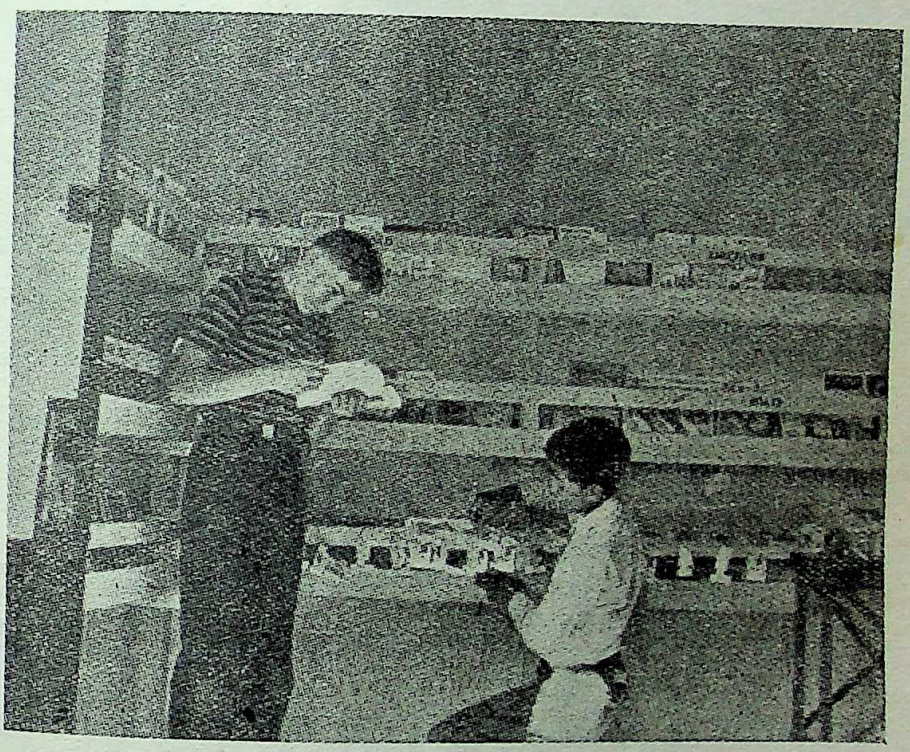
The fruit of the experiment begun 15 years ago is a town in miniature—a children's city. Located off the beaten path, at the edge of a forest near the town of Santa Maria, about 100 miles north of Los Angeles, Blochman City has an area of only 20,000 square feet. But within that compact sphere it is perfect and complete, with conventional though diminutive streets, houses and functions: post office, bank, library, museum, newspaper, chamber of commerce, tourist and information bureau, grocery, florist's nursery even a park with trees, hedges, awns and a lake.

Children run the town, elect a mayor and a city council; issue special currency used for salaries for maintaining the bank and store; learn first aid and prescribe for simple ailments at their own hospital; learn and practice home-making, merchandising, book-keeping, carpentry, farming and a dozen other useful occupations in the warm pleasant congeniality of their own town built and equipped for their own needs and tastes.

For many years, with the sympathy of the born teacher, Mrs. Fuller had observed the efforts of children to adjust to what was to them a dull and tedious school routine. She had seen too, their joyous and rigorous play—building houses; playing store, bank, or train; nursing or gardening. The solution appeared natural and inevitable; to be attractive and successful the school must give children "an earlier start at being grown-up."

Her chance to experiment came with the establishment of Blochman School District—a small two-room school-house crowded with the children of California oil-workers. From small beginnings—a corner grocery marked *Store*, a wooden grille marked *Bank*—Mrs. Fuller led the enthusiastic pupils toward her cherished plan, building of an entire small-scale town.

The children worked with a will. The boys drew blueprints. The girls designed interiors. All wrote letters to business firms soliciting needed materials—and the unusual requests met with generous answers. The president of the oil company donated the land. Other enterprises sent sand, gravel, lumber, cement and paint. Many were generous with professional and technical advice. Some, like the president of the oil company, joined in weilding hammer and saw.



Two students visit the Information Centre to see recent periodicals and displays

Learning as an Exciting Adventure

Both teacher and pupils saw learning unfold as an exciting adventure. Perhaps never before had children learned arithmetic not only in class but by keeping their own store, or negotiating loans on property at their own bank, with its walls of knotty pine and gilded teller's grilles. In their own post office they learned to regard geography not as a classrom catalogue of hard-to-spell names but as colorful descriptions of countries where lived their French, Belgian, English or Mexican correspondents whose problems and interests were like their own, with just enough difference to make them fascinating friends. Long, gossipy letters and souvenirs from distant Eskimo settlements and South Sea Island villages find their way to the little post office, which Mrs. Fuller considers the center "of tolerance and warmth . . . real friendship and world understanding."

In the past decade, Blochman City has become a kind of educational Mecca for teachers and students

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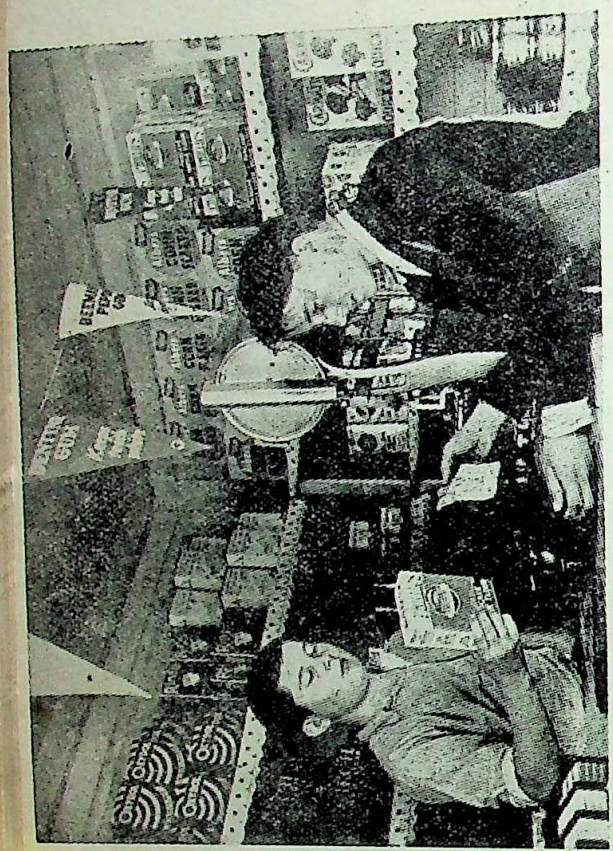
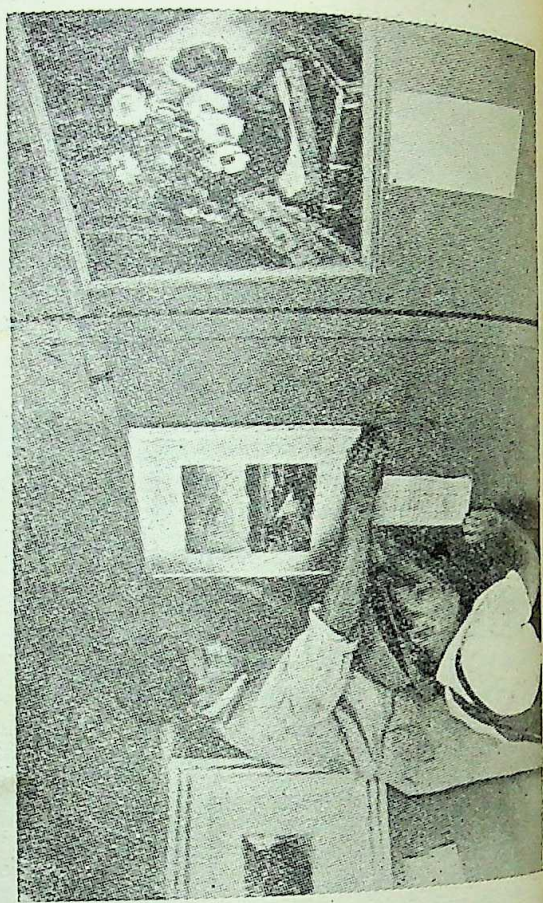
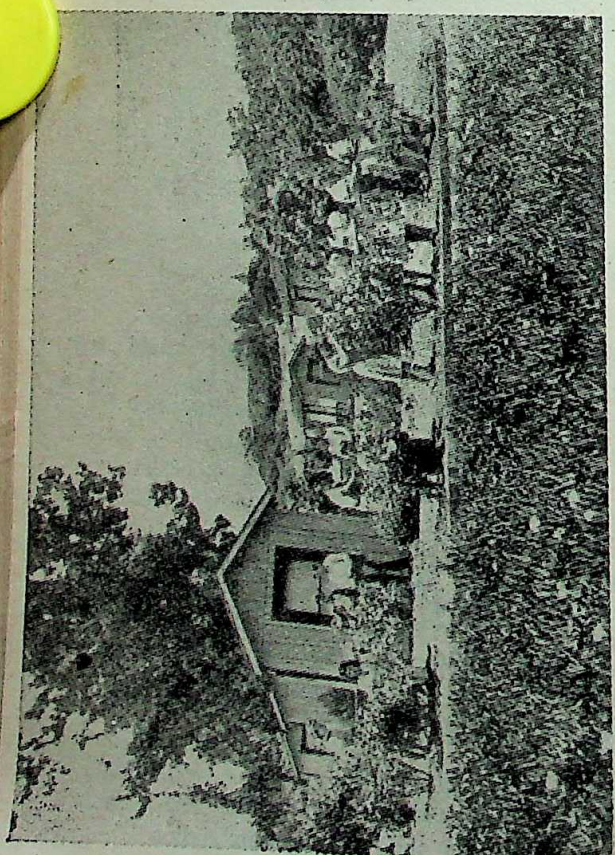
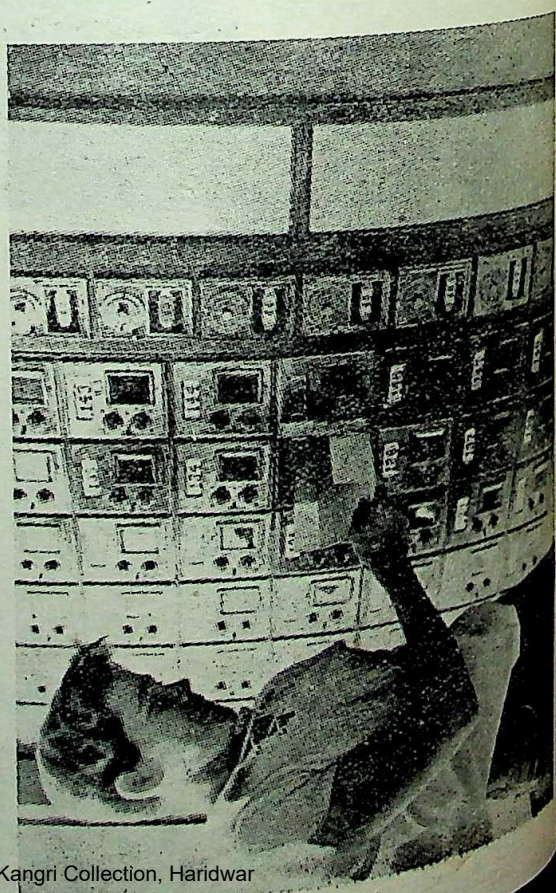


A student makes a purchase from a model grocery store with the community's own currency





The School at Blochman City, California



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of teaching technique. All these observers find especially remarkable the high scholastic standards maintained by the junior citizens, the complete absence of juvenile delinquency problems, and the successful transfer of training to jobs in the business and professional fields.

The boy who was Blochman City's first grocer now owns his own market in Santa Maria, California, while his two assistants are in similar establishments in other towns. Some of the girls who directed the Blochman Health Center are now registered nurses in full-size hospitals. The first bank cashier of Blochman is now a successful banker in a nearby city. Blochman's first mayor is operating his own bookstore. Many an early graduate credits the smooth functioning of her home to housekeeping practice in Blochman City's model homes.

Visitors view all this successful activity with pleased wonder, and dozens of letters from state officials, governors of other states, well-known writers and educators call it "a great idea." Many ask for more information, and the children write industrious and informative replies. Mrs. Fuller, supremely happy in her chosen work, sees in these fledgling citizens of a peaceful, tolerant and busy community and genuine essence of international peace.—*USIS.*

———:O:———

SRI CHITRALAYAM OF TRAVANCORE

By J. M. DATTA

"The study of a good picture helps one to fulfil one's duty by becoming a better citizen; and to attain liberation from the expensive and enslaving demands of the lower nature through the cultivation of the higher nature," says the *Vishnudharmaottaram.* The Hindu ruler of the Hindu State of Travancore, never conquered in the Mahomedan period, has recognised the duty of a civilised modern State to provide for the aesthetic education which is one of the prime elements of culture. With this object in view, they renovated the Padmanabhapuram Palace, a former seat of the State Government abandoned for over a century. It has given to the world a unique exhibition of the major arts of architecture, sculpture, wood-carving and mural painting. The Travancore Museum has been transformed into an ever-pleasing treasure of Oriental art-crafts. It has a very fine collection of Indian bronzes.

The need of a State Gallery of Paintings for the preservation of the indigenous creative impulse took shape in the establishment of Sri Chitralayam in September, 1935. Anticipation extended back to the past in the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh and Sittanavasal, and forward to the new spirit of artistic nationalism that had animated the Bengal revival of Indian painting, round the central massive figure of Abanindranath Tagore and his direct and indirect disciples and grand-disciples. Painting, it has been said, with the probable exception of music, has the largest attraction for the majority of persons with its combined appeal to the sense of form and colour. The gallery was designed to be the nucleus of what may become an epitome of the best examples of Oriental Art. The object for which Sri Chitralayam was founded is, in the words of the official curator, to provide for the people of Travancore State and visitors for enjoyment, education and the development of artistic taste, a collection of pictures representing the various eras of painting in India along with some indication of the art of painting elsewhere under the influence of Indian culture, life and scenery."

First as to the quantitative aspect. To the 359 exhibits enlisted in the fourth edition of the catalogue, has been added during the last year 12 pictures and copies of 5 murals from the Vaikom and Udayanapuram temples. The number of such copies of murals now exceeds 66. There is a remarkable power in these murals. Their technique and finish are excellent. As Art in India has been mainly the expression of religious ideas and sentiments, their atmosphere is always that of sanctity; they are eloquent with spiritual emotion. The makers of these superb wall-pictures are unknown craftsmen who inherited the traditions of their art from generation to generation. Their skill is remarkable and amazing in its deftness. The secret of attractiveness lies in the vitality of the figures and in the variety of postures and gestures expressing exalted religious life. In the collection are to be found copies of vestiges of paintings that must have made the *mandapam* of the small cave-temple of Thirunandikara in South Travancore a gem of mural art 11 to 12 centuries ago, just when the great era of Ajanta had ended. The age of the temple is calculable from inscriptions in stone; it is ninth century after Christ. Recently made copies of murals presumed to be of still earlier origin are going to be added.

How popular the institution is will be gathered from the following statistics:

Total number of visitors (during 1121 M.E. = 1945-46)	57,463
Largest number in a single day	835
Smallest number in a single day	63
Population of Trivandrum	1,28,365
Population of Travancore	60,70,018

Besides these murals, there is a representative collection of Modern Indian paintings headed by Dr. Tagore, an almost complete collection of works of Raja Ravi Varma I and II, and fair samples of Rajput and Mughal paintings, Chinese, Persian, Tibetan, Balinese and Japanese paintings. Folk art is represented by Bengal *pat* paintings, etc.

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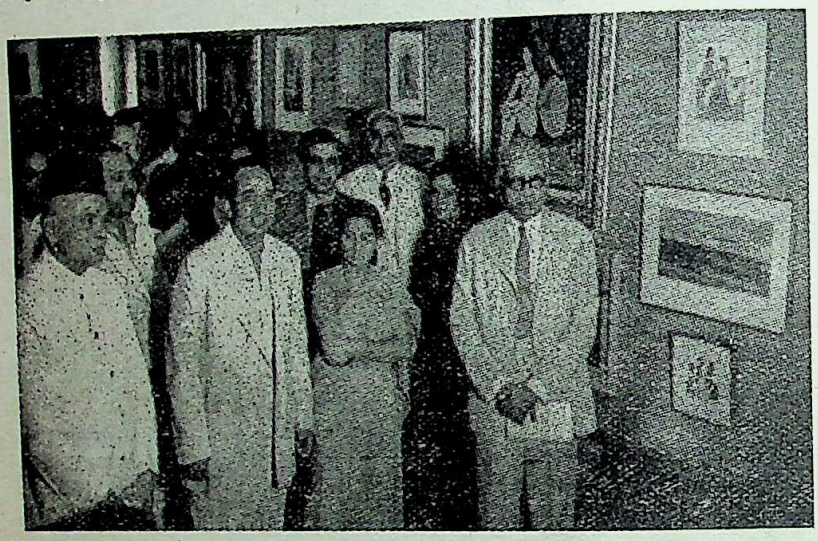
PAINTINGS OF SUSHILA YAWALKAR

By L. W.

The paintings of Sushila Yawalkar now being shown at the Prince's Room, of the Taj Mahal Hotel, surprisingly reveal the strength of an untutored yet



Dr. M. R. Jayakar declares Exhibition open of Mrs. Sushila Yawalkar's paintings. Mr. Yawaikar thanking Dr. Jayakar and welcoming the distinguished audience

an intensely creative mind. The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar declared the Exhibition open on April 4, 1948. In all her paintings her approach is unsophisticated, unconventional and direct. The various compositions exhibit a dynamic urge to express vital emotion stirred by a particular incident. The dramatic sense of grouping against almost an austere background of pink highten the appeal of such an unconventional subject. The same characteristics can be noted in other compositions where in spite of the unorthodox treatment the subject lifts up into well-knit linear or cherioscuric compositions.

In her figure drawings Mrs. Yawalkar is interested more in carrying out significant poise than mere anatomical details, of her models.

In her landscapes a changing mood of nature is invariably caught and rendered with the vital simplicity of a child's imagination. For example, Tansa Lake and Moon Light.

One goes through the whole exhibition with a feeling of emotional upheaval, subtly stirred by paintings naively recorded in a technique which may baffle classification and yet serves its purpose to the full. Considering this as the first attempt of her successful showing we may as well expect in her a brilliant addition to the artists' group of this city.

Born and brought up in Dharga, an ideal beauty spot in that exquisitely lovely country of Gomantak (Goa), Sushila naturally created in her a love of the artistic. But it is a matter of common knowledge that in remote villages one rarely finds adequate scope for the development of Art and hence Sushila's talents remained dormant for a long time. It is one of life's little ironies that although Goa boasts of many creative artists Sushila's genius could only blossom in Bombay.

Here, Indian music first captured her attention. She is an accomplished dancer too. Yet her ardent urge to learn painting remained just a dream till chance threw an opportunity in her way.

Bent on News

It was sheer coincidence that she met the well-known painter Mr. Nagesh Yawalkar whose works she went to see at the request of one of her friends. This chance acquaintance between the two soon ripened into friendship which eventually culminated into a happy marriage. Thus it was Mr. Yawalkar who

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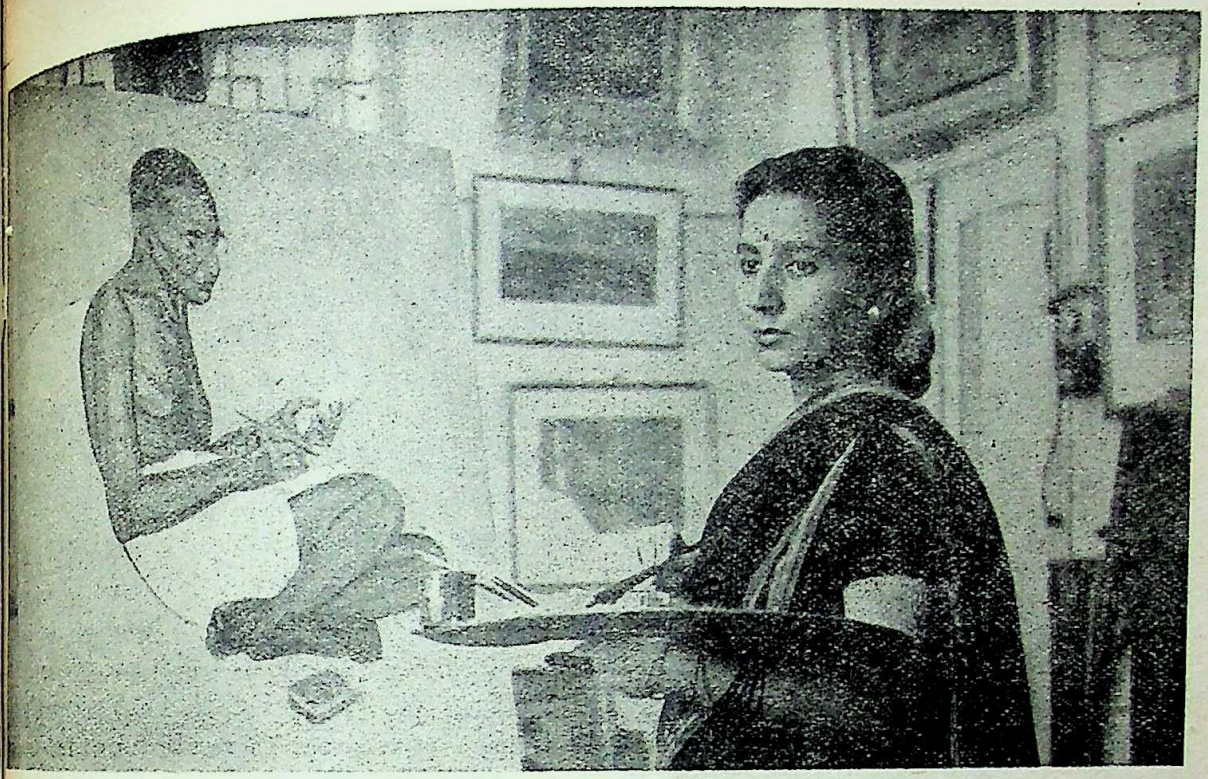
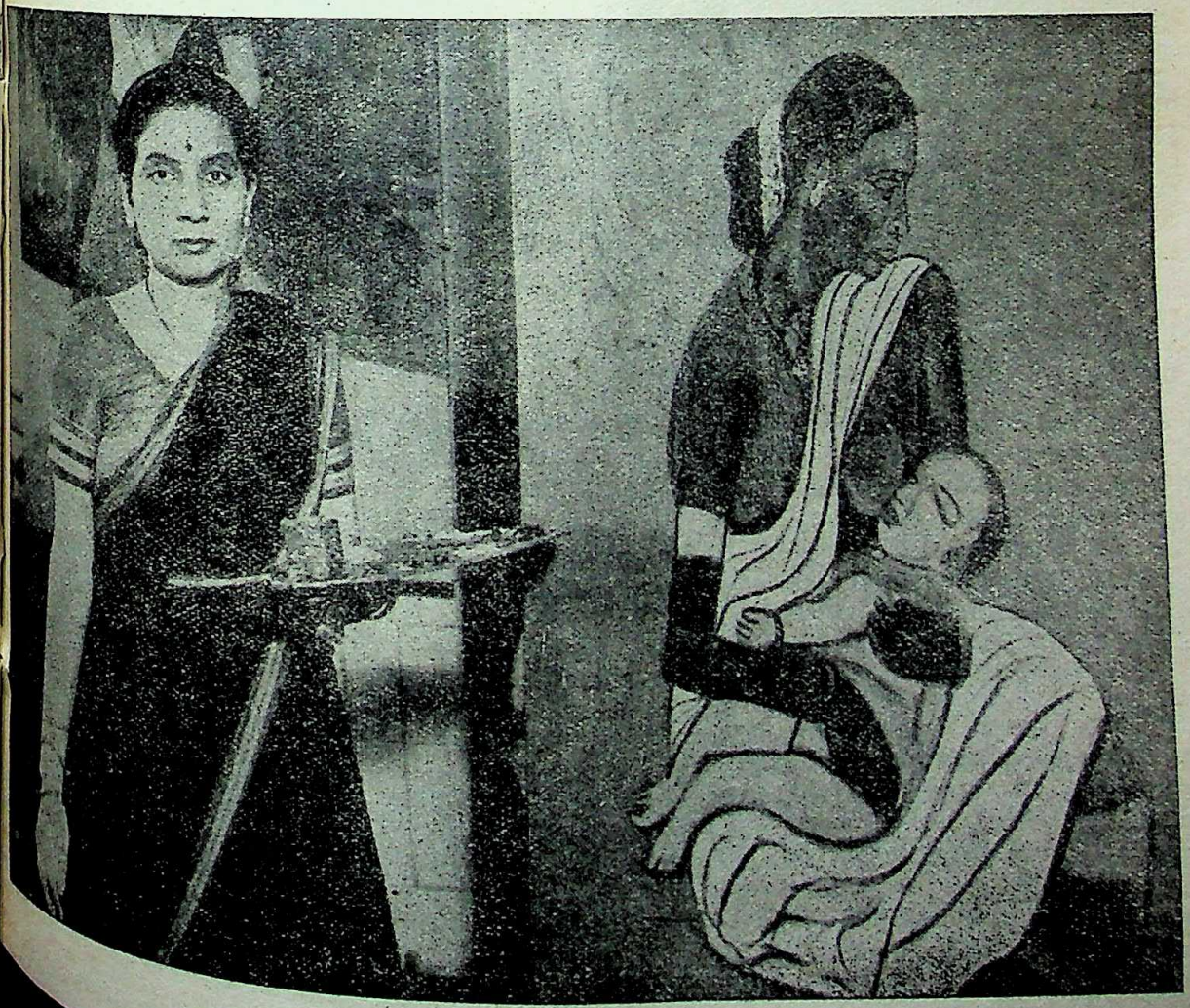


"Mahatma Gandhi" by Sushila Yawalkar



"Jeevan" by Sushila Yawalkar

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Burden of Youth (*oil*)

her full scope to develop her talents in the domain of painting and enabled her to express her individuality with ease and freedom and the present exhibition is a glorious proof of what a woman artist can accomplish. This is probably the first bold and unique endeavour by an Indian lady artist to hold an individual exhibition of her paintings and as such Sushila undoubtedly deserves approbation.

These reproductions of Sushila's paintings reveal the impact of an unsophisticated mind to life's little dramas. The child-like simplicity coupled with adult discrimination intensifies the appeal of her various compositions. Her colouring invariably luminous and harmaniously blended with judicious tonal values. In good figure compositions, she is interested more in the significant simple form than what meets the eye. Her paintings display an individual colour-scheme which is more expressive than representative. Her dramatic sense is uppermost in interpreting familiar scenes of daily life as noted or imagined. In all her paintings direct simplicity, vital pattern and pleasing colour build up the work into pieces of idyll. It is very refreshing to come across the work of this type, so untutored, naive, yet eloquent in full expression in forms of volume and colour.

———:O:———

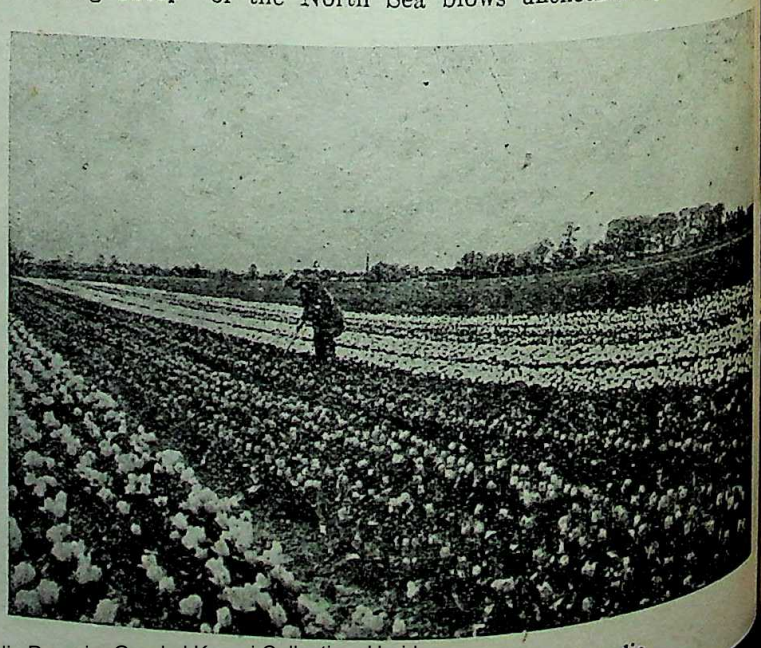
EAST ANGLIA

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

East Anglia, the largest plain in England, reaches out into the North Sea with a great curving sweep of land which forms the most easterly part of Britain. The Wash, its southern border is within 60 miles of London, it is one of the least known areas of England. It is divided into two countries, Norfolk and Suffolk, but it has preserved throughout the centuries something of that unity which was its pride in the days when it was a kingdom with its own monarch.

Its landscape is like no other in Britain. Those who have surrendered to its placid charm take a never-fading pleasure in its wide horizons, its tiny streams and slow, deep rivers, its secluded marshland and lakes, its heath and its woods, its small ancient towns with their mediaeval buildings, and perhaps above all its heritage of noble churches.

Across that spacious countryside, the strong air of the North Sea blows unchecked by hills. The



The flourishing bulb fields in East Anglia

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miles of East Anglian coastline, from the Wash to the River Stour, are dotted with fishing villages and towns. Between them are stretches of lonely shore, the haunt of sea-birds and wild fowl. The dry, bracing climate of that coast has been responsible for the growth of holiday resorts that include Felixstowe and Cromer, Lowestoft and Great Yarmouth, the last two being important herring fishery centres as well. Although there are no harbours for large ships, there is a thriving coastal trade and a busy river traffic.

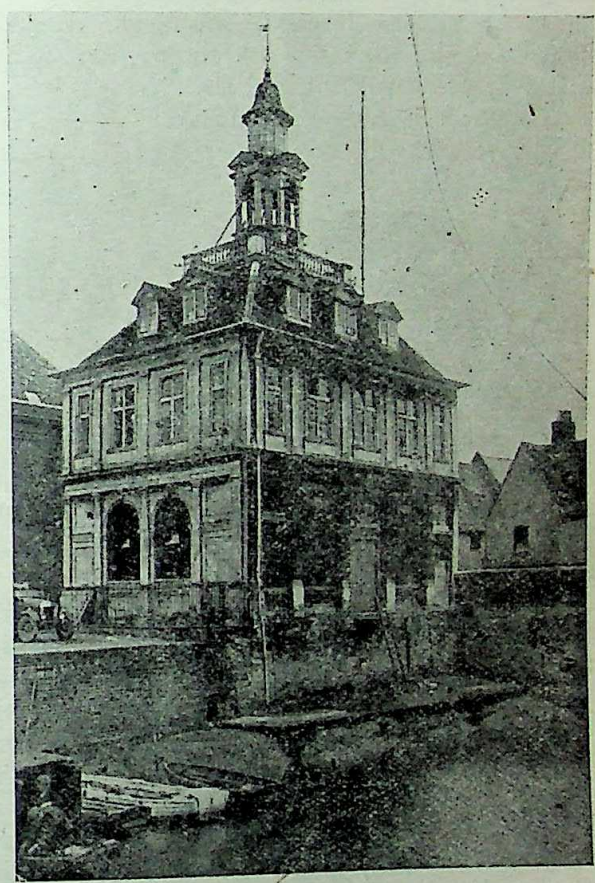
A quiet corner of Cromer, a well-known holiday resort on the coast of East Anglia

East Anglia has a wealth of inland waterways. The intricate series of lakes and river channels in the district known as the Broads attract great numbers of those who enjoy yachting in waters more placid than the open sea. As well as pleasure craft, Thames barges use those navigable rivers, their great red and brown sails attracting the eye amid the cool greenery of field and copse. They bring commodities of many kinds, and depart laden with cargoes of agricultural produce: here is to be found some of the richest farmland in the world.

A thousand years ago the best farms in Britain were those of East Anglia, although the Middle Ages brought an era when agriculture yielded its place of honour to the wool trade. The cloth industry of England—the foundation of her industrial prosperity—received its first great impetus in East Anglia.

It was not until the centre of this trade moved to Yorkshire that agriculture once again predominated; and today, more than four-fifths of its area is cultivated. Oats and wheat are grown, with flour-milling as a complementary industry. Beans and sugar-beet, dairy produce and fruit—these all come in great quantity from that busy countryside, every road of which seems to lead to a market town.

In the north, King's Lynn is a charming small town, with lovely old buildings that have been preserved in the midst of modern industries. The mingling



The largest river in East Anglia is the Ouse, on whose banks at Kings Lynn stands this Customs House

of the ancient with the modern, a respect for tradition and an eager desire for progress—these are features of all the little towns we pass through as we travel to the south, where Ipswich has its important industries and an outlet to the sea.

The centre of the whole region is Norwich, a delightful mediaeval city, once the capital of East Anglia. Its crowded market, held every Saturday near the walls of its towering Norman castle, is one of the most important in Britain. In and around the city are factories for the making of textiles, boots and shoes, and agricultural implements.

The bombs of the Luftwaffe damaged the town; but its famous Guildhall of flint and stone is intact, and so are more than 30 of its magnificent Gothic churches. These alone would make Norwich unique; the cathedral is one of the gems of English archi-

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tecture. But indeed it is difficult to travel far in East Anglia without coming upon an ancient church, and realising how men lavished their wealth on these buildings in the great days of the wool-trade, so that many a tiny village of reed-thatched or red-tiled cottages is now graced with a church of astonishing size and beauty.

East Anglia has produced artists as well as builders. The fame of Constable is world-wide; his landscapes depict scenes that are typical of Suffolk, with gentle, tree-clad slopes beside the rivers and deep, green winding lanes. Gainsborough, renowned portrait painter of the eighteenth century, was the son of a Suffolk wool merchant, and the "Norwich school" of artists stands in high repute today.

Among East Anglian authors, the writers in prose —such as George Borrow and Sir Thomas Browne— are more notable than the poets. One associates the people of East Anglia with practical commonsense rather than flights of the imagination. They are observant and analytical: they are realists.

That they are an industrious and a kindly people is certain, with a deep love of their green and spacious countryside. The Angles, who sailed across the North Sea and settled there 1,500 years ago, gave England its name. Their descendants gave England its greatest naval commander, Admiral Nelson of Trafalgar fame. Today, by the labour of their hands, the East Anglian people are contributing many things essential to the national well-being.

——:O:——

HEALTH OF THE FACTORY WORKER

By Dr. S. CHAKRAVORTI, L.R.C.P. (Lond.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.)

India stands today on the threshold of extensive industrialization and her people rightly look forward to greater industrial employment and increased productivity. Out of a total population of nearly 400 millions less than 20 millions are dependent on industry for their living and only some 2½ million people (that is, 0·6 per cent of the population) are actively engaged in large-scale and regular industrial establishments.

The potential resources for industrial development of the country are great but with the present underpaid, underfed, badly housed, and unhealthy population the outlook is disconcerting. While it is high time that more and more people were brought in to play their part in the industrial life of the country, so far there has been little evidence to show that Indian industrial organizations as a whole are applying, on any demonstrable scale, the results of research into the "human problems of work." The industrial worker is as important as the machine and the "health protection of the man who works" is an essential pre-requisite to any manufacturing project. If India must avoid those heavy losses in men and material which accompanied the industrial revolution of the West not so very long ago, the management of Indian industries must harness the knowledge and experience of their counterpart in the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Soviet Union. There was a time when nobody seemed to feel any responsibility towards the health and welfare of the workers; neither the employer nor the State took any serious trouble to inquire if the workers were physically fit for their jobs or whether harmful conditions in the factory were adversely affecting their health. The result was that many people of "occupational age-group" broke down in health and if not died prematurely, certainly, they eventually became a burden on the nation. No progressive country today can afford this preposterous loss of "man-power-hours."

Some measure of control of work conditions and environment is attempted by the various Factories Acts, but the actual medical guidance, at present sought for detection of toxic hazards and investigation of health problems in the Indian factories is painfully small. The Factories Acts also provide compensation when gross and irreperable damage has been done to health either from injury received whilst at work or from certain specific occupational diseases, such as anthrax, lead and phosphorus poisoning, chrome ulceration, arsenic and benzene poisoning, etc.; but so far little or no provision has been made to enforce the employer or labour to try and prevent occurrences of these, and many other, grave disabling diseases of industry. In this respect the English Factories Acts and those of other European countries are more advanced and aim at preventing of accidents and illnesses occurring in the factory in preference to paying out monetary compensation when the goose that laid the golden egg was dead or dying.

The fact that ill-health of the worker causes not only a loss to industries but is an ultimate drag on the nation has come to be appreciated by comparatively few organizations. A tremendous amount of research work has been done both in England and in America into the effects of hours and speed of work, of conditions and environment, of sanitation and mess-room facilities, the cause and control of accidents, and a host of other problems relating to industrial health and safety. Available working space is a very important factor in connection with speed

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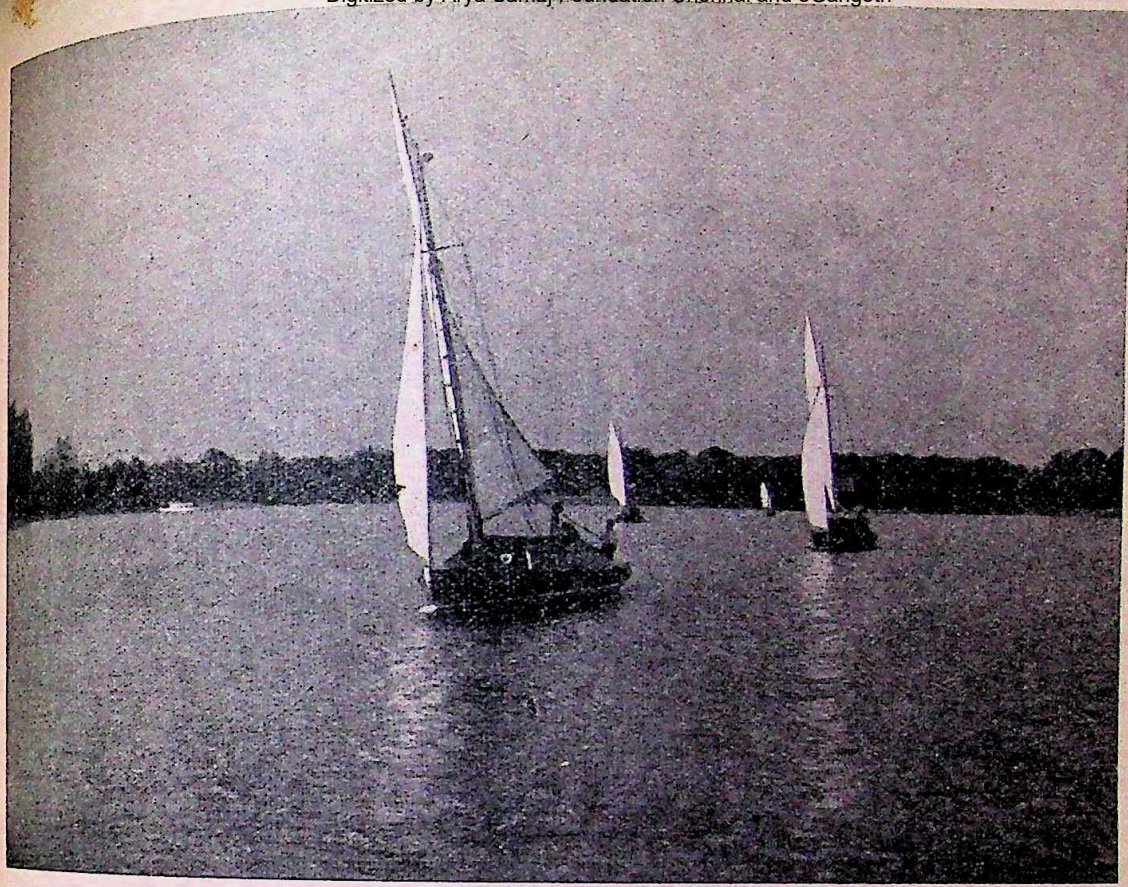

The Broads are a popular holiday resort of yachtsmen, whose graceful yachts can sail for many miles over the shallow inland waters of East Anglia

A row of beautiful old cottages in the main street of a charming village in East Anglia

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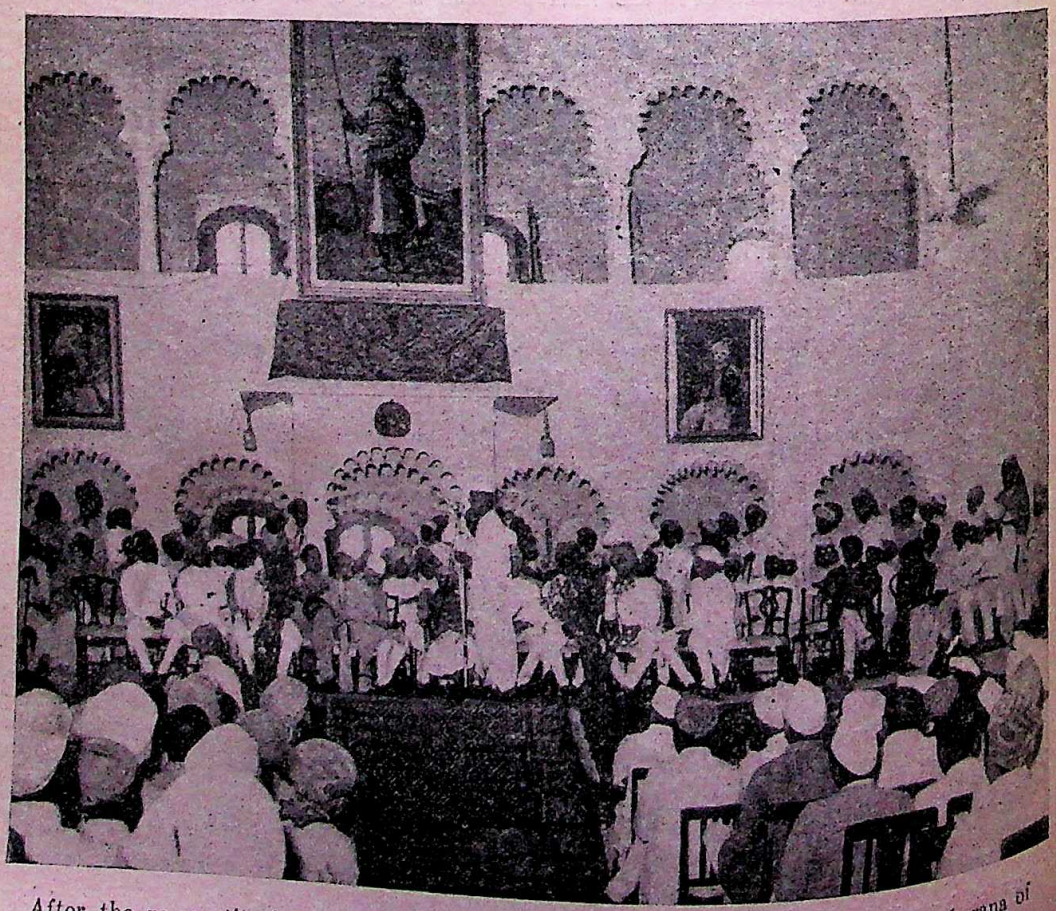
The India League of America pay tribute to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi at the public memorial meeting held on February 7, 1948 at Town Hall, New York



After the re-constitution of the Rajasthan Union on April 18, by which the Maharana of Udaipur becomes the new Rajpramukh, the Premier of the Union addresses the meeting: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, who administered the oath of allegiance to the new Rajpramukh.

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and efficiency of work and also in the control of droplet infection. To have to work under cramped conditions gives rise to irritation and annoyance and eventually leads to fatigue. The prevalence of infectious illness in any part of a factory may be an indication of defective ventilation. Good lighting, hygienic amenities and modern ventilating devices are all necessary adjuncts to make the inside of a factory pleasant and congenial and thereby prevent possible slack-backs, especially group-fatigue, impaired efficiency and production and absenteeism. Above all, the important task of personnel selection, "finding the job for the man and the man for the job," has received a great deal of public attention in the more advanced industrial countries. To wit: some people are physically and mentally unfitted for certain types of work, especially in the chemical and printing industries (*i.e.*, people who are prone to develop industrial dermatitis and respiratory diseases, etc.); on the other hand, certain categories of visual acuity and "visual grades" are specially suited for fine work in precision instrument making. Such examples could be multiplied manifold. A misplaced worker, "a square peg in a round hole," is not only a loss to the firm, he is unaccommodative to the environment of his work and to his colleagues, and is, in fact, just the object to become "accident-prone."

This factor of "human element in industry" appears to have received very little attention in India. *Pre-employment medical* examination of prospective employees and a carefully planned system of allocation into suitable types of work are necessary if man-power is not to be wasted. Again, it is essential that in certain hazardous occupations *periodic medical* examination of the workers should be carried out to detect early cases of health deterioration—for example, in dye-workers, miners, chemical process workers, etc.—it is necessary, to transfer the worker from toxic to innocuous job, for a time being, before permanent damage is done to his health. The still too prevalent practice on the part of the employer to discharge a worker the moment he falls ill, or is unable to carry on the job he is set to do, is to be deplored, especially when his illness may probably have been not so much to his own constitutional health but rather due to a fault in the process or the machine. Very often a transient illness is made the cause of permanent loss or diminution in the earning capacity on the part of the worker, for, unfortunately, so long as labour is so cheaply obtained in India, the employer finds it an easier task to replace the worker who has taken ill rather than investigate and remove the cause. It is both more profitable and productive to train a person for a particular process and aim at getting years of useful service from him rather than dismiss him after the first few months because he is suddenly taken ill. The worker must of necessity spend a third or more of his daily-life in a factory or workshop; it is not too much then to expect that his welfare and health problems should become a major concern of the management and the State.

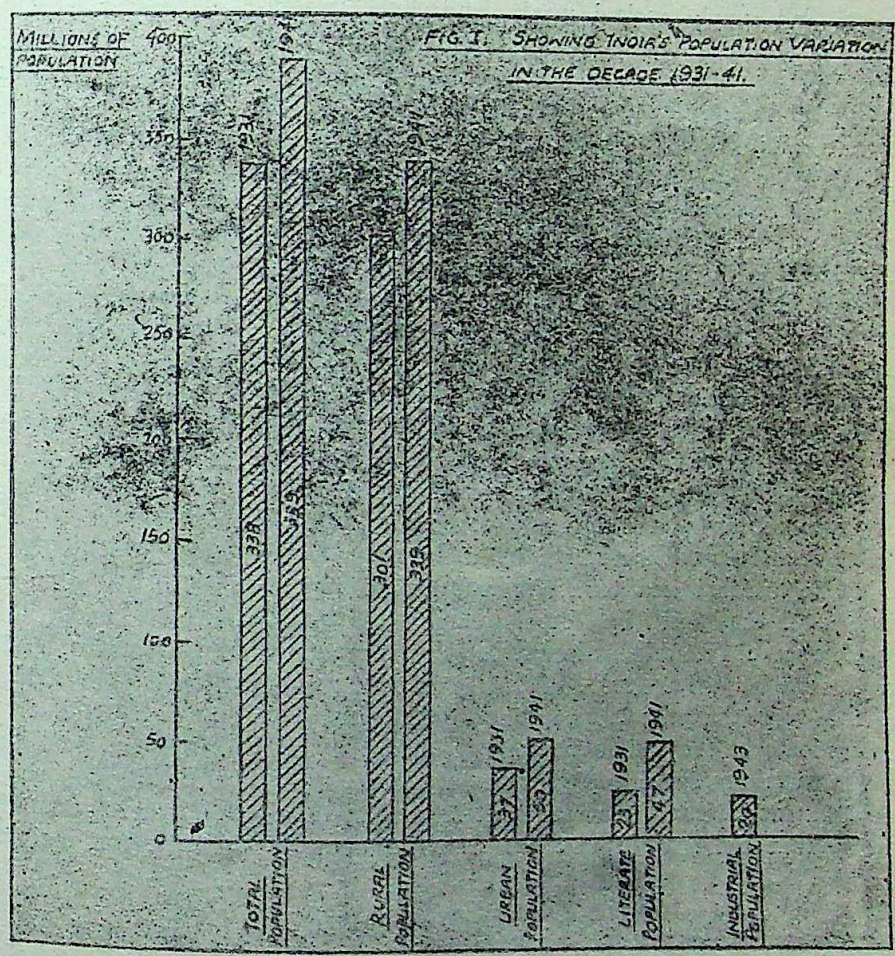

FIG. I. SHOWING INDIA'S POPULATION VARIATION IN THE DECADE 1931-41.

There is one aspect of the factory-life which can render invaluable service for the health and happiness of the workers; I refer to the provision of canteens or tiffin-room facilities. The average Indian worker cannot afford a well-balanced diet. His meal at home, consisting of cereals and very little else, is almost completely devoid of animal proteins, fats, vitamins A, C, and B_2 groups, calcium and other minerals, and thus accounts for his inevitable under-nutrition. The dietetic deficiency is also responsible for his low resistance against infection and other illnesses, as well as his poor performance and inefficiency at work. The average daily caloric intake of a working adult amongst the poorer classes in

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India is between 1700 to 1800, as compared to 2800 to 3200 in Great Britain ; 3000 in Australia ; 3000 to 3400 in U.S.A.; 2800 to 3000 in Denmark and so on. *Mann ist wass er isst,*—Man is what he eats ; and a great deal can be done for building and maintaining healthy workers if at least one wholesome properly balanced hot meal is provided during the working spell either at actual cost price, or less, or preferably free of charge. The cost will be amply rewarded by the saving of lost-time due to sickness-absenteeism and increased productivity. Certain progressive industrial establishments in India have started to provide rest-shelters and tiffin-rooms for their workpeople and supply cooked meals and light refreshments at actual cost price. This is a move in the right direction.

By and large the greatest loss to industry, both in men and material, is incurred through accidents. According to one American Insurance Company, the direct and indirect costs of an average accident, causing enforced absence from work for 3 days or more, amount to some £200 (about Rs. 2700), which serve to emphasize the economic burden of accidents quite apart from their social and medical importance. In 1942, more than Rs. 18,69,359 was paid out in India as Workmen's Compensation for some 44,443 cases of accidents and occupational diseases, averaging Rs. 42 per case ; a very small amount, but nevertheless when it is considered that this does not take into account such items as cost of hospitals, loss of wages and expenses incurred by the workman, cost of spoilt material and tools, interruption to production, and time lost by other employees through interference of an accident in the factory, the net loss to the industry, and the society in general, would assume very uneconomic proportions. The frequency of accidents in the Indian Factories is high ; about 1 in 40·6 workers sustains physical injury in course of his work, and 1 in 6818 meets with his death, that is to say that the annual accident rate is about 2463 per 100,000 employees, and the accident mortality fatality rate is 6 per 1000 reported cases of accidents. It is not enough to organize and maintain a first-aid and accident treatment centre in the factory, however efficient, but we must also look deeper into the character and causes of accidents, the *environmental factors,* such as improper guarding of machines, defective equipment and work conditions, poor health, accident proneness and fatigue.

Social services in the factories, and in the country generally, are very meagre. There is no national provision for sickness, unemployment or old-age benefits. There is no Poor Law, and the lot of the worker at present is one of debt and destitution. Until some form of national scheme for disablement or relief to the unemployed is forthcoming, it is very necessary to ensure that the worker is at least maintained in good health during his "working-life" for his own sake and for the sake of the industrial progress of the country. Welfare of the industrial worker can indeed be termed "a new discipline," leading to national economic stability. But it should be realized, of course, that Industrial Welfare requires the combined efforts of the employer, the engineer, the chemist, the physician, co-operation from the worker ; all pooling their knowledge and experience for the promotion of a healthy environment in which to work. They must be aided and guided by a *Central Industrial Health Research Institute* whose function would be to collect and analyse all data from the country as a whole and from abroad. The Institute must be prepared to research under experimental conditions, to investigate and explore means of improving working conditions and environment, and act as an Advisory Body both on behalf of individual industry and the State. It is only through conscious "team-work" between the State, the employer, and the worker, with a common Safety Institute to help them, that production can be speeded up-grade, industries prosper and the Indian people attain and maintain a decent standard of living.

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THE BASIC PROBLEMS OF RURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN BENGAL

By Prof. KARUNAMOY MUKHERJEE, M.A., P.R.S.

Epoch of 1930-44

The problem of agricultural indebtedness of Bengal, as much as that of India, is a much-discussed and long problem. But during the last sixteen years, the publication of Bengal Provincial and the Central Banking Enquiry Committee Reports, the nature of this problem has undergone some vital changes. The period between 1930 and 1944 has in many ways been epoch-making, and, far-reaching shifts of position have taken places in respect of the debt position of the cultivator. Little change has, however, been effected in his economic position as a whole. Rather, as the agrarian crisis in Bengal has deepened during the last one decade, his living condition has worsened more and more.

But what are the basic changes in the debt-position of the average agriculturist in Bengal as he stands today? And what are, in brief, the causes of these changes, if any?

Debt Conciliation

In the first place, the money as well as the real burden of the agricultural debt in this province which had greatly increased during the period of depression has been substantially relieved through active intervention of the Government. The volume of the total debt which had, according to the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee, roughly at Rs. 100 crores in 1929, was said to have increased to Rs. 275 crores by the year 1935. This last figure which was disclosed in course of debates on the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Bill, 1935, in the Bengal Legislative Council, may not be accepted at its face value. The Bengal Board of Economic Inquiry concluded that the total capital debt of Primary Raiyats of Bengal in 1933, was Rs. 97 crores. In this way, the Government did intervene and quite a number of Debt Conciliation Boards were set up in far districts of Bengal beginning with July 1936. The volume of work scaled down up to March, 1945, has been quite considerable as will be clear from the following table:[1]

Table I

Applications received by D. S. Boards	34 lakhs
Cases disposed of by D. S. Boards	29 ,,
Cases awarded by D. S. Boards	13 ,,
Out of total settled, amount of money—	
claimed by creditors	Rs. 52 crores
determined u/s 18 of B. A. D. Act	,, 32 ,,
awarded by D. S. Boards	,, 19 ,,
Claim reduced by D. S. Boards by	63 per cent
No. of cases pending at D. S. Boards	5 lakhs

1. Vide Budget Session Debates of the Bengal Legislative Assembly 1946.

Change in Nature of Long-term Credit-need

It appears, then, that the cultivator in Bengal has been substantially relieved of the crushing incidence of debt. And consequently, the problem of long-term credit requirements has taken a different shape today. The Famine Enquiry Commission points out :[2]

> "There should be little need in the post-war period for the grant of loans . . . for long-term credit for the repayment of old debts."

It is obvious, however, that the cultivators' need for long-term credit for land improvement will remain, and, will even increase.

Poor Peasant and Short Loans

But it will be too much to presume that debt-position of the poorer section of the peasantry has appreciably improved. Debt conciliation apart, the small cultivators have derived but little benefit of the increase in prices of agricultural produce during the war and the famine. For it is truism to say that the greatest bulk of the peasantry in Bengal is not self-sufficient, far less having a surplus produce from the family holding.

Again, the problem of short and intermediate term credit needs of the cultivators taken as a whole has remained as serious today as before. The Bengal Banking Committee[3] estimated such needs at Rs. 96 crores in 1930 ; the author of the *Man Behind the Plough* in 1938 worked out Rs. 60 crores as the annual need.[4] But the minimum need is that of Rs. 15 crores as per calculation of the Famine Enquiry Commission, 1945.[5] This figure will not be easily acceptable. Provisionally, as the author of this note has been able to estimate, any amount between Rs. 40 and Rs. 60 crores is the minimum for financing short-and-intermediate term credit requirements of the cultivators in Bengal.[6]

Wrong Presumptions

Much careless remark has in this regard been made both in the Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal, 1940, and in the Annual Reports of the Co-operative Credit Department, Bengal, in recent years. Thus, the former observes as follows :

> "We agree that facilities for short-term credit are necessary, though we think that lands capable of cultivation rarely remain fallow in a normal

2. *Final Report*, p. 301.
3. *Ibid*, p. 82.
4. *Ibid*, p. 155.
5. *Final Report*, p. 460.
6. This point which requires further development will not be discussed here.

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season for the want of it. At the present time, the economic depression, the operations of the Debt Settlement Boards, and the introduction of the Money-lenders Bill have compelled the cultivators to manage without credit."[7]

Similarly, the following passage occurs in the Co-operative Annual Report for 1940-41 :[8]

> ". . . in no year throughout the depression . . . or even after . . . has any considerable portion of the land remained uncultivated for lack of necessary finance in any part of the province. This fact goes to show that there has been no serious shortage of credit in so far as the basic requirements of the agricultural population are concerned."

Credit and Land Transfer

We need not challenge the truth of the premise of the last-named authority as quoted above. We should, however, remember that partly in consequence of credit shortage, the cultivation of land has been less thorough and ill-performed ; the processes of tilling, weeding, manuring, etc., have been largely neglected. Lower and lower yield per acre as shown in successive quinquennial crop-cutting reports of the Government of India reflects the deterioration of agriculture in Bengal. In the second place, it is not loans but sale-proceeds or *salami* on lease of real property of the cultivator that have more and more become the source of agricultural finance during the last one-decade-and-a-half. It is well-known that the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Act of 1928 under Section 26B gave a statutory recognition to the Occupancy Raiyats' right to alienate his holding in any manner he chose. This right was made more absolute by the amending Tenancy Act of 1938, when transfer-fee to landlords was abolished and also, under-Raiyats were accorded the benefit of this right. That the cultivators have progressively been denuded of their holdings is proved by the rapid increase in sale deeds executed from year to year. The following table shows this :[9]

Table 3

Documents of Land Transfer in Bengal (in lakhs)

Year	Immovable property	Sale	Compulsory lease	Mortgage	Mortgage as p.c. of sale
1930	11·4	2·5	2·5	5·1	204
1931	8·7	2·2	1·7	3·7	168
1932	8·6	2·4	1·7	3·8	158
1933	8·5	2·5	1·7	3·1	124
1934	9·7	3·0	2·1	3·4	113
1935	10·5	3 2	2·4	3·5	109
1936	10·9	3·4	2·7	3·5	103
1937	10·7	3·3	2·9	3·0	90
1938	10·4	4·1	2·9	1·6	39
1939	13·5	6·5	3·6	1·5	23
1940	14·6	6·4	3·3	1·6	24
1941	16·1	9·9	3·4	1·5	17
1942	16·8	9·1	3·5	1·6	11
1943	27·1	16·9	5·6	1·8	10

7. *Report of the Land Revenue Commission*, Vol. I, p. 146, para 278.

8. *Co-operative Annual Report*, 1940-41, p. 8.

9. The figures are taken from the Annual Reports of the Registration Department, Government of Bengal.

Poverty of Cultivator

We have said above that the cultivators' burden of debt has become lighter because of scaling down by conciliation can offer no permanent solution. For, the cultivator, once relieved of his debt, will again be compelled, and to a certain extent, tempted, to incur fresh loan and thereby to get re-involved in debt unless something is done to prevent it. As the Royal Agricultural Commission commented :

> "In his ceaseless struggle to extort a bare livelihood from an insufficient holding, the cultivator has found it difficult to resist the temptation to relieve present necessities by mortgaging his future income and even his capital."[10]

Now, apart from actual expenses of cultivation the peasant must incur a considerable loan for current domestic expenses. It is a tragedy that the grower of food himself has to borrow for procuring food. But no wonder ! For, as already said, an ordinary cultivator earns very little in a year to meet even his bare necessaries of life. The Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee holds that

> "There is a kind of poverty, which, while not amounting to insolvency, nevertheless makes for a precarious and uncertain living. It is this latter class of poverty, which is the real cause of indebtedness among agriculturists in Bengal."[11]

Causes of Poverty

The factors that make for a poverty-stricken peasantry may briefly be recounted. An absolute dependence on land, fragmented uneconomic holdings, small out-turn of produce from land, scanty income from land and other sources, and finally unequal opportunities of life resulting from an unfair and unequal distribution of wealth and resources—these are some of the causes that are responsible for the low economic status of the agriculturists in Bengal.

Pressure on Land and Decreasing Low Yield from Land

The census figure given in the table below will reveal an ever-increasing pressure of population on land in this province :

Table 4

Year			Agricultural population
1891	..	..	25·5 millions
1921	..	..	36·1 millions
1941	..	..	43·4 millions

The acreage out-turn of certain crops in India at different periods shows an appreciable decrease as will be seen from the following table.[12]

10. *Report*, p. 432.

11. *Report*, p. 71.

12. Sir Manilal Nanavati's *Minute of Dissent, Famine Commission*, 1945.

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TABLE 5

In lb. per acre

	Annual average of 1931-32 to 1935-36	1936-37 to 1940-41	Decrease
Rice—			
Bengal	896	837	59
Bihar	738	676	62
Wheat—			
C. P.	666	590	76
Bombay	428	394	34
Sugar-cane—			
Bengal	624	577	47
C. P.	443	430	13
Bombay	5906	5587	319

SMALL HOLDINGS

The average size of holding per agriculturist family in different provinces of India and in some European countries is as follows :[18]

TABLE 6

Place	*Average holding*
Denmark (1919)	40 acres
Germany (1910)	26 ,,
Germany (1907)	21·5 ,,
France (1892)	20·5 ,,
Belgium (1905)	14·5 ,,
Bombay (1939)	11·7 ,, [14]
Punjab ,,	10·0 ,, [14]
U. P. ,,	6·0 ,, [15]
Madras ,,	4·5 ,, [16]
Bengal ,,	4·4 ,, [17]

MAL-DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

But the size of the "average holding" is not a proper index of the actual economic condition of the ryot. The range of holdings held by different grades of agriculturists in Bengal and the Punjab in 1939 is shown below. It will be seen that the owners are concentrated in the lower acreage groups and that the land is concentrated in higher groups :

TABLE 7 (Punjab)[18]

Size of holding	% of owners	% of lands
0—1 acre	20·2	0·8
1—3 acres	28·6	5·2
3—5 ,,	14·9	6·2
5—10 ,,	16·9	13·1
10—15 ,,	7·3	9·1
15—20 ,,	3·6	7·2
20—25 ,,	2·2	5·6
25—50 ,,	3·9	14·8
Over 50 ,,	2·4	38·0
Total	100·0	100·0

The position of Bengal is little better than in the Punjab :

TABLE 8 (Bengal)[19]

Size of holding	*% of owners*
Less than 2 acres	46·0
2—3 ,,	11·2
3—4 ,,	9·4
4—5 ,,	8·0
5—10 ,,	17·0
Above 10 ,,	8·4

SMALL INCOME

From the above it will be easily realised that the meagre per capita income of the agriculturists in Bengal and their low standard of living and scanty, or often negative, surplus are not at all accidental or without sufficient reason. The figures of the following table will speak for themselves :

TABLE 9[20]

Income, Expenditure and Holding per average Agriculturist family in Bengal

Place	Year	Average holding in acres	Family size	Family income	Family expenditure	Surplus (+) Deficit (—)
				Rs.	Rs.	
Bengal	1928	6·73	6·89	218	217	+1
,,	1929	4·75	5	450	420	+30
,,	1933	6·73	6·89	114	136	—22
,,	1938	5 3	5	184-288	293-319	—5 to —135
,,	1939	4·36	5	250	..	..
Faridpur District, Bengal	1908	..	5·6	250	250	0
,,	1928	4·46	6·48	207	198	+9
,,	1933	4·46	6·48	105	118	—13
,,	1940-42	3·7	8	417	465	—48

MEASURES RECOMMENDED

In the paragraph above, we have analysed in some detail a few of the causes of the root problem of poverty of the average agriculturist in Bengal which compels him to revert to borrowing repeatedly. To prevent the need for thoughtless borrowing certain measures are to be adopted, such as, curbing the money-lender, protecting the property of the cultivator from attachment and sale in exemtion of decrees, restricting the right of sale and mortgage of agricultural land, granting government loans to agriculturists, extending the facilities of co-operation, reducing the burden of land revenue and above all granting of improved tenancy rights in land, which again, is to be thoroughly redistributed equitably on the basis of economic holding and scientific, profitable cultivation. Produce-sharing tenants, *i.e.*, *bargadars* must be raised to the status of tenants with permanent rights in the land they cultivate. This will eliminate *bhag-chas*

13. For European countries, vide Darling : *Punjab Peasant*, 1928, p. 89, foot-note.
14. *Famine Commission, Final Report*, p. 257.
15. *Flood Report*, Vol. I, para 198.
16. *Ibid*, para 179.
17. *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 114-15.
18. Vide Results of the enquiry made by the Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry, 1939.

19. *Land Revenue Commission, Bengal*, Vol. II, Table VIII (b).
20. Sources : *Bengal Banking Committee, Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry*, Sir Azizul Haque's *Man Behind the Plough*, *Bengal Land Revenue Commission*, Major Jack's *Economic Life of a Bengal District*, and, *Revised Settlement Operations in Faridpur District*, etc.

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which perpetuates parasitism in the agrarian economy of our country and weakens the rural structure of our society. But no less an evil is the practice of sub-infeudation which is the inevitable consequence of the defective land-systems in our country. Absentee land-lordism and non-cultivating ownership of land, such as, in the case of tenure-holders, must be finally liquidated. The abolition of Zamindari system is a burning question of the day. After the investigations of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission were published, the proposal of State acquisition of land-lords' rights or, in other words, the prospect of land nationalisation in Bengal has become a practical one. With the attainment of Dominion Status, India should not now brook any further delay to end parasitism in our agrarian life and the mal-distribution of the country's land assets. Ruthless extermination of all causes responsible for agricultural inefficiency or lack of enterprise,—that must be the immediate programme of action. The question is how we are to open the flood-gates of popular initiative.

TACKLE THE 'WHOLE MAN'

The real aim must be to usher into existence a race of self-reliant, contented, thrifty and prosperous peasantry in our country. Unless a comprehensive and well-thought-out plan of improving the diverse aspects of the entire economic life of the cultivator is seriously launched, we shall be far from achieving that aim. Under such a plan there remains no scope for leaving him to his fate or to his meagre resources. Lack of credit facility or indebtedness is but a part of the bigger economic problem that confronts the cultivator as a man. The crux of the matter is how to tackle and improve the 'Whole Man.'

——:O:——

THE CENTENARY OF K. VEERESALINGAM PANTULU

BY P. RAJESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L.

THE Centenary of the birth of the late K. Veeresalingam of Andhra that comes off on 16th April, 1948, has more than passing interest to all lovers of social reform in India. He was the first pioneer in South India to advocate and perform widow remarriage on a large scale, when it was undreamt of in the higher castes. What is more, he established a colony for the reformed couples and made them feel quite at home. He patiently faced all opposition from every quarter. At times his very life was in danger. He can favourably be compared to Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar of Bengal, Sir Ganga Ram of the Punjab and Prof. Karve of Maharashtra who were the greatest social reformers and worked incessantly for the uplift of women in their respective provinces. It is interesting to recall that when he was faced with the opposition of the learned Pandits he received invaluable help from Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar who was his senior in the field of social reform and was fortunately alive at that moment, and incidentally defeated the Pandits on their own ground.

Besides Veeresalingam went a step further under the inspiration of the Brahmo Samaj and discarded his sacred thread (the emblem of a Brahmin) with a view to inaugurate a casteless society. He popularised communal prayers through the Prarthana Samaj. He was the foremost rationalist of his time and vehemently criticised the belief in charms, devils and the like. At the same time he condemned the Western ways of life and warned the public about the impending dangers. Though he was issueless, he did not adopt anybody but bequeathed his all to the public.

To the Andhras he is more than a social reformer. He is really one of the foremost makers of modern Andhra-desha. He touched life at many points. He was a great scholar in English, Sanskrit and Telugu. He translated many a standard English and Sanskrit work into Telugu. Besides being a great poet and the author of the *History of the Andhra Poets*, he was an excellent writer of prose and rightly acquired the title of Sir Walter Scott of Andhra while alive. His *Rajasekhara Charitra* was the first novel in Telugu. His *Sakuntala* was the earliest and the most popular drama in Telugu. Through his humourous skits his memory is still cherished.

He was an eminent journalist and conducted two Anglo-Telugu weeklies, namely, *Vivekavardhani* and *Satyasamvardhani* with distinction. His disclosures were sensational. Week after week he fearlessly exposed the evils of inefficiency, corruption and nepotism. He was instrumental in bringing some important culprits to book. He rendered yeoman's services to Rajamundry as its city father. Though he was a moderate in politics as he ought to be since he was serving in a Government college, his influence on the student community was wholesome and lasting.

Above all, he was a great philanthropist. He endowed his native town with a decent Town-hall and also established a High School. His doors were always open to the needy. Government too recognised his public services by conferring on him the title of Rao Bahadur as a personal distinction. He was loved and respected by the people and the powers-that-be. The best tribute that can possibly be paid to his memory is to publish all his works, carry on his mission with intense zeal and place the institutions started by him, namely, the Victoria Widows' Home, Hitakarini High School and the Town Hall on a sound and stable footing. While others too may sympathise and extend their helping hand it is primarily the duty of the Andhras.

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OUR FOREIGN EDUCATION POLICY

By DR. S. R. PALIT

Our Government have decided to send overseas about a thousand students every year for training in various branches of science. This huge expenditure of a few crores from the public exchequer is undertaken with the hope that these students, their training finished, will be better fitted to take their share in the scientific and industrial development of the country necessary for our modernization. When the first contingent of these students arrived in U.S.A. about two years ago, the writer was present there and had the opportunity to watch the operation of this scheme from close quarters until his return lately from U.S.A. *via* England, where also he devoted himself to study the situation for a few weeks. For various reasons this scheme has, however, fallen miserably short of its desired goal, and in these few lines an attempt will be made to point out some of the salient reasons which have contributed to this dismal failure.

The foremost reason for the failure of the scheme has been the undue haste with which selection was made, not always very happily, and the selected boys dispatched to their destination without any assurance that these boys would have suitable opportunities for the intended training. Most of the boys have been selected to receive some technological training necessary for some particular branch of industry. But unfortunately for lack of suitable arrangements, practically all the boys have had to remain content with getting enrolled into a department of pure or applied science of a university for a Master's degree course, though practically all these boys already have a Master's and some a Doctorate degree.

The situation is painfully farcical, and the following illustrative cases are revealing commentaries to our inefficiency in planning and organization. In the fall of 1945, the Education Liaison Officer of India in U. S. A. came to California and visited the Professor I was working with, Dr. James W. McBain with the request to admit in his section two Indian scholars who were shortly expected. Professor McBain exercised his influence and secured seats for them. The liaison officer told Prof. McBain that one of these students was to specialise in solvents and other probably in paints, varnishes or some similar line. Dr. McBain particularly discussed the matter with me and it was arranged that they would work in our research laboratory in pure physical chemistry and register them for Master's degree and, time permitting, Doctor's degree. Both these students arrived a few months behind the scheduled time, and it transpired that none of them was a physical chemist, one being a biochemist and the other an organic chemist, and they could not possibly fit in with our plans. Accordingly, to some inconvenience and irk of my Professor, they had to be given berths in other sections of pure chemistry, which were more akin to their past training.

Note that the tentative or the final arrangement had nothing to do with the training they were intended for. Our public money was to be spent on them in order to enrich their chemical experience in definite technical fields, whereas they were admitted not in any chemical engineering or applied chemistry section, not to speak of apprenticeship in an industrial plant which was really wanted, but they were enrolled for a degree in pure science which is hardly anything more than duplication of what they had already gone through in India. This training will not equip them, except for an added degree, any better to plan, organize or run any industrial plant when they come back. The above is not an isolated instance but is an illustrative case and such an inordinate bungling has been practically always the rule in almost every case.

Take another example, that of Prof. Ramchandra Iyer from Travancore. He was sent to study about Rayon (artificial silk) so that when he would come back he could take charge of a Rayon plant then under erection in Travancore. What was done about him by our Education liaison officer was to enrol him for a Master's degree course —a course which he himself is capable of teaching others. Imagine his mental distress in his age and position to have to sit with fresh graduates. Many scholars everywhere have repeatedly told me about this unnecessary wastage of time and energy and their consequent depression and disillusionment owing to this type of mishandling the situation. Many Doctorates and almost all Master's degree holders of our Universities have been compelled to pass through such inglorious procedure to no ultimate benefit to anybody whatsoever.

Such a confused affair is probably understandable in those hectic post-war days. The Government wanted to do something for the country and did not know exactly how to do it. The Government people at the helm at that time which was changing with kaleidoscopic rapidity stuck to the time-honoured method of relying on the civil administrators. That the advice of and direction from eminent scientists of the country for working such a scheme was the *sine qua non* for success was never realised. Even the existing report of the Indian Scientific Mission compiled by the then available best scientific talent of India at an enormous price was set at naught. It is certainly a bad reflection on the working of our the then central government that though even an insignificant commission's elaborate workings are printed and published at enormous expense, this valuable document, undoubtedly the most nationalistic and far-sighted report on our scientific welfare ever submitted to our government, has been withheld from public view, and buried in the archives of the Government to be eaten by white ants. The recommendations contained therein have been completely ignored, though without the least hesitation the writer, who had access to the report, can still recommend it with some modifications as the now changed conditions demand, as the most trustworthy guide in any proposed planning for scientific education in our country.

Even the very basic recommendations have been completely ignored with what a consequent confusion and inconvenience! It appeals to every sensible man as also recommended in the above report that since we are arrang-

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ing for scientific and technical education, the Education liaison officer in U.S.A. and also in other countries should be a scientist. Unfortunately, for reasons not known, it is not so, and the abovementioned confusion continues unremedied. I wish to make it clear that this does not in any way reflect on the general efficiency of the present liaison officer, but I only wish to point out that *you cannot get a tailor's job done by a carpenter however skilful the latter might be with carpentry tools.*

When thousands of these young men would be coming back in a year onwards after spending millions from the public funds, it will be a distressing problem for the Government to fit them in technical jobs profitable to the country, as the majority of them will not be in any sense better fitted to erect and run any technical plants than when they left this shore, for apparently no fault of theirs. The blunder is on the part of the government and these are basic ones. The government have scored threefold blunders:

(*i*) in the selection of candidates;
(*ii*) in hastily sending them overseas without being assured of the requisite training facilities and
(*iii*) in putting more reliance on purely administrative people than on scientists to plan and run such a scheme;

and the way to remedy them are discussed below:

(i) Selection of Candidates—The selection so far done has not been satisfactory. The intellectual prestige of our country has never before suffered so much in foreign eyes particularly in the eyes of the 'intelligentsia' of America and Europe as by sending 'misfits' and 'below averages'. Think of the shock of the professors when some government scholars supposed to be the 'pick' of the country scored way below average credits in class tests. Even their characteristic courteous reserve in remarks about foreigners could not completely check from public eye their surprised feeling and anybody who has been in U.S.A. for the last two years knows about this. This very fact had moved one of the great sons of India now living in U.S.A. Dr. Taraknath Das to write an article in *The Modern Review* depreciating the system, root and branch.

The criterion of choice should have been that only mature students with good academic record and some promise in original scientific thinking should be sent and this choice should have been left entirely to a truly representative panel of scientists from all over the country. The country does not gain in the least by sending herds of mediocres to get them labelled with an extra foreign degree or two, and it is sheer and irresponsible wastage when done at public expense.

(ii) Hasty Send-off—In their earnestness for doing good to the country, the Government should not have been swayed by the rather unwise policy of packing the students off to a foreign land with instruction to scrape off any knowledge they can. It should have been a well-arranged and ordered procedure, and nothing would have been lost by waiting until the proper facilities were forthcoming. Ask any student in U.S.A. or England what he is doing and what he was supposed to do, there would hardly be any correspondence between the two.

It is the considered opinion of the present writer that mass-training in industry in a foreign country is a utopian dream. The best we can hope to achieve in this way is to send the student technicians to get a degree in a recognised foreign institution, which is often hardly better than our own.

Technical know-hows are essential to technological success and it is pure wishful thinking to hope to learn them by the easy road of sending our boys overseas. This can be true only in isolated cases. All countries have come to possess these know-hows by the hard and only way of asking Nature, the way of experimentation, the way of sustained effort, and we have to beat the same long path in our own country. If we are to industrialize our country on a large scale and want to see our own people as technical experts, the only feasible way is to secure foreign machinery and foreign experts and let the training be conducted on our own soil. All later developments are to come from the experimentation of these trained people on our own soil, if we as a nation are worth it. Any other way or short-cut is bound to prove finally to be a costly failure.

However, in our hurry to industrialize we should not slacken *our support to the pursuit of pure science, the fountain-head of all knowledge.* For pure scientific research we must continue to send the proper type of our brilliant younger students to have opportunity to work with the masters in foreign land. If pure scientific research is neglected or not properly encouraged, which is unfortunately often the case nowadays, we shall be signing our own eventual death warrant in a scientific sense. This point has been thoroughly stressed in the report of the Indian Scientific Mission.

(iii) Scientific Planning by Scientists—Never before scientific planning was more urgently needed than now in India, and it is a sad and unpalatable truth that anybody however clever and intelligent he might be, has got the least chance of success in such matter unless he has a thorough scientific training. Also, such a job of national importance should not be entrusted to the sole judgement of a few, but should be the outcome of teamwork and co-operative effort of a group of able scientists working as one unit under the guidance of an able and inspiring scientific leader. A separate portfolio for National Scientific Planning under a renowned scientist, or an able administrator quite familiar with modern scientific developments, is essential at this juncture. He should be advised by a representative panel of scientists and technicians, and should go ahead with this job of national planning for improvements and expansion of industries, agriculture, public health, etc. Anything short of this is incommensurate with the vastness of the problem and is bound to be insufficient for a thorough job.

In this connection may I point out another extravagance in useless drainage of public funds, prolifically being displayed for the last two years. I refer to the sending of Directors, Assistant Directors, Professors, and practical

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anybody in almost all educational and research institutions of our country who have some influence in their respective governing bodies, to foreign countries on a trip or visit. Such a trip or visit is certainly necessary for people of international stature, but not to scientific middle group though unfortunately for our country many of the latter are holding substantial top-ranking offices owing to the miserably below-standard level of our general scientific attainments. Most of these scientific 'ordinaries' have also passed the best creative phase of their life. Very little is gained by the country by sending such people on an official tour. Even a genius has never learnt anything worth learning by a hasty tour but only by presistent application. I consider that such an expenditure is unjustified and this money could be better utilised by allotting the same to two or more of their young and promising subordinates to go overseas to learn some definite techniques in their line by a few months' stay in one place and not by a hasty tour.

In conclusion, I appeal to our Government in the name of public welfare of this poor country to put an immediate stop to such a farcical eye-wash in foreign technical education, and start afresh on a sounder basis with the ultimate end in view. It is senseless to pursue a wrong road which does not lead to our objective on the ground that the right course is difficult to follow or is not easily recognizable.

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SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB

By Dr. P. NAGARAJA RAO, M.A., D.Litt.

In the history of British social thought the names of the Webbs have a permanent place. The 'aged mortals' were the 'Fabian oracles,'* who worked hard for the moral and material advancement of the masses with a religious zeal which is second only to Marx and Lenin and none others. Sidney was an able civil servant before he took to public life and served with great ability and distinction in the London County Council. The Webbs represent a very important phase of the social philosophy of human life. They were the foundation members of the Fabian Society which has been of great distinction in its fold. Among the prominent members were: the Webbs, Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, Sidney Oliver, etc. They all believed that the chief need of man was a good material and moral context. The Webbs were the first to take to a scientific study of Local Government and other economic problems. They developed the art of municipal enterprise and are responsible for what is called "gas and water socialism." They served on several important committees including the Poor Law Commission. Sidney Webb served in two governments, the Liberal and the Labour Party. Both the Webbs had a practical and pragmatic outlook, so they believed in facts and buried their heads in plans and details. They did not believe in many gray theories.

On the intellectual side, the Webbs laid great stress on a detailed and scientific study of social problems. They stood for dispassionate analysis of facts, clear thinking, and cogent reasoning. They wanted to build a new social order, not on the insecure foundations of broken heads or on blood baths. They made comprehensive blue-prints and educated men on the ideals of co-operation. The important works of the Webbs are *A History of Trade Unionism*, a book on the co-operative movement, secondary education and universities. They have works on the medical profession and on prison reforms. They have given us a sketched constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain. Their monumental volume on *Soviet Communism* is at once history and literature. In over a thousand pages, they have given us a vivid picture of the workings of the various institutions, economic, political and social, of the U. S. S. R. It is a sober account of the State of Russia and not a mere piece of propaganda.

The Webbs were the pioneers in the study of the social services in a scientific fashion. They treated facts as sacred and were the inventors of the phrase "measurement and publicity." They have drafted innumerable reports under the Fabian auspicies. They worked for the Benthamite ideal of the greatest happiness of the greatest number in more than half a dozen walks of life.

In the field of journalism they founded the most intellectual Leftist weekly, *The New Statesman and Nation*, which represents the Radical Socialist thought.

Their service to education is monumental. They were responsible for the present London School of Economics. They built it from its humble beginning in two rooms to its present status. Sidney was the Professor of Public Administration for some time. The influence of the Webbs was so great that the London School of Economics was called the "Webberies." The long list of men whose ability is the glory of recent English thought has been associated with the London School either as teachers or as students. The list comprises Harold J. Laski, Graham Wallas, R. H. Tawney, Lionel Robbins, Lord Beveridge, Dalton and the Prime Minister Attlee.

The celebrated couple spent their whole life-time in close companionship working for the fruitful activities and fellowship among men. Sidney jokingly said that "In a sufficiently integrated relationship the husband and the wife make not two but eleven." They avoided personal loves and hates, and worked for impersonal ends. Their motto was, 'We shall strive.' They

* The Fabians got their name from the Roman General Fabius, who believed in caution and inevitability of gradualness.

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have done more than any other two individuals during the last century to free politics and economics from speculation and guess-work. They have given it a solid scientific basis.

The two worked as one. They dropped the first person singular "I" and always wrote "We." Sometime early in their life, A. G Gardiner tells us, there was a controversy as to which of the two came before or after and he concludes 'that it is an idle the because you can never tell where one ends and the other begins.' It is difficult to say, "how much you yielding to the eloquence of Mrs. Webb and how m to the reasoning of Mr. Webb." They were an ins tion in themselves. Nietzche observed, "Not round inventors of new noises but round the inventors of values doth the world revolve : inaudibly it revolves

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IS DIPLOMACY A STRATEGY OR IS IT TACTICS

By G. L. SCHANZLIN

It is characteristic of our age to use terms derived from warfare even when speaking on non-military subjects. No political campaign is ever being held without one's being forcibly reminded of the fact that the word campaign itself is a war term. In any "field" of action or endeavor, the idea of field itself recalls the battle-field, rather than the field of the peaceful cultivator of the soil. The fighting field of modern times is the most noteworthy specialization of the much-used noun. The words manoeuvre, strategy, tactics, allies, defeat, victor, victim, and dozens of others were born on the fields of *battle* and even an innocent term like exercise of the parade ground dates way back to Roman barracks.

Not merely diplomacy is a battle of brains, war also, even its most primitive and crudest forms, required more than mere muscle power, or sheer brutal physical strength and endurance. The dictum of Clausewitz :

> "War is a political act. Politics and warfare have the same logic, although they are using different grammars,"

was much heard of while the last war was on, much to the chagrin of all lovers of peace. How to deprive war of its political status is perhaps one of the foremost problems of our generation.

The word global, a favorite war term, has gone somewhat out of use. Not much headway has been made toward crystalizing public opinion in the various leading nations into a sort of global public opinion. By common consent, the hope of success for the United Nations rests very largely on the strong arm of two or three of the largest nations to enforce a stabilizing equilibrium of the welter of contending economic and national interests. The strategy in all this has been to preserve and to defend the remnants of a bygone period against the persistent aggressiveness of a system of economics and politics which is believed to entertain global aspirations.

In his now famous article, signed "X", George F. Kennen has pointed out that the chief advantage of Soviet diplomacy is its ability to bide its time. To change from a mechanical pursuit of strategic aims to a nimble use of delaying tactics may be the most valuable lesson the present Russian rulers are teaching the rest of the world. Could it be, that in this matter, the East, with its unhurrying, patient, plodding way, has assets, the value of which our nervously Western world is slow to understand and appreci

Ciano, the late son-in-law of the late Mus has been credited with the statement that there no more boundaries in this world, but only strate positions. Now the United States overnight become the sole custodians of the rather exp bastion of the European state system, the kingdo Greece appears to be one of the chief puzzles political observers. Greece is clearly a strategical post of British power in the Mediterranean, it s likely, that Moscovite strategy may be flexible e to allow tactics to come into play at this point, not to contest the holding of this pillbox by the An Saxon bloc, but who knows ?

The complete reversal of American policy to ever-expanding zones of Russian power, a reve which, as rumour has it, is largely due to a new b trust department of our foreign office, called Department of State, is most perplexing.

Does a strong nation really require diplom Our position has been up to very recently, that was no likely challenge of the political supremacy Anglo-American world coalition, provided that R could be kept in harmony, or at least in outward ment with such a combination. Long after Russia shown her bad temper she still for a considerable was treated most chivalrously by her would-be fri But now has come the astounding face-about of former cuddling and wheeling tactics. How is sudden change to be understood ? We are being as now, that no common ground exists on which the rival systems of political thought can co-operate.

If one must grant that Russian diplomacy has in its favor, how is Western diplomacy to over that handicap ? The idea of "containing" R reminds one of the hunters, who had caught a bear only a tree between him and the captive. He had of the bear's paws, but he was afraid to let go excellent reasons. However one may dislike Roos policy of going "everywhere" in his crusade righteousness, it is likely that, had he lived sud abrupt change of sides would not have taken The change seems to prevent automatically all for conciliation, it shuts the door to all further negotiation.

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NOW OR NEVER*

By CHOWDRY AKBAR KHAN

There comes a time when a community or a nation is faced with problems concerned with its existence or deliverance. Such a critical time is surrounding the Indian Muslims at the present time. It is no use denying the fact that in a senseless mad frenzy of fanaticism aroused by unscrupulous and callous leadership they had blindly followed the path of ignorance, or perhaps done wilful mischief, in supporting the case for the establishment of Pakistan. Perhaps they were even more vociferous in their demand for the rape of a country that had been the motherland of their forefathers for centuries, than their co-religionists who have been charged with the commission of the new state.

Indian Muslims for that matter have been left in a hopeless position, and that of their own making. The Pakistanis cannot but ignore them. The difficulties of the former are exploited by the latter for their ignoble ends. It is time and not a moment too soon that the Muslims in India said good-bye to the Pakistan and face facts. Pakistan, whose policy of all-out discrimination and religious fanaticism generates nasty reaction in India, has left them in the lurch. They (Indian Muslims) should atone for that; and that they can only do by purging themselves of the guilty ideas the Muslim League had drilled into their minds. As they have been disowned by the inhabitants of Pakistan they should fain transfer their erstwhile loyalty from Jinnah and his clique to the leadership in India. It would be wise for them to think in terms of India and India alone. To them the interests of India must come first of all things. They should feel proud to lay down their lives for the good of India, even fight against Pakistan or any other Islamic state if by any chance they happened to come to grips with their country.

At the present moment of the Kashmir tangle it is the bounden duty of all the Indian nationals of Islamic faith to volunteer to fight against the invading bands of Pakistan origin, who are engaged in the spoliation of the fair valley of Kashmir. It is a golden opportunity for them to demonstrate to whom side their loyalty lies, failing which may prove fatal. In a manner that either they became and remained true to the land of their birth, or they chose to migrate where they cherish to transfer their loyalty to their faith and patriotism. If and when the Muslims decide to join the Indian fighting forces they join and serve in the mixed companies of all creeds, and not those formed on the communal lines as in the days of the British Raj.

False religious sentiment has done enormous harm and damage to nations in the past. It had been a cause of many a country's bondage, humiliation and ruin. That on no account justifies playing false to one's motherland and nationality. It is the sacred duty of a person to keep the interests of his country foremost, for his existence depends on that; and without existence everything, including religion, ends.

Muslim League propaganda has done irreparable harm to the Muslims. Other religious communities followed suit. They became the exact pattern of the Muslim organisation with the only difference in their religious denomination. Communalism fanned by the devilish fury of communal leaders, fostered, intensified and culminated in the fratricidal strife that has proved unparalleled in the history of mankind.

It is for the sake of India and for their self-preservation that the Muslim nationals of that country join the socialist wings of the Indian National Congress that has no place for communalism of any sort. They should take part in this national organisation not as Muslims but as Indians. And they will soon find and feel that they are not strangers in this land but as equal partners in all spheres of life. They ought to prove good citizens and patriots like Siraj-ud-Dowla, Tipoo Sultan and Ibrahim Gardi and not quislings like Nawab of Oudh, Ikramullah and the Afghans of Qasur, who sided with the Abdali in the hour of India's supreme need. And why can't they follow the brilliant example of one who is among them today, *i.e.*, Maulana Azad, the one who being a widely reputed Muslim divine has stuck to truth, and been in the foremost rank of fighters for the freedom of India? If there ever was a man living today to lead the Muslims on the right path it is Azad. Wise are his counsels; sincere are his actions.

There was a time, and not far back, when the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent used to pour their blood and wealth for the benefit of the senile Turkish Empire. They sent donations to Abdul Karim of Morocco who had declared *jehad* against the Spanish imperialism; and they made substantial monetary contributions towards the Arab struggle in the Holy Land. But all these sacrifices had not been in the least related towards the furtherance of the cause of freedom of their own country. It was the Indian National Congress, a predominantly Hindu body that by its incessant struggle, and in spite of

* The National Muslim Committee of London has sent this pamphlet to us for publicity. We publish it for the information of our readers.—Ed. M. R.

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the reactionary activities of the Muslim League and vested interests, brought about the liberation of the whole of India. In a similar manner the Muslim population of India will gain little by their benevolent attitude towards Pakistan; and if they do not modify their foreign outlook they will be heading towards an irretrievable disaster. If they must live in India they must live as Indians. If they keep on living there, estranged, dreaming of mythical Islamic lands all of which without exception, are nonentities today, they will be courting their own ruin. They should at the earliest, change their mental outlook.

Mr. Jinnah seems to have fallen into an error of judgment that he has achieved a great object by creating a new state. First of all, it being in the Anglo-American interest to create one, it was Britain who created it. But if the credit must go to the leader of the Muslim League then the British must deserve a ten-fold credit for having created five Arab states after they had shattered the Ottoman Empire in 1919. And how much more able and praiseworthy they must be when they are on the active move to form a state of the Sudan independent of Egypt, and to create two baby states out of tiny Palestine.

Living in fool's paradise is of little avail; facing realities is practical politics. The trend in the modern world is for states to coalesce in bigger units, to federate for self-preservation, political and economic. Newfoundland is being forced into the lap of Canada; a union of the Malay states has been brought about; and the British statesmen, who had always frowned upon any suggestion of the federation of the countries of the Continent, are today advocating the same European unity. But where then lies the wisdom of creating Pakistan? Was it now born just for the Anglo-American strategic purposes in future wars?

Since the formation of Pakistan, during the short period of the last six months the weaknesses of the new state have been apparent. It is beset with insurmountable political, economic and social problems. It baffles the good efforts of the patriotic Orientals to get rid of Western domination. The policy of Pakistan seems to keep European influence in saddle. After all the Muslim League leadership had been reared under the benign care of British imperialism. To expect otherwise would be deceiving oneself.

Pakistan is bound to remain a helpless, weak state, and a liability to India, and perhaps some other countries. The new state will be a deadweight hanging round the neck of its inhabitants. There are scores of instances of the like in the world. Day by day more and more intricate and difficult problems are appearing defying any solution. It will be in the high interests of the Muslims of India that they seriously start agitation in an organised manner for the unity of the estranged parts. They should undo what they have done by urging their co-religionists in Pak[illegible] that the path they had taken and the policy they [illegible] pursued were wrong; and that Pakistan united [illegible] India will be a credit to herself and to the [illegible] land.

The Muslims in the Indian Union are passing through critical times. It is a question of their [illegible] vival. Their greatest champion, Mahatma Gandhi, [illegible] fallen by the fell hand of the basest criminal becau[illegible] of the Mahatma's interminable drive to eradic[illegible] communalism. Gandhi has given his life for Hi[illegible] Muslim unity, for one nation, for India. Gandhi [illegible] a second Buddha, a second Christ, a second N[illegible] If one believe in revelation for him, the Mahatma [illegible] be ranked, and rightly so, among the messengers [illegible] old. Not only did he attempt and to a large ex[illegible] succeed in the reformation of society like [illegible] missionaries of non-violent philosophy but he [illegible] excelled them by leading a degraded and degener[illegible] India from chronic slavery into the realms of free[illegible] a freedom enjoyed by both India and Pakistan [illegible] Never in the history of mankind has a man b[illegible] mourned so much as Gandhi, the saint of W[illegible] When all the world has paid the Mahatma a [illegible] tribute it is piteous, shameful and shocking that [illegible] Jinnah should refer to him as only a loss to [illegible] Hindu community. As the League leader had all a[illegible] done his best to retain British hold in India, [illegible] Mahatma had been a chief architect of India's free[illegible] for the freedom of Hindus and Muslims alike, for [illegible] freedom of present-day Indian Union as well [illegible] Pakistan, without which Mr. Jinnah would not h[illegible] been honoured with the dignity of the post [illegible] Governor-Generalship. For Gandhi there was [illegible] Hindu, no Muslim. For him both were Indian. [illegible] him both were the manifestation of the same [illegible] wherever it emanated from; and that is the sub[illegible] philosophy in human life.

The Mahatma has gone. He has left us. [illegible] happily there are men of high calibre a[illegible] India's statesmen, among whom Pandit Nehru is [illegible] outstanding ardent believer in Hindu-Muslim u[illegible] Communalism, upon which India has been crit[illegible] partitioned, is foreign to his nature. There being [illegible] question of championing the cause of this creed [illegible] that, it is but only a pleading for the equality a[illegible] all the nationals of the Indian Union, provided [illegible] are loyal citizens of that country. Renouncing [illegible] misleading and damaging behaviour, fashioned by [illegible] erroneous ideas of the Muslim League, the Mu[illegible] of India by all means should give their sincere s[illegible] to Panditji in order that he may overcome [illegible] evil forces of reaction before they engulf the [illegible] of India in bloodshed, destruction and misery [illegible] thereby jeopardise the independence of the [illegible] continent.

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GANDHISM—A PROBLEM STATED

By Prof. PROMATHA NATH GANGULY, M.A.

The fundamental, though not quite obvious to many, politico-economic as well as spiritual problem of the movement regarding India's reconstruction simultaneously with making her fully sovereign, should be clearly stated and honestly faced. The matter again relates to Gandhiji. It is thus. Mahatma Gandhi will no doubt live as Christ and Buddha, but shall we, memorializing, succeed at last in raising his memorial only in a similar fashion as the vast majority of the Christians have succeeded in making Christ remembered during these two thousand years of blood-stained European history? That is the important point to ponder and act upon. India (and for that matter the world) must needs be transformed to the common man's interest, it is admitted, and special conditions of the times are making this process only the more urgent. Politicians, thinkers and workers who believe in Gandhism must now prove through organised, comprehensive action that Gandhism is truly adequate for these urgent and peculiar needs of world transformation, as the only other obvious way of the hour is Marxism. The following words of Gandhiji are particularly significant in this context:

"The highest honour that my friends can do me is to enforce in their own lives the programme I stand for or to resist me to their utmost if they do not believe in it."—(*Young India*, 12.6.1924).

Believers in Marxism are 'resisting' him, as they must if they are to be ideologically sincere. Now, it is to be still seen if professed followers of Gandhiji, as private individuals and especially as and when entrusted with great State powers, are so ordering their private life and public appearances and activities so as to translate and extend Gandhism in practical action and prove it victorious even after Gandhiji's death. That is the test of the hour, particularly in India.

Here are some reflections that naturally occur on this subject. If Gandhism can't fully live after Gandhiji's death, either it is not a well-integrated creed covering the entire life, or though such, not completely successful in its re-adjustment of age-honoured spiritual values to the modern world given a special shape and tone by science, or else the creed is perfectly sound, but humanity must gather, in the nature of things, further costly experience before it can collectively and unreservedly turn to it.

If untruth, violence and greed are ethically bad, they are bad in all cases and for all purposes,—even more so in regard to momentous national and international affairs than in the private life of a single person. Thus argued Gandhiji, the chief argument backed being his own life made into a vast weapon to hammer out old truths into the power-politics-ridden world. No genuinely good man or well-wisher of humanity can find fault with this logic (for the moment we are not taking note of the Marxian approach), except in order to make concessions to the usual selfishness and greed. One feels that if the rich and ambitious, the ruling exploiters in different forms, too, being fully impressed with the inevitability of the coming change, would agree to act up to the Gandhian method of equity and peace, the desirable world transformation would have been possible even without bitter class struggle.

Socialists and Communists refuse to have any faith in such good sense of the present ruling classes, and so their effort is mainly concentrated on planned radical change of the external environments of society. That consummation alone, they point out, would cure society of its chronic lack of equity and peace, by snatching away all special privileges and opportunities, and hence temptation and power of exploitation from the now growingly obsolete class, the capitalists, created by outdated historical conditions. If believers in Gandhiji believe in somewhat different and more peaceful means of social remedy, they must set about to work to prove it. They must have the conviction and courage to carry on the work begun by Gandhiji, to its perfect, logical conclusion. They must convincingly work out the remedy, a remedy standing absolutely on its own strength, against all ideological rivalries, for its justification. It is also ultimately very important, for reasons more than one, that those among Gandhiji's professed followers, who happened to hold reins of power in the Central and Provincial Governments, must not use their authority to misrepresent and suppress the non-Gandhian Socialists, but depend on their own incorrupt and efficient action to prove that they are right or they also are right. Gandhiji's interpretation of life's affairs, and his statements of policy must be sincerely incorporated in their personal life and public or official activities. Government measures and policies, also, should fall in line with that, as far as honestly practicable. If Gandhiji's followers do not exert themselves to the full to explore all the possibilities of Gandhism, now when the whole thing is still to some extent an open question, they will injure it far more than the non-Gandhian groups, and the initiative may gradually pass on to the latter.

That Mahatmaji cannot be made to live for us merely through the erection of statues and memorials or renaming of roads and parks after him, all formal stereotyped ways requiring little spiritual effort, does not seem to have been sufficiently understood by us the public, or even the national government. Even the most reactionary or the non-Gandhian among us may well agree, for reasons of camouflage, expediency or investment in a way, to spend some money for the purpose, agreeing with great pretended gusto, how big and good, after all, was that old man for the country's many interests. Competitive exercise of sheer intellectual ingenuity, also, may become the pastime of many, as it is becoming, as how to find the most novel manner of memorial for him. Now, his memory can be

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honoured, not in the most novel but in the most simple way, and not by the exclusive ways and conditions created by money only. Prophets in human history have often failed to do as much for us as they could, chiefly because after having behaved towards them awkwardly during their life-time, we behave still more foolishly after they die. They are raised to the pedestal of divinity, given a halo and their message is buried deep. Is that process automatic and unconscious, or are there a method, a motive and an agency, behind all that, however. cleverly concealed? Again, (whatever may be the reaction of distant times), is that sad process going to repeat in the case of Gandhiji, too, before even the present decade is over? This question is not, of course, meant for Marxists, as their own analysis and reply in the matter are imaginable.

But what about the others among us who have all along chosen to swear by Gandhiji? What about those rich men, the middle-class people and the poorer classes of India, who professed to belong to his camp? What will they all do now? What about the rich men and capitalists who seemed to adore him (genuinely or as the lesser evil to Marxism, we can't say), and whom he wanted to convert into willing trustees of the poorer people, in order to spare them and the country the violence of class-struggle and revolution? What about the middle-class gentry, the greater part of whom have mere confused notions about contemporary trends and about the coming tides, but, paradoxically, a part of which chiefly provided leaders for new radical movements, again and again in history, and who were in India, the main willing factor helping Gandhian experiment and Gandhian success? How will they act now? Have they the conviction, vision and tenacity to carry on the work where Mahatmaji has left it, or even to retain what he has achieved? And what will do the great Indian masses who loved him and who poor and exploited, still desired to end this old order of things in the peaceful Gandhian way (assuming, of course, that to be possible)?

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COW-PROTECTION IN MUGHAL INDIA

By Prof. ANGELO MOSES, M.A., F.R.A.C., B.P.E.

The history of Mughal rule in India is replete with instances wherein Muhammadan sovereigns who were more liberal than the vast majority of their masses strove their level best towards protecting the cow. They conceded that cow-slaughter was never a tenet of Islam, and some of the illustrious sovereigns made brilliant efforts in the cause of cow-protection.

Babar, the first of the Mughal rulers of India, recognized the importance of cow perservation. For one thing, he never ate beef. We may read the whole of his *Memoirs* but we cannot find a single passage wherein it is mentioned that he ate beef.

Babar is more explicit as regards his respect towards the cow. In his death-bed advice to his son Humayun he gives vent to fine sentiments worthy of a genuine follower of Islam:

"O son, the kingdom of India is full of different religions: praised be God that He bestowed upon thee its sovereignty. It is incumbent on thee to wipe all religious prejudices off the tablet of the heart; administer justice according to the ways of every religion. Avoid especially the sacrifice of the cow by which thou canst capture the hearts of the people of India, and subjects of this country may be bound up with royal obligations."

The reigns of Humayun and Sher Shah may be skipped over as they are not quite so important to our present purpose. When we come to Akbar we have perhaps as persistent a sovereign in the cause of cow-protection as Asoka.

Akbar is positive as regards his distaste of flesh. Whether this be due to the Jain influence on him or to an instinctive moral repugnance and sensitiveness to see a brute butchered, we cannot ascertain. But this much is plain that his instincts of humanitarianism are as strong as those of any Jain. Take this passage from the *Ain-i-Akbari*:

"His Majesty has a great disinclination for flesh; and he frequently says, 'Providence has prepared a variety of food for man, but, through ignorance and gluttony, he destroys living creatures, and makes his body a tomb for beasts. If I were not a king, I would leave off eating flesh at once, and now it is my intention to quit it by degrees.'"

This is but a significant passage testifying his strong belief about the sanctity of animal life. Akbar's reign was noteworthy for his legislation in the cause of cow-protection. He remitted several vexatious taxes including taxes on the sale and slaughter of cattle and the one for dressing hides. From very early times of Muhammadan rule in India, we find these taxes are collected vigorously to conserve cattle life. Dr. Syed Mahmud sums up this piece of legislation in the following manner:

"From the very inception of Muslim rule a special tax was imposed on butchers for the slaughter of cows to the extent of twelve *Jetal* per cow. During the reign of Feroz Shah, butchers complained against this tax and the king abolished it. Details of this taxation are not given in books of history, but its object could only have been the prevention of cow-slaughter. This tax, therefore, continued for two hundred years after the establishment of Muslim rule in India, right up to the time of Feroz Shah Tughlak. Instead of issuing a general order prohibiting cow-slaughter, this was the method adopted by early Muhammadan kings. This tax was called *Jazri*. The Hindus wielded great influence during the reign of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Khusro. This King totally stopped the killing of

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cows in his territories. It also seems that the *Jazri* tax which had been discontinued by Feroz Shah Tughlak was re-imposed after his reign, because it is recorded in books of history that Akbar abrogated this tax. Akbar ordered a total prohibition of the killing of cows, and the tax was no longer found necessary and it was probably on that account that it was discontinued."

As a matter of fact, Akbar had no necessity to protect the cow by means of this paltry and indirect method of legislation. On the other hand, his cow-protection policy was broad-based and comprehensive.

Three Jain *gurus*, Hiravijaya Suri, Vijayasena Suri and Bhanuchander Upadhyaya, are credited to have exercised a wholesome influence upon Akbar, and obtained a *Firman* prohibiting under penalty of capital punishment animal slaughter in general and cow-slaughter in particular. This *Firman* is preserved on the walls of a porch to the Adiswara Temple on the Shatrunjaya Hills close to Palitana State in Kathiawad.

Summarizing the series of inscriptions on the temples of the Shatrunjaya Hills which comprise the *Firmans* of Mughal sovereigns of India in their efforts to bring about mutual amity and concord between Hindus and Muhammadans, Mr. G. K. Nariman writes:

"There is first of all the *Firman* of Jellal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar. It guarantees the Jains the maintenance of their worship and the exercise of their religion and doctrine 'throughout our Empire and dominions.' Something more important follows—that no one can kill an animal on those mountains or temples or below or about them. The second edict is from the Emperor Jehangir in similar terms. The third *Firman* is from Shah Jehan who confirms the preceding documents. Then we have another of the same Emperor granting greater liberty. The documents are too interesting to be dismissed with a curt notice. It must have been an India in those days certainly immune from that fierce acerbity between the Hindus and Mussalmans which seems now to usurp their minds to the exclusion of truly national endeavours."

From this evidence it is positively clear that Akbar had very strong ideas about cow-protection from several viewpoints. Firstly, he is instinctively repugnant to pertake of flesh from the humanitarian point of view as his declarations about meat-eating and his abstinence from eating flesh would clearly prove. Next to this, his respect for the feelings of his Hindu subjects and his leanings towards the *Ahimsa* principle of Jainism influenced him to order prohibition of cow-slaughter in his dominions. Possibly, he might have had strong notions about the economic relationship of the cow-protection problem to the country's needs.

Akbar's policy is maintained and perpetuated by his successors. Jehangir who is a mixture of extremes, and Aurangzeb who is notoriously known to have done the greatest harm to the progress of Hinduism, are famous for their efforts to save the cow's life. The Shatrunjaya Inscriptions mention Jehangir's *Firman* to protect cow-life which is in complete harmony with that of his father Akbar. Further, he is credited with having stopped all slaughter of animals and all manner of hunting on Sundays, to commemorate Akbar's birthday, and on Thursdays as a token of the Almighty's grace in consecrating him king on that day. Bernier, the French traveller, who visited the Mughal court during the years 1656-1668, refers to the sacredness of the cow in the eyes of the Hindus, and reports that on account of the scarcity of cattle, the Emperor Jehangir at the request of the Brahmins, "issued an edict to forbid the killing of beasts of pasture for a certain number of years."

According to *Islami Gorakshan,* later Mughal sovereigns of India also made efforts to protect the cow. The priest of Emperor Muhammad Shah issued a *fatwa* pointing out that the slaughter of cattle was forbidden by the *Hadis* and the Emperor accordingly forbade the slaughter of cattle. Emperor Shah Alam also prohibited cow-slaughter.

It is evident therefore that the Muhammadan sovereigns of India preached the wholesome gospel of the worth of animal life, in particular of cow-life. If the masses of the Muslim population of India at the present day were made to realize and appreciate this legacy of history which their co-religionists that have gone by have given to posterity, then the cow-protection problem in India would have been completely solved.

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INDIAN TRINIDAD

By MICHAEL 'SHAMSHER' OVERMAN

To the average man Trinidad means little or nothing, though some know that it is a centre of sugar production. Few are aware that the island was discovered by Christopher Columbus after his third Atlantic voyage in 1498 or that a third of its present-day population consists of Indians.

Trinidad was not developed to any extent by the Spanish who ruled the island for three hundred years; it seems that their only use for it was as a base for expeditions in search of the fabled El Dorado. But after 1797 when Britain was at odds with Spain and Sir Ralph Abercromby took possession of the island, Trinidad's development as a sugar-producing centre began. Sugar production required labour; this was provided in the form of slaves from Africa.

In 1833 the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery became law. The freed slaves were offered paid service; but the majority prefered to settle with small plots of virgin land, of which there was plenty, and to lead a simple and easy life growing their own food and doing little else. Money

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meant nothing to them, for there was nothing they wanted on which to spend it. For a time it seemed that the owners of the sugar estates would be ruined.

But in 1845 a ship named the *Faltel Rosack* sailed from Bombay with several hundred Indians on board. These were the pioneers who, dreaming no doubt of the fortunes they would amass, were bound for Trinidad in response to the first call for indentured labour. The ship followed by others bringing wives and children too, and the newcomers were soon established; they had carved themselves pieces of land from the jungles; they had built houses and temples; and they had started to work keenly on the sugar estates. And because the chain of islands of which Trinidad is the Southernmost had long been known as the West Indies and their inhabitants as West Indians the newcomers became known as 'East Indians.'

Now in 1947 we find that Trinidad is a fertile island, flourishing by virtue of its exports of sugar and rum, of cocoa, of grapefruit, of petroleum oil and of asphalt from the pitch lake where the crude product can be dug up and deposited at once in waiting lorries.

It is an island peopled with a little more than half a million souls of which one-third are Indians, one-third Africans, and one-third made up of numerous other races and admixtures of races, but predominating in Englishmen, Venezuelans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Chinamen, Frenchmen, and Syrians.

In so cosmopolitan an island—and it is only fifty miles across either way—it is not surprising to find that African, Eastern, European and American ways of life have become mixed together in a rather shabby synthesis, but even so we find that a cross section of the Trinidad 'East' Indian population of today is not unlike that found in many parts of India. 94 per cent of all Trindad Indians live in villages; 50 per cent of the men and 15 per cent of the women are employed in agriculture. Literacy is low. In the 1930 Census* 22,000 men were classed as literate with a further 2,293 who could only read; 50,605 were illiterate. Among women 7,030 were literate; 1,066 more could read; 56,387 were illiterate. But unlike the boys and girls of India all Indian children in Trinidad speak fluent English; for in only 100 years it has superseded Hindi as the native language of the community. Even some of the older illiterate women I spoke to, had only meagre knowledge of Hindi and found English much easier, using it at home.

The 1930 Census gave the Religious distribution of the Indians as:

Hindus	67·9%	Christians	16·7%
Muslims	15·0%	Others	0·4%

The heading 'others' included 278 Parsis, 119 Buddhists, and 633 of 'no known religion'. There was no mention of the Sikh religion.

Marriages are celebrated in much the same way as in the motherland. On such occasions the bridegroom probably wear a long embroidered coat and turban perfectly tied through lack of practice; the bride will discarded her European cotton print dress for a and *sari*, though she may still carry her handbag! will be drums and clarionets and crowds of gay thronging to catch a glimpse of the marriage and who after it has passed will gather in groups the cocoanut trees and drink rum.

But in spite of the many similarities to his the Indian visitor to Trinidad is often shocked sees the cultural decay into which many of his men have fallen. Trinidad Indians seem to have most of what is best in their personal heritage, cious Indian culture, and to have taken pains it with much of what is worst in the make-up Even those who have had most success in struggle for wealth seem to look upon the East they sprung with disinterested scorn, though past year the growing promise of freedom for land stimulated some to learn something of which they were so ignorant. But in favour Trinidad Indians who have become wealthy live civilized Western lives, those who have and motor cars in which to run their emancipated in and out of town, I must admit that they aspired to become aristocratic. This is perhaps they all remember their humble origin so well; fathers or grandfathers all came to Trinidad as they all started life as equals.

At the other end of the social scale we find sant in his village home not far removed from way of life of his great grandfather who lived days in India. While he has not picked up many bad habits and customs of Western life, he has equally to discard the cobwebs of his Indian past; as backward, as unthrifty and as unhygienic contemporaries in rural India today. But though I is some excuse for the Indian peasant in India have improved himself much in hundreds of years, Trinidad there is none. There the prejudices have largely been forgotten, but this is all the more why Trindad villager Indians, none of whom live twenty miles from a modern town or city, raised their standards and why Indian have blossomed into something really fine.

But it is among the middle and lower class of the towns and of the city of Port-of-Spain—and are the people the traveller sees first—that the lies. There we find Indians who scorn the Hindi preferring their own rather obnoxious form of known as the West Indian drawl. Among the rhythm of the *tablas* and song of the *sitar* forgotten and superseded by an aptitude for Jazz and for the Trinidad Calypso, a local and worthless synthesis of Spanish melody, African and English doggerel, a product of the clash of the island, but one in which there is no trace of Indian.

* The details of the 1946 Census had not been published when I left the island in June, 1947. The position has certainly improved since 1930 but I expect that the percentage of illiterates is still over 50 per cent of the total population. In 1930, the corresponding figure was 77 per cent.

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PLAGIARISM IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE*

By Prof. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.Litt.

Plagiarism is the art of copying from another's work and incorporating it into one's own without acknowledging. No literature can escape this curious phenomenon. Even as early as the Rigveda we find the popularity of this art. The Vedic poets freely borrowed lines and stanzas written by others. There are such repetitions amounting roughly to eight thousand lines. In these are the famous lines:

Jayeva patya usati suvasah
Vadhuyur iva yosanam.

These borrowings reveal the existence of a common and rich poetic heritage. Yet the Rigvedic poets had the great virtue of acknowledging their masters or creditors. They openly declare their sources and the origins of their literary patterns. They even claim at certain places that they were retouching the past and remodelling something old and publishing a revised edition of the past. The famous example is the song of Trita (I.105) which was touched and fashioned by Kutsa.†

Coming to classical Sanskrit we find Kalidasa being plagiarised by Asvaghosha, Bharavi and other poets. Bharavi was successfully exploited by Magha. Sri Harsha of Naishadha has successfully plagiarised Bharavi and Magha. Bana supplied the material for Dhanapala, Sandhu, Soddhala, Vadibha Sinha and others. In some cases the plagiarism refers to style. Great masters of literature always fall a prey to the style of others at a certain period of their literary career. Most of the hymns of Usas are entirely imitative in style in the Rigveda. Sankara has taken Sabara as his pattern in the matter of style. But later on Sankara developed a style of his own. The historians of literature when they begin to assign dates do take into consideration the question of style but they never consider the problem of plagiarism. Hence they distinguish two Patanjalis and three Bhartriharis.

Coming to the scientific literature we find Yaska providing rich material for plagiarism. In his second chapter he tells us of certain dialectal variations in the meanings of words:

"Saratih gati karma kambojesv eva bhashyate. Vikaram asaryeshu bhashante, savah iti. Datir lavanarthe prachyeshu. Datram udichyeshu..Evam eka padani nir bruyat." (II.ii).

Curiously enough all these lines with very insignificant changes and with the absence of acknowledgement find a good place in the Maha-bhashya of Patanjali.

The next plagiarist of Yaska seems to be Jaimini, the author of the *Purva Mimamsa Sutras.* The objections raised by Kutsa against Vedic interpretation were given in Yaska and these are incorporated verbatim into Jaimini's *sutras.* The following tabulation will help understand the position:

Yaska—(i) *"Anarthaka hi mantrah"* e.g. *"Anu prathasva".*

Jaimini—(i) *"Tad artha sastrat"* e.g. same.

Yaska—(ii) *"Anupapannarthah"* e.g. *"Oshadhe trayasva."*

Jaimini—(ii) *"Acatane artha bandhanat"* e.g. same.

Yaska—(iii) *"Vipratishiddharthah"* e.g. *"Eka eva rudro 'vatasthe na dvitiyah."*

Jaimini—(iii) *"Artha vipratishedhat"* e.g. same.

Yaska—(iv) *"Athapi janantam sam preshyati"* e.g. *"Agnaye samidhyamanaya anubruhi."*

Jaimini—(iv) *"Buddha sastrat."*

Yaska—(v) *"Athapy ahur aditir sarvam iti"* e.g. *"Aditir dyaur aditir antariksham."*

Jaimini—(v) *"Artha vipratishedhat"* e.g. same.

Yaska—(vi) *"Avispashtarthah"* (I.15).

Jaimini—(vi) *"Avijneyat".* (I.ii.31, 35, 36, 33, 37, 38).

This is the plagiarism of Jaimini. The answers to these objections too are given by Yaska; and what Jaimini did is only to copy down faithfully. This he did.

The next important plagiarist is the great sage Madhusudana Sarasvati. In his commentary on the Gita he has incorporated all the commentary of Vidyaranya on the Jivanmukti portions of Gita given in his Jivanmukti Viveka. There is another great plagiarist who is made famous by the spurious work Sankara Digvijaya. He is a Madhava called Abhinava Kalidasa. He has nothing to do with the celebrated Madhava Vidyaranya. This spurious Madhava mentions often the work of Vyasachala. Vyasachala belonged to the 17th century. From the work of Vyasachala he has copied extensively.

Such plagiarists are numerous and a critical study of the works will enable us to fix the chronology of Sanskrit literature better. We can also thereby ascertain the truth and error in their various discussions.

* Paper read at the XII All-India Oriental Conference.
† See the author's articles on "The Origin of the Songs of Trita" (Meg. Uni. Journal), and "Rigvedic Theory of Inspiration" (Bom. Bram. of Mythic Society).

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SCIENCE AND EVERY-DAY LIFE : *By J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S. Kitab Mohal, Allahabad. 1945. (First Indian Edition). Price Rs. 4-8.*

Laymen take it for granted that the facts that the scientists deal with are too high and therefore beyond the capacity of their understanding. It cannot be doubted that many scientists also definitely maintain that view and they therefore strenuously oppose any attempt to make available for general consumption what they consider to be their special prerogative. In this way has developed, if not a class conflict, at least a division of the people into aristocratic and the plebian from the point of view of intellect.

Marxist Haldane set out to demolish this class barrier. His main object in writing these articles—the present treatise is a collection of his essays—was to demonstrate that scientific facts and discoveries can be made intelligible to the average man. The average man, he says, should know something of science just as the astronomer should have some ideas about how boots are made.

Haldane is not of course the first to take up the task of popularising science, but he has a peculiarly attractive way of introducing his topics and presenting his facts. The subjects he discusses cover the fields of almost all the current sciences. The interest of the readers is roused right at the start of every essay and is maintained throughout. Every person with normal intelligence can master the details given by him.

We cannot, however, congratulate the publishers so much though we are indebted to them for bringing out this collection of valuable articles. The get-up is absolutely unattractive and better quality of paper should have been selected for printing the volume.

Suhrit Chandra Mitra

DELHI DIARY (Prayer Speeches from 10.9.47 to 30.1.48) : *By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. March, 1948. Pp. xxiv + 406. Price Rs. 3.*

The Navajivan Publishing House has collected in one handy volume Gandhiji's post-prayer speeches during the last period at Delhi. This was indeed one of the most significant periods of Gandhiji's life ; and we note the concern which exercised his mind when India had become free, but when there was every danger that communal bitterness and strife might overwhelm what we had won so far. A vein of sadness runs through the pages, and we also discover how Gandhiji valiantly fought against it within his own heart through a spirit of self-surrender to God, and how also he tried to lift our minds above the immediacy of raging passions so that we could set ourselves free for the greater task of establishing economic and cultural freedom which lies ahead of us.

GANDHIGRAMS : *By S. R. Tikekar. Hind Kitabs Limited, Publishers, Bombay. Pp. 92. Price Rs. 2.*

In this brochure, the author has collected, under suitable heads, striking extracts from Mahatma Gandhi's speeches and writings. They have been collected more often, with a view to their literary excellence than with a view to presenting a complete picture of Gandhiji's ideas on the various subjects under which the epigrams have been classified. In its own limited way, the collection will prove to be of interest to the general readers. The author has done well in adding a bibliography of Gandhian literature in the end.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA ON INDIA AND HIS PROBLEMS : *Compiled by Swami Nirvedananda. Advaita Ashram, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Revised and enlarged Fourth Edition. 1946. Pp. 1[illegible] Price Re. 1-8.*

Swami Vivekananda was the Representative Man of Holy India, a harbinger of India's messages of spiritual sublimity, boundless love and devotion to the service of humanity. He had the wisdom and foresight of a *Rishi*, strength of a Hercules, love and affection of a mother. He attained the highest spiritual realisation and transcended all attachments for things mundane but his heart bled for his distressed countrymen whom he saw personified his beloved God in various forms.

This nicely got-up volume contains selections from Vivekananda's speeches and writings on various Indian problems. There are eight chapters dealing with (*i*) Our Motherland, (*ii*) Present Decadence, (*iii*) Essentials of Regeneration, (*iv*) Education the Panacea of all Social Evils, (*v*) Uplift of the Masses, (*vi*) Caste Problem, (*vii*) Uplift of Women, and (*viii*) Invigorating Culture of Life. Swamiji in his characteristic vigour and directness gives a correct perspective of the past glories, present decadence and immense possibilities of future India. The flaming words welling out of a veritable volcano of strength, conviction and optimism are an abiding source of inspiration to mankind, especially to Indians and particularly to Indian youths of today who have to build up a mightier, richer, happier and nobler India of Vivekananda's dream. In Swamiji's words : "The only condition of national life, of awakened and vigorous national life, is the conquest of the world by Indian thought." Vivekananda himself has been a pioneer in this respect and his speeches arranged topically in a single handy volume will be of great interest to general readers.

Narayan C. Chanda

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MODERN MAN IN SEARCH OF RELIGION: *By Swami Pavitrananda. Advaita Ashram. 4 Wellington Lane, Calcutta (13). Pp. 127. Price Re. 1-8.*

In this booklet the author discusses the challenge to religion from Science, Politics and the New Psychology and asks himself the question if religion has any future yet. His answer is, as might be anticipated, that in spite of the various onslaughts on religion, it is not dead yet and will not die. True religion is an enduring element in human existence which, after all, is spiritual. The author has presented his case well and his readers will like the book.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES: *By Nagendra Nath Gupta. Foreword by Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-263 Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 5.*

As a publicist and author, Mr. Nagendra Nath Gupta was known throughout the length and breadth of India. He was a valued contributor to *The Modern Review*. And a very considerable portion of this brochure is but the reprint of his articles published in this journal. The period of these reminiscences covers mostly the latter half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth till the death of Queen Victoria. Mr. Gupta's early life was spent in Bihar, and naturally the men and things of this province have got the first place in the narrative. He next deals with those in Bengal as he had to pass his college days in Calcutta. He came here in personal contact with Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Keshub Chunder Sen, Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Rabindranath Tagore. Swami Vivekananda was his class-mate in the college and as such was intimately known to him. The accounts of these personalities together with the story of his contact with Sister Nivedita are very fascinating reading. His early journalistic career—first in Sindh and then in the Punjab—brings the reader to many thrilling incidents of his life. The history of the political and cultural renaissance of these two provinces is incidentally narrated. His narrative not only includes the chapters pertaining to the things Indian, he also unravels the mind of the officialdom of this part of the country. His association with the Indian National Congress in its early days was intimate, and his personal impressions of its early sessions will give the reader much material for tracing the growth of its power and influence. The account of his return to the village home fifty years after leaves an indelible impression on the reader's mind about the fact how the scourge of malaria played havoc with the people and how the locality was economically ruined. In the latter pages of the book Mr. Nagendra Nath engaged in Bengali journalism and Bengali literary pursuits. We have read the book with profit, and have no doubt that it will prove interesting to the general reader. That it will be immensely useful to the publicists and writers of history of that period, goes without saying. Printing and get-up of the book leave nothing to be desired.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

A THRONE OF SONNETS: *By Serapia Devi. Published by R. S. Ram Jawaya Kapur, Lahore. Price Rs. 1.*

Serapia Devi has earned reputation as a poetess by her *The Book of the Beneficent Grief*. This collection of beautiful sonnets will add to that reputation. Here also the temper of a true poet and the vision also. Here also a delightful style to give her visions a fitting expression. There is contemplative calm, a serenity, pervading her poems.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

INDIAN COMPANY LAW: *By M. J. Sethna. Pp. 398 + xx + cclxl. Price not mentioned.*

Besides the Indian Companies Act, there are special chapters on Indian Insurance Act, 1938, and Company Income Tax. This is a really good book, useful alike to lawyers, liquidators, students, promoters and company directors. The get-up is good; and the printing free from errors. The value of the book is enhanced by an index.

INDIAN COMPANY LAW AND PRACTICE: *By Dr. K. L. Garg, M.A B.Com., Ph.D. Published by N. R. Agarwal and Co., Agra. Pp.230 + xii. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This is more a student's companion volume than a free commentary on company matters like the above. There are several errors; and although cases are referred to, no references are given. Considering the fact that the author is the Head of the Commerce Department of a College we are disappointed in his performance.

J. M. DATTA

THE SECRETS OF ACHIEVEMENT: *By S. Shamsher Ali. Published by Insurance World Office, 15 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. Pages 335. Price Rs. 7-8.*

The author of *Enduring Success* has brought in another volume based on his personal experience as an Insurance Agent which every man of his profession will find inspiring reading. Mr. Ali is a confirmed optimist and never believe in anything but success. When there is a failure, he considers it a temporary set-back and attributes it to certain wrong handling of the situation. He gives examples from his day to day experiences, successes and failures, ups and downs of a man who has to deal with men of every walk of life, to prove that success is sure to come if a person is earnest about it. The author had an average income of Rs. 200 per month in his early career about twenty years back and now he has an income of Rs. 7000 to Rs. 8000 per month, but he is not satisfied with it and hopes to attain an income of Rs. 15000 per month. Such a man should be an object of study and emulation to our young men who get disappointed at small failures. Work, work and incessant work is the ideal which Mr. Ali preaches to young generations and those who will understand and work in his spirit shall have success in their business career. Mr. Ali is one of those very few persons in our country who has worked hard for the professional dignity of the Agents of Life Offices and has been successful in getting the profession recognised by the authorities. The author wants agents to have faith in themselves and also in their profession and he assures that success will follow as day follows night.

In conclusion, we would suggest that the author shall try his pen in Bengali, so that his mother-tongue may be enriched with commercial literature, so very necessary for the future good of Bengal.

A. B. DUTTA

STRIJATAKA OR FEMALE HOROSCOPY. (Third Edition): *By Prof. Suryanarain Rao, B.A., M.R.A.S. Raman Publications. Po. Malleswaram, Bangalore. Price Rs. 3.*

Prof. Suryanarain Rao, one of the top-ranking astrologers of modern India, unearthed valuable materials of Hindu Astrology from the Sanskrit works of ancient astrologers. Though he is no more today his valuable astrological works will immortalise him. His present work deals with the method of reading and interpreting female horoscopes. In some principal

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astrological combinations, there is a gulf of difference between male and female horoscopes. An astrologer with all knowledge of other branches of astrology cannot interpret female horoscopes accurately if he does not know at least something of the *Strijataka* system expounded by Varahamihira, Venkatesa and Kalanvarman and some other eminent astrologers of ancient times. In writing this treatise Mr. Rao has followed Kalanvarman who is decidedly the best authority on the science of female horoscopy. The book is divided into fifteen chapters, wherein valuable materials have been gathered together and presented in a convincing way. Due to originality of thinking and rational exposition of astrological intricacies Mr. Rao attained a unique position amongst the astrologers of India and abroad. Astrology is no longer regarded to be merely the outcome of superstitious belief by the educated persons of the East and the West, rather a firm conviction is gradually gaining ground that it can be of immense benefit to human beings in various walks of life. If one learns how to judge a woman's nativity he may get proper guidance in selecting his life's partner inasmuch as a woman's horoscope indicates her characteristics, her inherent qualities and defects and drawbacks of her nature as well.

Mr. Raman, the worthy grandson of Mr. Rao, has contributed a valuable foreword to the volume. A short biographical sketch of Mr. Rao annexed in the appendix will be highly interesting even to a layman, because it gives definite proof of how our destinies are being framed out by some unseen mysterious power.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

BHARATIYA CHITRANKAN: *Composed by Ravishankar Raval. Chitracoot Publications, "Chitracoot" B. M. M. Society, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad. Calcutta Agent: Ramnik Meghani, 14 Amratolla St., Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

We have great pleasure in welcoming this modest but very useful Drawing Book for the beginners. Havell's *Drawing Books* being out of print, and Nanda Lal Bose's excellent *Rupavaliya* not being available owing to the neglect of the Calcutta University, there is a dearth of suitable drawing books for our schools. This publication is a very opportune one and comes happily to fulfil the demand. It has thirty well-chosen models, derived from old masterpieces of Indian Art, with a beautiful colour-print reproducing all the thirty examples in small colour facsimiles. This is a new innovation for drawing books. The plates are neatly reproduced and there is a sheet of useful instructions, in English, Hindi and Gujarati. We can wholeheartedly recommend this excellent guide for teaching drawing to all Principals and Art teachers of our schools. In a second edition, the plates No. I, IX, and XX should be replaced by better models.

O. C. GANGOLY

BENGALI

BANGLA SAMAYIK PATRA (Bengali Periodicals): *By Brajendra Nath Banerji. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.*

The Press is often called the fourth State. This is true in the case of a free country. But for the dependent countries too, it is a mighty power. The Press there not only struggles for its own freedom, but helps them to shake off the political shackles as well. The Indian Press is no exception.

In this book Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerjee has narrated the history of Bengali journalism from its start in 1818 up till the year 1868. It is not generally recognised how far and how much Bengal's renaissance is due to the rise of the Bengali Press. The perusal of this book will not only enlighten the reader about the Bengali journals and periodicals of this period, he will also find in it the story of the conflicting handicaps placed in the way of its growth and development. This is not all. The seeds of Indian nationalism and the way of our future struggles for political freedom, one will come across in the course of its perusal.

A serious student of nineteenth century Bengal Mr. Banerjee has arranged the journals—dailies, weeklies, fortnightlies, monthiles, quarterlies, etc., of this period chronologically and appended an account of most of them in course of the narrative. In the present edition, the author has thoroughly revised and enlarged its contents so that the accounts have been fuller and more accurate. While giving the history of the Bengali Press, Mr. Banerjee has not forgotten to insert accounts of the journals of other Indian languages, started in Bengal during the period in question. To publicists and authors of Indian politics this treatise should be a constant companion. Illustrations of prominent editors have enhanced its value. Printing and get up are excellent. We should thank the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad for bringing out such a useful handy volume.

JOGESH C. BAGC

BANGLAR BHASKARYA: *By Kalyan Kumar Gangopadhyaya. Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta University. 1947. Pp. iv + 44 and 18 plates. Price Rs. 2.*

The present brochure forms the third of a series of educative guide books issued by the Ashutosh Museum. It gives a brief outline of the history of sculpture in Bengal, and also tries to correlate it to the succession of political and social events in the country. The scope is thus fairly wide, and the author has consequently had to compress many things within the limit of a few pages. His statements are clear; but he has occasionally had to take a little too much for granted on behalf of the average reader.

The printing, particularly of the plates, is very satisfactory.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HINDI

DAS-GURU: *By Dr. Sirdar Jaswant Singh. Guru Singh Sabha, Gurudwara Nakahindola, Lucknow. Pp. 70. Price eight annas.*

This is a collection of brief biographies of the *gurus* of the Sikhs,—from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh. They are simply written and with an eye to the essentials of the Faith—one God, one caste, one ritual, the remembrance of His name; one sacrament, the service of humanity.

G. M

GUJARATI

ASHRUMATI (or The Pot of Basil): *By Dr. Suraiya Jageshwari, Bombay. 1945. Khadi cloth bound. Pp. 120. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a rendering into Gujarati verse of Keats's Isabella or the Pot of Basil. Dr. Suraiya is a Muslim but not a novice in Gujarati verse-writing. He has substituted Gujarati characters and places in the place of those in the original and thus given it an appearance of the scene having been enacted in Gujarat. The English text is printed on one side of the page and the Gujarati rendering opposite it; that facilitates comparison. As usual the text is preceded by photos of a bevy of young Gujarati Hindu women and the opinions of his work.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Some Thoughts on Basic Education

Education means the pursuit of human excellence, in craftwork, in citizenship, in creative art and above all, in character. Margaret Barr writes in *The Aryan Path* :

1. 'The first element (in education) is training in social behaviour . . . Self-centred, self-willed creatures as most of us are, it is our fate to be citizens, members of a community. Men are born to four citizenships : they should be able to live as good members of their family, of their community, of their nation and of the whole human society.

The more democratic its (*i.e.*, the day-school's) internal government, the more its pupils learn to manage their own lives, the better . . . There is only one way to learn social habits : by living a life in which such habits automatically develop."

2. "Of course I left school ignorant of many things, desirable and important to know. To complain of this is to be guilty of the deadly heresy that education must be completed in school and university, that this is our last chance of learning, and, therefore, that we should be forcibly crammed with all the food of knowledge needed for the journey of life. That heresy, often unconsciously held, is current and leads to educational damnation. The true faith is that education should send us out into life knowing thoroughly something which is itself first-rate, knowing how to learn, and interested in the world."

3. "A complicated society quickly enslaves its members to its own creations : the characteristic conditions of the age are its science and its elaborate machinery, economic, social and political ; they demand—and rightly—much knowledge and close attention ; and they can easily make men their slaves. Some people frankly embrace the slavery and think that we shall be cured by more science, more economics, better foreign languages and a dose of sociology. The past gives no colour to such dreams."

4. "Mankind is engaged in painting a picture which may be called 'A Design of Civilization,' without knowing exactly what it wishes to paint . . . My suggestion is that the subject of the picture is a world of human beings as perfect as human nature allows ; that our model is, therefore, human greatness and goodness, derived from the only source we know—from the revelation in religion, in poetry, in history itself, of human nature at its best. That study should be the centre of all education . . ."

Readers who know something about Basic Education may be surprised to learn that the above quotations are not from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi or Dr. Zakir Hussain, but from *Some Tasks for Education* of Sir Richard Livingstone. But they will surely also be interested to find that the pronouncements of one of the greatest living educationalists of the West are in such close harmony with those of our own pioneers of a better education for India.

Several of the most important points stressed by Basic Education are stressed also by Sir Richard Livingstone.

Take first the point raised in the first paragraph of these extracts, as to the necessity for social training and education for citizenship. Now this is one of the most interesting and important aspects of Basic Education and one of the matters in which it differs most widely from the old type of education. Basic Education is education for citizenship, and that children may learn the meaning of citizenship in a democratic society, each Basic School is a miniature state in which all have equal rights and all have duties and responsibilities commensurate with their several abilities and with their power to win the confidence of the rest. For the children elect their own officers and make their own rules and have their own methods of dealing with antisocial elements.

The ideas of citizenship which they get, moreover, are not confined to the narrow realm of the school community. Day by day outstanding items of national and world affairs are read from the daily papers and discussed by the older children so that they grow up knowing something of the dominant personalities and conflicting forces at work in the world in which they live and of which they are called upon to become intelligent, enlightened and public-spirited citizens. Sir Richard Livingstone has much to say about the Golden Age of Athens, in which democracy flourished as never before or since, and he believes that one reason for this is the fact that the state was small enough to be a training ground in citizenship for every individual member, and that, from their earliest days, children were encouraged, first in listening to, and later in taking part in, discussion of all topics of immediate importance as well as of philosophy and general principles. *The day of the small city state is gone for ever, but the world has still much to learn from Athens and if the democratic principles which she embodied are to prevail in the modern world, some training ground in citizenship must be evolved, and quickly.* One has only to look round the world today to realise that this is one of the major points on which our education is woefully lacking. Some of us who have seen Basic Education at work in Delhi and Sevagram feel that in this great experiment we have the solution to this problem.

Another point, and one which is of central importance in Sir Richard Livingstone's book, is the necessity for character training if education is to be worthy of the name.

He quotes Ruskin with approval :

"Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know ; it means teaching them to behave as they do not behave."

And in the third extract above and the whole of the lecture from which it is taken, he reiterates the warning of many other modern writers that it is worse

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than useless to increase man's knowledge unless at the same time we increase his will and ability to use that knowledge wisely and well.

Here again we find the writer closely in harmony with Basic Education in which mere cleverness and the amassing of useless knowledge are discouraged, while the abilities and qualities of each individual child are developed to the utmost in craftwork and in learning to play a worthy part in the running of the school as a democratic organisation. For obviously (and this is at once the strength and the weakness of democracy) a democratic community can only succeed when its members co-operate loyally and unselfishly, each individual striving to be and to do the best of which he is capable for the good of all.

India's Constitution

The New Review observes :

The Draft Constitution presented by Dr. Ambedkar's Committee is a monumental work of political acumen and legal sagacity. It was no easy task to frame a state-plan for so vast and complex a nation as India at a most critical time of her evolution and to accommodate scheduled castes and tribes, old provinces and backward areas, and to make room for feudal states resigned to accession or mergence. The plan appears to be consistent, and that is a great merit ; it is largely inspired by the Government of India Act 1935, and that will make for comprehension and stability. What is most original is found in the Preamble and in the list of fundamental rights and of the directive principles of state-policy. The Preamble proclaims the resolve 'to secure to all citizens justice social, economic and political ; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ; equality of status and of opportunity ; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.' Philosophers will discuss whether the virtues enumerated in the Preamble cover the whole social life of the human person and the common good of the nation, and come up to Aristotle's good life. They will be at pains to explain how so internal and individual matters as thought, belief and faith are made the objects of so external and social an institution as the State, and why a more general phrase like 'liberty of personal development' was not chosen. They will point out that the mention of fraternity, added on the Committee's initiative, goes further than the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

They should, however, remember that a constitutional preamble rarely aims at summing up a state-philosophy, and that it rather reflects a mental complex with its emotional peculiarities of emphasis and preterition. The present Preamble aptly summarises the mood of our 1947 Constituent Assembly chastened by the events following the partition.

A Grievous Lacuna

When going through the Fundamental Rights and the Directives of State-policy, one cannot help being struck with a most regrettable omission. Nothing is said about the family. All sorts of rights are mentio[illegible] access to wells, shops and hotels, the right to [illegible] assemble and acquire property, to elect and be el[illegible] to go to school, etc.; children, youths, tribes and [illegible] munities are elaborately dealt with here and there [illegible] in all the 214 pages, there is not one single mentio[illegible] the family, not one word about the right to marry [illegible] right to a family wage, the right to protection o[illegible] family. The nearest allusion is a vague mention [illegible] maternity benefits, which seems to cover every ty[illegible] citizeness. The State will have no family policy, [illegible] the Committee do not seem to be aware tha[illegible] family has something to do with and for the Sta[illegible]

Has nobody in the Assembly or the Dra[illegible] Committee ever come across the sensible leading [illegible] to be found in Art. 41 of Eire's Constitution ? It re[illegible]

"The State recognises the Family as the na[illegible] primary and fundamental unit-group of Society, [illegible] as a moral institution possessing inalienable [illegible] imprescriptible rights, antecedent and superior to [illegible] positive law. The State, therefore, guarantees to pro[illegible] the Family in its constitution and authority, as [illegible] necessary basis of social order and as indispensable [illegible] the welfare of the Nation and the State."

The omission is most grievous. It endangers [illegible] foundations of State-life and goes against the convi[illegible] and tradition of the people of India. How wa[illegible] passed over by our constitution-makers? Were [illegible] hoodwinked or out-manoeuvred by flippant apostle[illegible] free-love or by budding dictators who are out [illegible] atomise society before shaping it into a totalita[illegible] magma ?

The Crisis of British Imperialism

In the course of an article in the N[illegible] *Perspective* Doric DeSouza observes :

Politically and militarily, the basic rivalry in [illegible] world today is that between the U. S. and the U.S.S.[illegible] Both in Europe and Asia, Britain's military might [illegible] overshadowed, and she can do little more than [illegible] manoeuvre between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S.

This political and military weakness has also [illegible] economic consequences. Quite apart from Britain's [illegible] economic weakness, the consequences of her deteri[illegible] tion as a great power effectively block her out of [illegible] world market. Thus she can play only a small par[illegible] the "reconstruction" of Europe. She cannot tie Eu[illegible] to herself economically. One part of Europe will [illegible] geared to the U. S. S. R. and the other is Ameri[illegible] playground. In the Middle East fight for oil and [illegible] general development of these regions, Britain is [illegible] larly left out in the cold. Certainly in the Far Ea[illegible] she has to reconcile herself to America taking [illegible] economic spoils of victory, for America and not Brit[illegible] won the Pacific war. South America also is defini[illegible] an American preserve. If Britain has any leeway a[illegible] to manoeuvre (and this is doubtful), it must lie [illegible] *her Empire*. That is why it is natural that the Brit[illegible] Government, in the face of its crisis, is turning [illegible] main attention to and pinning its only long-term [illegible] of recovery on the Empire.

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The Empire itself is threatened in three ways however. Firstly, there is the threat of colonial revolts, and these have already reached such dimensions that Britain cannot hope to hold them down indefinitely by force alone. Secondly, there is the threat of American economic penetration within the Empire, a threat which, as we have seen, although not unpostponable for a short time, is a very real threat. Thirdly, there is the threat of Russian expansionism, and the whole problem of the Middle East, which threatens to become a terrible battleground in the not distant future.

If the British Government has a single constructive policy of a long-term character, this policy turns on the question of consolidating the Empire.

In this Empire, of course, the chief problems are not in the Dominions, where a fairly sound basis of partnership (even at the cost of great concessions) has already been set up by Britain. It may be possible, without very great difficulty to persuade Australia, Canada and South Africa to line up with Britain in some form of Imperial preference. But the colonies, especially India, present a much more thorny problem. Hence it is to these that the British Government, in the last great effort to stave off collapse, must turn.

Let us look very carefully, therefore, at Britain's new colonial policy. In the first place, it is a new policy, breaking substantially and radically with the traditions of the past. Some well-meaning leftists, in their anxiety to demonstrate that British Imperialism is not being liquidated, make the mistake of acting as if nothing had changed in Britain's colonial policy, and thus make it easier for those interested in supporting the present British policy to pretend that "Britain has suffered a change of heart," "she is sincere," and "intends to give freedom to the colonies," etc. Neither of the above estimates is correct. Britain has suffered no change of heart. Perfidious Albion, capable of every hypocrisy and moral cant, remains true to her material interests. Attlee, like Churchill, has not become the King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. He is trying precisely to save it—but by a radically *new policy*. Let the Labour Party speak for itself, through the mouth of Patrick Gyrdon Walker, Secretary to Herbert Morrison :

"The aim of the Labour Government is to *save* the Empire. This will be accomplished by giving India, Burma and Ceylon self-governing status, and seeking to keep them within the Empire. The Empire will be very powerful indeed if that comes off."

We must grasp the full meaning of this statement, since it represents *the basic manoeuvre* of British Imperialism in the face of its deteriorating international position.

Until recently, Britain ruled her colonies politically with an iron hand, while economically she fleeced them left and right.

That was Imperialism as Curzon and the old breed of Imperialists understood it. But the structure reared by the old Empire builders, though adequate for its time, was not built to last. Its chief defect was that it gave the colonial regime no substantial base within the colonial population itself. Hitherto, the only social class on which Britain relied was the feudal class of Princes and landlords. But in recent times the social gravity (economically and politically) of these feudal elements became heavily reduced, and with it their capacity to speak for the colonial people as a whole.

The alliance with the native feudalists exclusively further committed British Imperialism to a thoroughly reactionary policy in the agrarian field, a factor adding tremendously to the drive of the colonial revolts. Because of the agrarian problem, the support of the hundreds of millions of India's peasants is guaranteed to any class that boldly assaults Imperialism.

The extreme poverty and therefore lack of purchasing power of the mass of the population, and British hostility to industrial expansion, complete the picture of the arrested development of the colonies, while they were plundered one way or another by British finance-capital.

Apart from this, the sweep and rise of colonial revolts in Asia have convinced the British that they cannot hold down the colonies by force alone, and have to mix fraud with force, at the least. The August upsurge, followed by the I. N. A. demonstrations and the Naval Mutiny in India, the resistance to the re-occupation of Burma, the chaos in Malaya all proved this to the hilt.

This need thoroughly to reorganise the colonial regime, if it is to be maintained at all, was doubled and trebled for the British by her economic crisis.

If Britain's economy is to revive at all from the stunning blows of the war period, then the only economic reserves she can mobilise are those of the Empire.

Political stabilisation, in the form outlined below, becomes absolutely essential if Britain is to take economic refuge in her Empire resources, and develop some form of self-sufficiency and resistance to U. S. penetration.

The political weakness of the colonial system built up by the Imperialists was demonstrated during the war when at the first threat of external attack the whole edifice in Asia threatened to collapse. Collapse actually took place in Malaya and Burma. No substantial section of the colonial population was ready to raise a finger in defence of the British Empire, in the face of Japanese attack. When this was realised in Britain it provoked a great shock, and made the Imperialists understand that the Empire could no longer be run in the old ways.

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The Dravidian Theory

In the course of his article on the abobe subject in *Science and Culture*, N. M. Chaudhuri observes :

An attempt is made here to trace the history of the Dravidian theory and examine the data of distinguished anthropologists, to find out the truth about the Dravidian question. Though there has been a little change recently in the attitude of some of the anthropologists to the Dravidian question, this attitude is unsatisfactory, and old notions persist.

Ethnological Aspect

The Dravidian question has two aspects, linguistic and ethnological. The ethnological aspect will be examined here. In its origin the Dravidian theory was a linguistic theory, but it developed into a ful-fledged ethnological theory which met with worldwide acceptance. The theory was first enunciated by Bishop Caldwell in his famous work entitled *Comparative Philology of the Dravidian or South Indian languages*, published in 1856. It was he who used the word 'Dravidian' to indicate the South Indian languages and later to indicate South Indian people. Sir George Grierson pointed out long after Caldwell's theory had been accepted in Europe that the name 'Dravidian' applied to the principal languages of South India was purely conventional :

"It is derived from Sanskrit *Dravida* a word which is, again, derived from an older Sanskrit *Dramila* or *Damila* and is identical with the name of Tamil. The name Dravidian is, accordingly, identical with Tamilian, which name has been formerly used by European writers as a common designation of the languages in question. . . . In India Dravida has been used in more than one sense. Thus the so-called five Dravidas are Telugu, Kanarese, Marathi, Gujarati and Tamil. In Europe, on the other hand, Dravidian has long been the denomination of the whole family of languages to which Bishop Caldwell applied it in his *Comparative Grammar*, and there is no reason for abandoning the name which the founder of the Dravidian Philology applied to the group of speeches."

The credit for creating a Dravidian race must go to the learned Bishop, and Grierson himself speaks of the Dravidian race forming the bulk of the population of South India. Caldwell's book illustrates a very instructive process of researches in comparative philology leading to the creation of a new racial type. On the use of the common term, Caldwell admits that it corresponds to Tamil and its use is restricted to the Tamils (*Com. Philo.*, 2nd Ed., pp. 5, 7). He admits that Tamil and Telugu grammarians do not use a common term to designate all the South Indian languages, (*ibid.* p. 8) and incorrectly assumes that the Sanskrit writers used Dravida for South Indian peoples (*ibid.*, p. 5) notwithstanding the *Manu Samhita* list (*Manu Sam.* X. 43, 44) and the references in the Mahabharata with which he shows his familiarity. So the term restricted in its use to the Tamil-speaking people is applied to cover people speaking Tamil, Telegu, Canarese, Malayali, Tulu, Kodagu, etc.

Dravidian Race

Thus arose imperceptibly the conception of the Dravidian race from the conception of the Dravidian family of languages. It may be stated here that Caldwell admits that these languages are not merely provincial dialects of the same language, that Tamil and Telugu are farthest apart (*ibid.*, p. 42) and that he has no answer to the question which these languages or dialects should be considered the fa[illegible] of which the others are members (*ibid.*, pp. 80f.). [illegible] says next :

"There is no proof of Dravidian, such as we h[illegible] it now, having originated before Kumarila's time (7[illegible] century A.D.) and its earliest cultivators appear [illegible] have been Jainas (*ibid.*, p. 122). He thinks, howe[illegible] that Dravidian is independent of Sanskrit and Sa[illegible] has borrowed from Dravidian (*ibid.*, pp. 45, 47). [illegible] also thinks that 'there is remote original affi[illegible] between Indo-European languages and Dravidian la[illegible] guages for which the latter may be given a place in [illegible] Indo-European group'." (*Ibid.*, p. 46).

About the Dravidian race, Caldwell's view is th[illegible] it was distinct from the Aryan race. The Dravid[illegible] were expelled from northern India by pre-Ary[illegible] Scythians not to be identified with the Kols, Sa[illegible] etc. The Dravidians were themselves Scythians b[illegible] they belonged to a group which had entered In[illegible] earlier. The later Scythians but not the earlier gr[illegible] were subdued by the Aryans and incorporated into th[illegible] Aryan society as Sudras (*ibid.*, pp. 108, 109). Accordi[illegible] to this theory there should be racial affinity betw[illegible] the early Scythians or Dravidians and the later Scythi[illegible] who became Sudras. But Caldwell is a believer in th[illegible] independence and integrity of the Dravidians and h[illegible] is at great pains to prove that the Scytho-Dravid[illegible] were altogether so superior a people as to form [illegible] distinct race from the "secondary Scythians" or Scyth[illegible] Aryans (*ibid.* p. 109, Intro.).

Immigration of the Dravidians

Thus, according to Caldwell, a body of immigra[illegible] of Scythian stock entered India through Baluchis[illegible] before the Aryans came, followed by another body [illegible] immigrants of the same stock also before the Ary[illegible] came. Caldwell would give the name Dravidian to th[illegible] first body and deprive the second group of the na[illegible]

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He does not explain his reason for it. It has been stated above that in Caldwell's opinion the speech of the Dravidian group shows remote original affinity with Indo-European. About the physical type of the Dravidians his view is that the type is the same as that of the Aryan (*Com. Phil.*, p. 558). It is Caucasian and identical with the Aryan (*ibid.*, p. 560). But in spite of linguistic affinity with Indo-European, Aryan physical type and friendly relations with the primitive Aryans the Dravidian languages were, according to Caldwell, quite independent of Sanskrit and the Dravidian race was nothing but Dravidian. "The high-caste Dravidians claim to be purest representative of the type. Their traditions and manners have been Aryanized but it is pure Dravidian blood which flows in their veins." (*ibid*, p. 562).

Political Light

How linguistic researches, unaided by ethnological investigations, helped Bishop Caldwell to come to definite conclusions about the independence and purity of the Dravidian race and purity of Dravidian blood may appear puzzling. In his *Ethnology of India* George Campbell says :

"I draw no wide ethnological line between the northern and southern countries of India, not recognising the separate Dravidian classification of the latter as properly ethnological. . . . A change takes place before passing southward we exchange the Maratta for Tamul or Canarese. But looking at the people we see no radical change of features. . . . I have no doubt that the southern society in its structure, its manners and its laws and institutions is an Aryan society" (p. 15).

Commenting on the above Dr. Caldwell writes, "His impression of the similarity of the physical type of the higher castes among the southern Dravidians to that of the Aryans of northern India is as strong as mine while the reason for the similarity he assigns is different."

Obviously Dr. Caldwell's reason is outside the domain of ethnology.

An instructive passage occurs in the controversy between Dr. Caldwell and Mr. Gover, author of *Folk Lore of Southern India*, who held that the Dravidians are Aryans. Dr. Caldwell writes, "He (Mr. Gover) considers it of great moral and political importance to prove that the Dravidians are Aryans and not a different race. The Scythian theory he says, 'shuts up a door of sympathy and fellow-feeling between the Indian peoples and their English conquerors.' (p. 535). Evidently Mr. Gover thought that the recognition of the Dravidians as Aryan would make matters smooth for the English conquerors. This hint was lost on the learned Bishop who probably thought that to prove that the South Indians were racially different from the North Indians might prove more advantageous to the English conquerors in the long run.

"Dravidian" Type

Let us now turn to examine the Dravidian type which, in fulfilment of the desire of Dr. Caldwell, has become a "settled fact" with anthropologists.

The Dravidian type looms large in Sir Herbert Risley's *Ethnographic Survey*. He gives us the Scytho-Dravidian type in Western India, the Aryo-Dravidian type in the United Provinces, the Mongolo-Dravidian type in Bengal and the Dravidian type in South India. The Dravidian type is defined thus by Risley : "The Dravidian type extending from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges, and pervading the whole of Madras, Hyderabad, the Central Province most of Central India and Chota Nagpur . . . probably the original type of population of India, now modified to a varying extent by the admixture of Aryan, Scythian and Mongoloid elements. In type specimens the stature is short or below mean ; the complexion very dark, hair plentiful with an occasional tendency to curl ; eyes dark, head long ; nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root, but not so as to make the face appear flat." (*The People of India*, 1908). This characterization applies however to those only of the type specimens that have been called Australoid-Veddaic. The specimens of Risley's Dravidian type are drawn from Chingleput, Bellary, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore, the Annamalai hills, Madras city, from Travancore, Malabar, the Nilgiri hills, from Mysore and Coorg, from Mewar in Rajputana, from Chota Nagpur, Santal Pargana and Western Bengal. The cephalic index of the selected specimens varies from 71·7 of the Badaga (Canarese) of the Nilgiri hills (maximum 77·5, minimum 66·1) to 77·0 of the Desatha Brahmans of Bellary (maximum 83·3, minimum 71·0) ; the maximum rises to 80·0 in the case of Tamil Brahman of Madras city, 85·4 among Shanans of Tinnevelly, 86·4 in the case of Nayar and 90·4 in the case of Kannadiyan (Canarese) of Chingleput). The nasal index varies from 69·1 of the Lambadi of Mysore to 95·9 of the Asur of Lohardaga (the maximum rises to 108·6 among Paniyans of Malabar and 115·4 in the case of the Kadia of the Annamalai hills). The stature varies from 1701 of the Shanan Nattat of Tinnevelley to 1584 of the Chero of Lohardaga. A glance at the variations of the cephalic and nasal indices and stature will show that we have to deal not with one but different types.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi

J. J. Singh writes in *The New Leader* :

The familiar, revered, frail little figure of Mahatma Gandhi is no more. This man, this seer, this saint, who was known to the poorest of the poor in the most remote corners of India and who wielded such tremendous influence over the people of India, has died a martyr's death.

Gandhi's death is not only India's loss, but a world loss. A world Teacher has gone. Another Gandhi may not arise for another 1,000 or 2,000 years. After all, between Jesus of Nazareth and Gandhi of India, there has been a lapse of nearly 2,000 years.

Future developments in India and their repercussions on the world situation, particularly in Asia, will show whether or not Gandhi in his martyrdom performed the greatest service to humanity.

Suppose that the shock of Gandhi's death, the realization of this deep loss, were to create a new era of Hindu-Moslem unity in India. Suppose the people of India were to rebel against leaders and organizations which preach intolerance and supremacy of one community over another. Suppose fanaticism were to be replaced by sanity and clear thinking. Suppose both Hindus and Moslems were to realize that India and Pakistan face a hopeless dark future unless tolerance, friendship and understanding could be brought about.

If that were to happen, all danger of war between India and Pakistan will have disappeared. The 36,000,000 Moslems in India would then begin to live without fear and with honor. The 15,000,000 Hindus and Sikhs, living in Pakistan, would then begin to live without fear and with honor. Then 400,000,000 humans living in India and Pakistan would heave a sigh of relief. The whole of Asia would come out of its gloom. And who can tell that it would not also affect the sword-rattling big nations of the world ?

If this were to come about, Gandhi will have achieved in death what he did not achieve in life. He will have served not only India, but all of mankind, which today is so dangerously close to extinction.

Well-wishers of India and humanity all over the world must pray and hope for such a development.

Gandhi not only spent all his life practising his ideals but he died for them.

Last year, when I was in India, I was told that when Gandhi decided to go to Noakhali, in East Bengal, in early 1947, to preach Hindu-Moslem unity, after rioting massacres and abductions there, friends warned him that even though his message was a plea for Hindu-Moslem unity and peace, tempers were so inflamed and bitterness so intense, that there was every likelihood of his being killed. To that Gandhi replied that he had never feared death in the cause in which he believed.

* * * *

How did Gandhi become an all-India and later on an all-world personality ? Did he have modern medias of propaganda ? Did he have managers, public relations officers ? Did he have control of radios, movies and press ? Did he have a huge organization working for him ?

No, Gandhi did not have any of the known medias of propaganda. Then how did he become a world figure ? This is the mystery.

I know many people will say, "Ah, but he had the Indian National Congress Party and the Indian nationalist press at his disposal." True, but only *after* he became the All-India leader.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, even Wendell Willkie, had to be built up by their respective organizations. But in the case of Gandhi, he built the organization, he built the Congress Party, *after* having become an All-India leader.

The Indian National Congress did not have much influence before the advent of Gandhi. It did not have a popular following. The poverty-stricken masses of India were hardly aware of the existence of the Indian National Congress. It used to meet every year (I attended a few sessions) and pass pious, forceful resolutions, and go home. It was the meeting place of intellectuals who tried to outdo each other in long speeches. It was a gathering, where one would show off new suits and *saris*. Many speakers used to turn out in striped trousers and cut-away coats, very, very British. True, there were some very high-minded, high-principled, fearless men connected with the Indian National Congress, but the Indian National Congress did not have the active support of the common people.

It was Gandhi who took the Congress Party to the masses. It was Gandhi who brought their sanction and strength to the Congress Party. It was Gandhi who faced the British Empire with the might of the people of India.

I was in India in 1918 (a young man of 21). I was educated, and I read newspapers, as I belonged to a fairly well-to-do and well-informed family. And though I had vaguely heard the name of Gandhi, it did not mean anything to me. There were other names more powerful and glamorous—such as Tilak, the outstanding leader of the self-government movement. There were millions of young, educated Indian lads like me who had hardly heard or known anything of Gandhi. And then, suddenly, we heard his name, as if by the touch of a magic wand, a deep dark curtain had been lifted. We saw Gandhi, we felt Gandhi, we heard Gandhi. It was Gandhi, Gandhi, Gandhi everywhere. I still ask the question—how did that happen ?

* * * *

I have lvied in the United States for over 21 years —with frequent trips to Europe and India and other

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parts of the world. My experience has been that practically everyone in this country knew the name of Gandhi : the taxi driver, the shoe shiner, the soda jerker, the industrial worker, the farmer, the white-collar worker. But it has also been my experience that, though a large number of people respected Gandhi and held him in esteem, yet the vast majority of Americans joked about him ; they had a little snicker when they talked about him. 'Oh yeh, how is Gandhi's goat ?' they would ask. But ever since the news of his death was flashed in banner head-lines in every newspaper in America, "smart-alec" remarks have completely disappeared. Now there is solemnity and sadness in their voices. Many have told me that somehow they feel that they have lost someone very near to them. The taxi drivers, the shoe shiner, the delicatessen store man and the porters at the airport have one and all said : "But he was such a good man ; why did they kill him?" It is clear to me that Gandhi in his death has won the affection and respect of the American people.

I have a feeling that even the hard-boiled diplomats, sitting in the chancelleries of the world capitals, are becoming keenly conscious of what Gandhi stood for. I have a feeling that they are asking themselves whether force is the answer to the problems of mankind, or understanding between human beings—based on human dignity, tolerance and love.

Gandhi in his life brought independence to India—Gandhi in death may bring peace to the world.

The Resources of India and Pakistan

India Today, published monthly by the India League of America, makes a comparative study of the resources of the Indian Union and Pakistan as follows :

The division of the Indian sub-continent into the two Dominions of India and Pakistan in the space of a few weeks is one of the most tremendous administrative operations in history. A completely accurate statement of the human and natural resources of the two countries is impossible at the present time for a number of reasons. Boundary lines have not been completely settled in several important places. In the divided provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, allocation of resources is extremely difficult to obtain at the moment. The movement of persons and property between the two dominions has been considerable in recent months. The important Princely States of Hyderabad and Kashmir, the former contiguous to India and the latter to Pakistan, have not yet acceded. Official figures are based largely on the 1941 census, since which time many changes have taken place. Taking all these factors into consideration, only a rough approximation is possible.

Population and Area

The population of India is 297,542,000 ; that of Pakistan, 71,096,000.

India comprises a territory of 1,055,621 square miles ; Pakistan has 361,218 square miles.

(Hyderabad and Kashmir have a population of 16,338,000 and 4,021,000 respectively and each has an area of approximately 82,000 square miles.)

Communications

India has 25,970 miles of railroad ; Pakistan has 14,542. India has about 264,605 miles of roads ; Pakistan has about 49,863.

The major ports of Bombay, Calcutta, Cochin, Madras and Vizagapatam lie in India ; Karachi and Chittagong are in Pakistan. Of the three largest canal systems, each of which commands an area greater than the whole of the cultivated area of Egypt, one is in Pakistan (Sukkur-Sind), one in India (Sarda-Upper Provinces) and one (Sutlej Valley Canals) is divided.

Of the nineteen largest airfields in the peninsula India has fifteen and Pakistan four (including the largest field at Karachi).

The largest dams are found in Bombay and Madras in India. There is also a large dam in Hyderabad. Of dams underway at the present time, three (Bhakra in East Punjab, Damodar in Bengal, Tungabhadra in Madras) are in India, while the Thal project lies in Pakistan.

Food Crops

Rice is the staple food for all low-lying, well-watered tropical districts. The production for the crop year 1944-45 was 27,122,000 tons (husked), about two-thirds of which was grown in India.

Wheat is the staple food crop of the great part of Northern India. The great wheat-growing areas of the Punjab lie in Pakistan as does the wheat-producing province of Sind. The United Provinces in India also produces a good deal of wheat. The 1944-45 production for the entire peninsula is estimated at 10,458,000 tons.

Millets, a staple foodstuff with a total production of 9,643,000 tons in 1944-45, is grown mostly in India.

The bulk of the other basic food crops, pulses, oats, barley and maize, are grown in India.

The Indian peninsula is the world's largest producer of cane sugar. The bulk of the 5,422,000 tons produced in 1944-45 was grown in India.

The Indian peninsula produces 40 per cent of the world's tea. In 1943-44, this amounted to 248,000 tons. The chief production areas fall in India, although the Surma Valley and some of the Brahmaputra Valley areas fall in Pakistan.

Coffee production (about 16,000 tons yearly) is mostly confined to Southern India.

The Indian peninsula is the second largest tobacco producer in the world (1943-44, 375,000 tons), almost all of which is grown in India.

India produces more than half of the world's groundnuts (peanuts)—more than three million tons annually. Groundnut production in Pakistan is negligible.

Other Agricultural Products

The Indian peninsula produces almost all of the world's jute. The bulk of this lies in Pakistan. The bulk of the 1945 crop of 2,409,000 bales (of 400 lbs.) was grown in Pakistan. (But India has almost all the jute mills.)

The Indian peninsula is the second largest producer of cotton in the world. The bulk of this is grown in

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India, with an estimated acreage of 13,770,000 acres in India and 1,630,000 in Pakistan. Most of this is short staple cotton.

Rubber is produced only in India. In 1942, production amounted to about 16,000 tons.

Almost all the copra produced on the peninsula is grown in India.

India is the only source of soft hemp, apart from Russia. Sunn hemp, with an annual production of 100,000 tons, is grown only in India. Deccan hemp is also grown only in India.

Wool, most of which coarse and used only for carpets and blankets, is produced at the rate of about 25,000 tons annually. At the moment it is impossible to ascertain how wool production is divided between India and Pakistan.

MINERAL PRODUCTION AND NATURAL RESOURCES

The Indian peninsula is the eighth largest producer of coal in the world. It is estimated that about 25,729,802 tons were mined in India in 1944 and about 1,268,476 tons in Pakistan. The two principal coalfields (Jharia and Raniganj) are in India. It is estimated that reserves total 76 milliard tons, but most of this is of low quality. About 1½ billion tons are considered suitable for metallurgical coke and almost 5 billion tons are estimated to be high grade coal.

The Indian peninsula possesses tremendous potential water-power, estimated at 39,000,000 h.p. Much of this falls in Pakistan. The great bulk of hydro-electricity at present is produced in India. Development of rural electrification is most advanced in Madras, United Provinces and Mysore, all in India. The great hydro-electric projects now underway are also in India.

There are oilfields and refineries in both India and Pakistan, and unexplored deposits occur in both countries. It is estimated that India produces about 65,968,951 gallons annually and Pakistan about 21,113,420 gallons.

India produced about 2,655,000 tons of iron ore in 1943, Pakistan none. India is believed to have the largest reserves of high-grade ore in the world, with estimates placing the reserve as high as 20 billion tons.

India is the second largest producer of manganese ore in the world. Production in 1945 was 595,000 tons. Pakistan produces none.

India produces copper in small quantities, about 7,000 tons (metal) annually. Pakistan produces none.

India leads the world in mica production, with Pakistan producing a small quantity. In 1943, 160,000 cwts. was produced.

Chromite is mined in both India and Pakistan. It is estimated that of the pre-war annual production of chromite, India accounted for about 5,194 tons of metal and Pakistan about 21,892 tons of metal.

In 1943, 252,222 fine troy ounces of gold was produced in the southern part of the peninsula. While the leading production center is in India, Hyderabad also accounts for a considerable amount.

Bauxite deposits exist in India and in Kashmir. Total production was 24,000 tons in 1944.

India leads the world in the production of ilmenite and her steatite (soapstone) deposits are among the largest in the world. India also produces graphite.

Monazite and other minerals bearing radioactive substances are also found in South India, and their production is under government control.

INDUSTRIES

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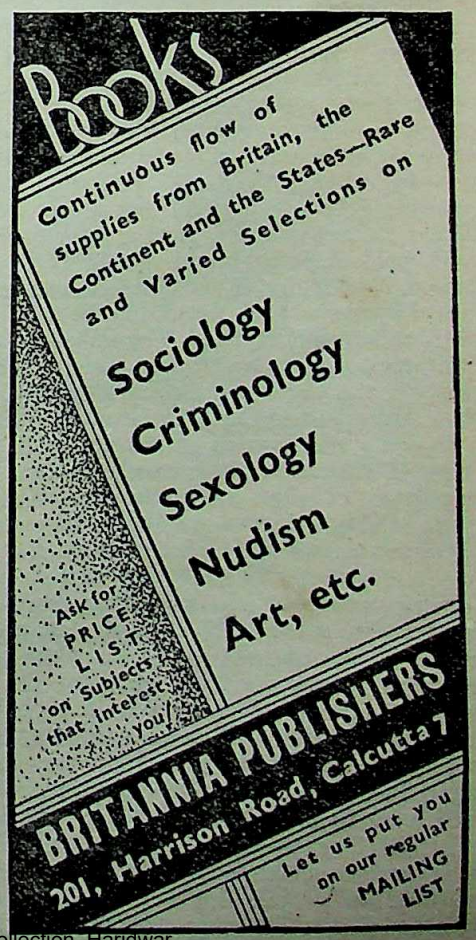

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All the iron and steel works, which in 1943-44 turned out 1,959,000 tons of steel ingots and 978,000 tons of finished steel, are in India. The major plants are in Bihar and West Bengal. In 1939-40, it is estimated that there were 18 iron and steel mills in India, none in Pakistan. The Tata Iron and Steel Works in Bihar are the largest single steel works in the British Commonwealth.

Almost all the textile mills are found in India. In 1939-40 there were 380 in India, 9 in Pakistan. In 1943-44, India produced almost 5 billion yards of piece-goods and over 1½ billion pounds of yarn. The most important textile center is Bombay Presidency, followed by Madras and the United Provinces.

Most of India's 113 jute mills are in and near Calcutta in India while the bulk of raw jute is produced in Pakistan. Jute manufacture in 1943-44 amounted to 1,068,000 tons.

The chemical industry is also located in India. In 1943-44, 42,000 tons of sulphuric acid and 22,000 tons of ammonium sulphate were produced, as well as a number of other chemicals.

Almost all the other industrial plants making matches, paints, glue, glass, soap, aluminium, cement, etc., are in India. There are shipbuilding yards in Calcutta and Cochin in India and in Karachi in Pakistan.

General Economic Position

In the division of the Indian peninsula, the bulk of the population and territory went to India. As for communications, much of the roads and railways fell to India as well as most of the ports and airfields. The great port of Karachi went to Pakistan. The canal systems were divided between both. The largest dams also went to India.

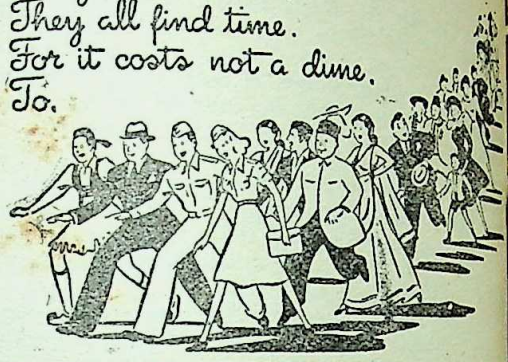
India has large food resources but will nevertheless be deficient in food while Western Pakistan is expected to have a surplus of 1½ million tons, of which at least a half million tons will have to go to Eastern Bengal (Pakistan) to meet the deficit there. India will thus have to import as much food as Pakistan can spare, which will be between a half and one million tons.

In other agricultural products, India will have considerable resources of sugar, tea, tobacco, cotton, etc. Pakistan will also have a good deal of cotton and will hold a virtual world monopoly in raw jute. India has just enough raw jute for her own needs, but unless she imports a good deal from Pakistan, her jute mills will be severely affected. The imbalance in jute production caused by the division is one of the most striking instances of the economic insanity of division, although the food situation is a much more serious problem.

India will be rich in minerals and, with the exception of chromite, has much of the known mineral resources of the sub-continent. Almost the entire industrial plant went to India. India has 771 factories of seven major industries; Pakistan 9 factories.

Both countries have considerable potential hydro-electric power which is an important factor in industrialization since India's coal resources are not too good. This will take time to develop and for the moment, India produces most of the electric power, although Pakistan's potential is probably about twice as large. Pakistan will have to import about 2½ million tons of coal annually from India for railways and other uses. Pakistan is also deficient in cotton textiles and will have to import most of her supply from India.

According to present estimates, Pakistan will have a favorable balance of payments of Rs. 18 crores ($54,000,000), while India will have an unfavorable balance of Rs. 110 crores ($330,000,000) due chiefly to the need for food imports.



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Latin America : Host to Homeless Millions ?

Richard F. Behrendt observes in *Unity*, September-October, 1947 :

Most promising of all large-scale areas for settlement projects in our time is undoubtedly Latin America. What hope this can mean for the 1,000,000 permanently displaced persons who still vegetate in European detention camps and makeshift dwellings, without homes, normal family life, or work! They, and millions more, long with feverish intensity to escape from Europe, the grave of so many hopes and lives, and build anew.

In Latin-American countries no prejudices of a self-appointed master race poison the air for a newcomer. Besides these lands need immigrants from Europe, and have proclaimed as much ever since Juan Bautista Alberdi, distinguished Argentine thinker, long ago made the classic pronouncement that "to govern is to populate."

The so-called social and economic backwardness of many countries to the south is partly due to the fact that, unlike Anglo-America, they never received a sizable number of European settlers with superior technical training, economic initiative and, in some cases, experience in self-government. Despite almost constant professions of eagerness for immigration, only a few Latin-American countries—Argentina, Uruguay, southern Brazil and south-central Chile—received large numbers of settlers. During and after the world depression of the 1930s, most of the nations adopted restrictive measures, sometimes modelled on the national quota system of the United States.

This restrictive policy is now in some degree being officially changed. Brazil, with a new immigration law, has made plans to let in 100,000 newcomers a year, though the scheme has been watered down of late. However, Brazil, Argentina, and Peru have had commissioners in Europe making preparatory studies for the selection of suitable immigrants.

For a number of years, the Dominican Republic has offered settlement to refugees from Europe. At the ill-fated Refugee Conference of 1938 in Evian, that country was practically the only one to make a concrete proposal. A few hundred refugees responded, but the experiment was hampered by transport difficulties caused by the war. Yet the country has repeated its willingness to receive up to 100,000—and its geographical area is only half the size of Virginia.

Rural folk in Latin America urgently need doctors, dentists and pharmacists. Among the displaced persons in the American zone of Germany alone, reported Mr. La Guardia in November, 1946, there were 1,026 physicians and surgeons, 677 dentists and 579 pharmacists. Latin America, anxious to develop public utilities and industries, needs technicians and administrators. In the detention camps of the American zone it could find 692 civil engineers, 371 architects, 2,539 business executives, and 3,985 auditors and book-keepers.

Vast areas in South and Central America are under-populated or virtually empty. The population density of Latin America is 17 per square mile, as against 45 in the United States.

All the 20 republics of this region, two and a half times as large as the continental United States, have, as a whole, a smaller population. A relatively high percentage of the people are concentrated in urban regions.

The "Oriente" of Colombia, more than half the entire country, with an area equal to that of pre-war Germany, Austria, and Belgium combined, or twice that of Japan, has about 125,000 inhabitants. Great areas in central Brazil, southern Argentina, northern and eastern

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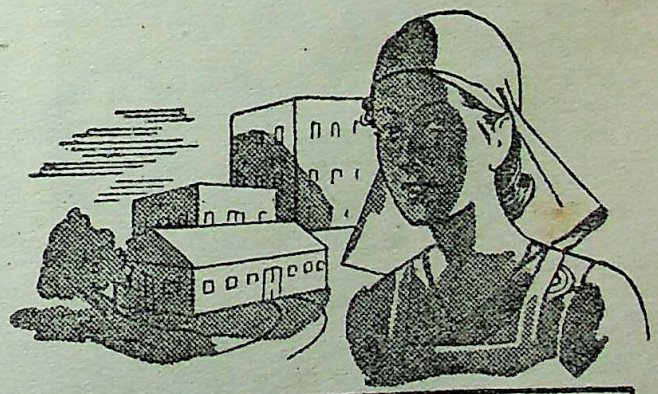

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Bolivia, central and southern Venezuela, the eastern territories of the West Coast republics of South America, and the highlands of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama, can in theory support many millions of people. Yet they are among the least populated parts of the globe.

Equally obvious, however, are the obstacles to rural settlement by natives of the temperate zone and of more or less industrialized countries: the torrid and wet climate; tropical diseases; long distances to markets and sources of supply, with poor communications. Large groups of the native population would in some cases be indifferent or even hostile, looking askance at efforts to give aliens land and a comparatively comfortable livelihood, in countries where most of the native-born lack both. The greed of influential land speculators will be met with, too, along with land monopolists—and, above all, unstable political and economic conditions.

The real opportunities lie somewhere between the bright theoretical prospects and the dark picture often painted by skeptics. The climate is not uniformly unhealthful; high areas escape excessive heat; temperate regions are available; sanitation has advanced; contrary to the myth fostered by white colonists living among colored peoples, no evidence exists that manual work in the tropics, where sanitation has been introduced, is harmful to whites.

Modern air transport and roads are opening up vast areas until now remote and sometimes unexplored. Advances in agriculture and the use of tropical and subtropical products made during the war point to new and promising lines of endeavour.

Much will depend on the attitude of European immigrants. They will have to show genuine willingness to adapt themselves to the new environment, with its strange and at first difficult conditions. They must determine to make a go of it and stick it out, without the seeming easy refuge of city life and its business ventures.

Claims to remain a separate minority group within the host country will have to be abandoned.

The languages, traditions, and problems of the new country should be studied, positive relations with the native people cultivated and joint enterprises and intermarriage encouraged. Immigrants must consider themselves at once partners and fellow citizens of the people among whom they make their new homes. This need not mean the dropping of separate religious ties.

On the other hand, Latin-American governments and people can do much to help sound resettlement by their own attitudes. They need to set up careful, long-range plans for settlement, not subject to the frequent changes and hazards of political fortune. All agencies will need to assume grave responsibilities towards the newcomers as well as their own people. Settlers must be protected against exploitation by office-holders.

A fair chance must be given for newcomers to become permanent citizens and to develop the loyalty and emotional attachment which can thrive only on mutual helpfulness, and on equal rights and opportunities. Good land will need to be provided, in accessible places, with adequate credit facilities, public health, education, co-operatives, and local community life.

But international agencies and nations not directly affected have responsibilities also. They will have to aid the Latin-American nations in selecting the most desirable types of immigrants, and arranging transportation to the New World. They will need to carry some of the financial burden of resettlement. Especially they need to share in a permanent international organization devoted to problems of migration.

This world agency, which should have broader responsibilities than the International Refugee Organization, should make continuous studies of population changes and migration movements, national and international, and it should co-operate with governments, semi-official and private agencies in carrying forward resettlement projects.

Tremendous as the "displaced persons" problem is in terms of human suffering and in the responsibility of those who can help to solve it, the task is ridiculously small in comparison to the problems of war—such as training and equipping military forces, making huge production adjustments, and finding means of long-distance transport.

Constructive resettlement policies are important tests of our time in international co-operation. Such policies are demanded not only in the interest of those millions of our contemporaries who must rebuild their lives, but for the sake of young countries in need of new productive citizens. They are demanded most of all, perhaps, in the interest of world order—the most vital concern of us all.

The Indonesian National Flag

The Indonesian National Committee has conducted a research into the origin of the Red and White flag as the emblem of the Indonesian National movement.

It has found stories and legends which indicate that this banner has been used by the Indonesian people down the centuries, long before they were scattered throughout the islands as they are today.

But the first historical mention is contained in documents relating how Jayakatong revolted against the Kingdom of Singasari in East Java in 1292 under this banner. And similar records prove that the Red and White was also used by Sultan Agung in 1628 when Java was united under his rule—united for the first time since the collapse of the Modjopahit Empire.

With such a history, it is natural that this was the emblem chosen by Indonesian Nationalists who struggled against the oppressions of the Dutch regime.

The Indonesian Association was formed in the Netherlands in 1908, seeking independence. In 1922 it introduced the Red and White to Europe, but this flag also bore the Bull's Head, as the bull is the traditional symbol of courage and is identified with the national spirit in its struggle for freedom.

The Red and White with the Bull's Head was also used as the flag of the Indonesian National Party, which was founded in 1927 in Bandoeng.

The hoisting of the Red and White was, of course, prohibited by the Dutch, but they could not prevent its use. It was flown publicly in Djakarta in October 1928, during the Indonesian Youth Congress under the leadership of the Indonesian Students' Association.

In spite of all bans and prohibitions, the Red and White came to be used generally by the growing National movement, and has thus become the symbol of an Independent Indonesia.—*Merdeka.*

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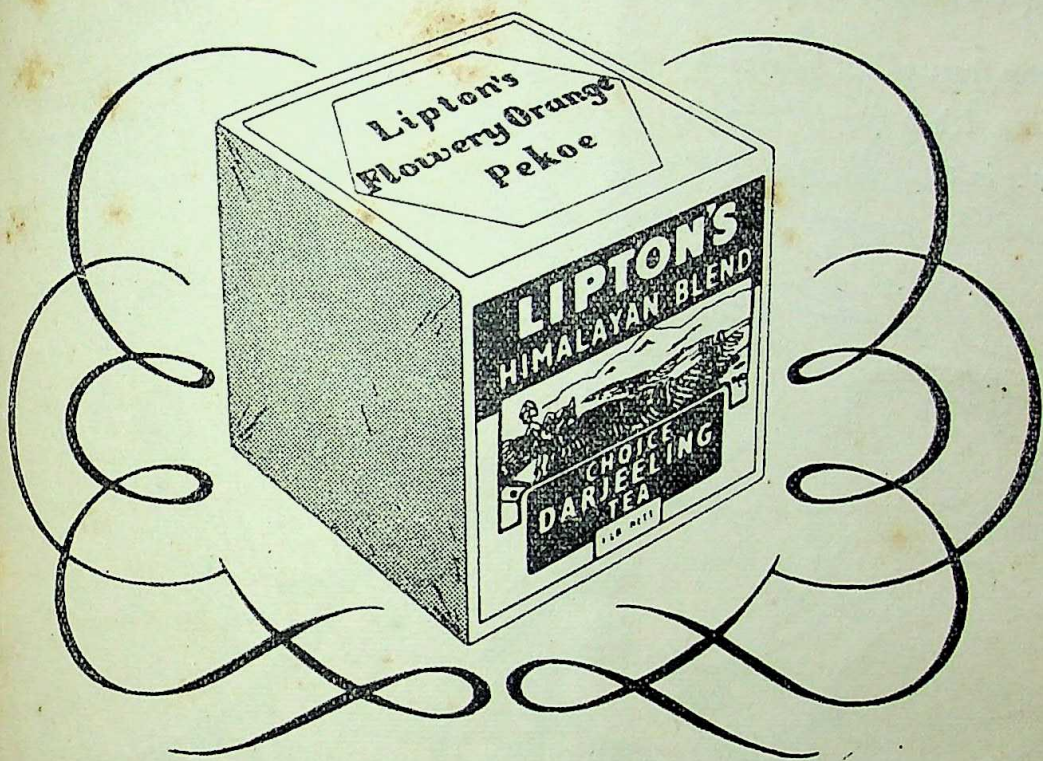

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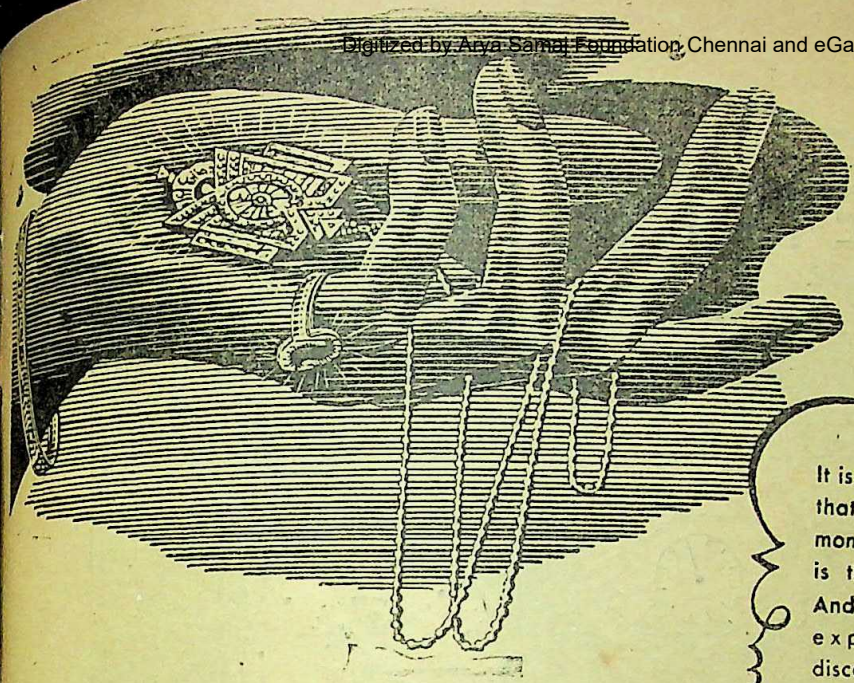

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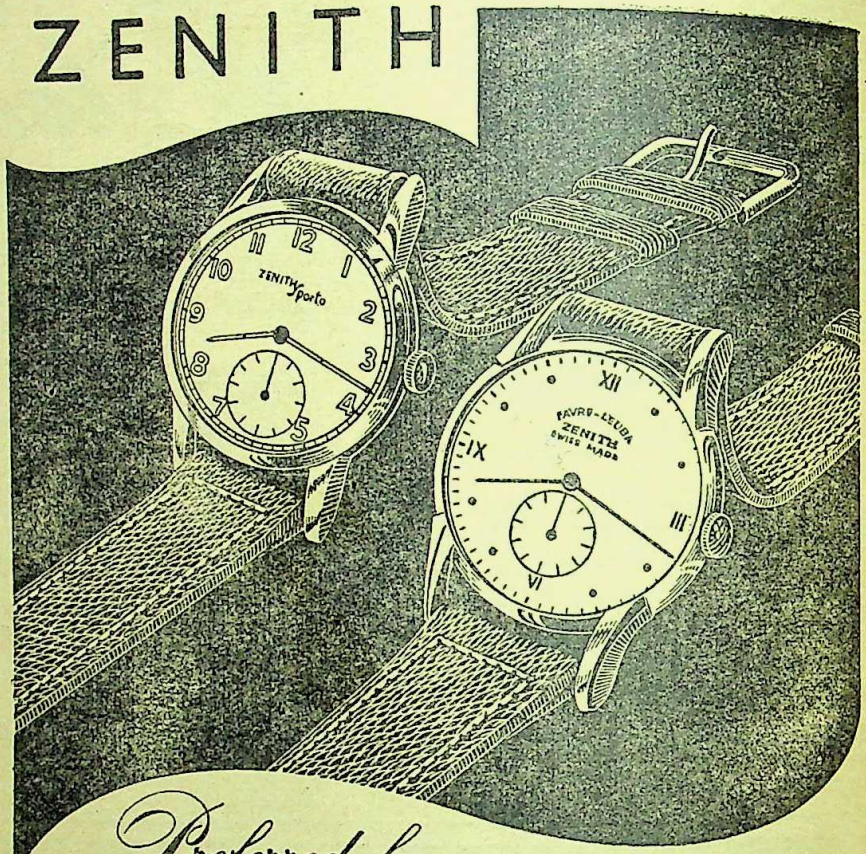

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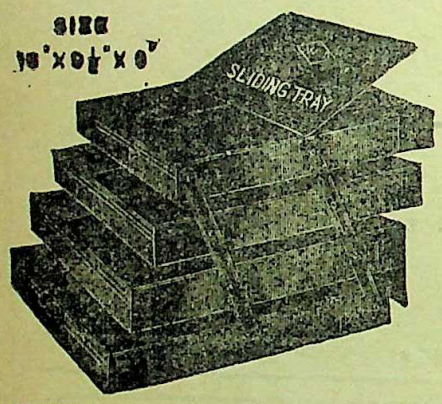

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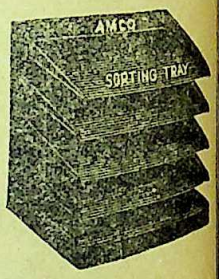

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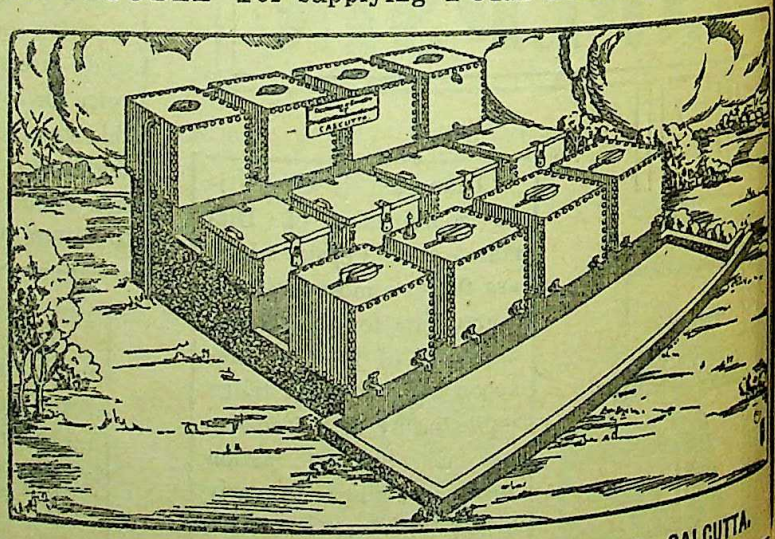

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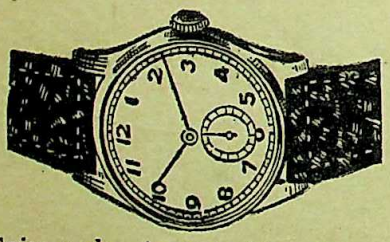

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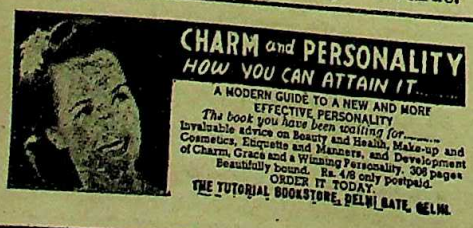

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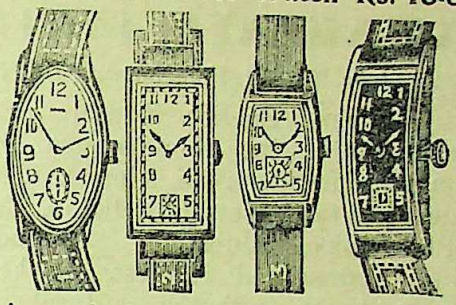

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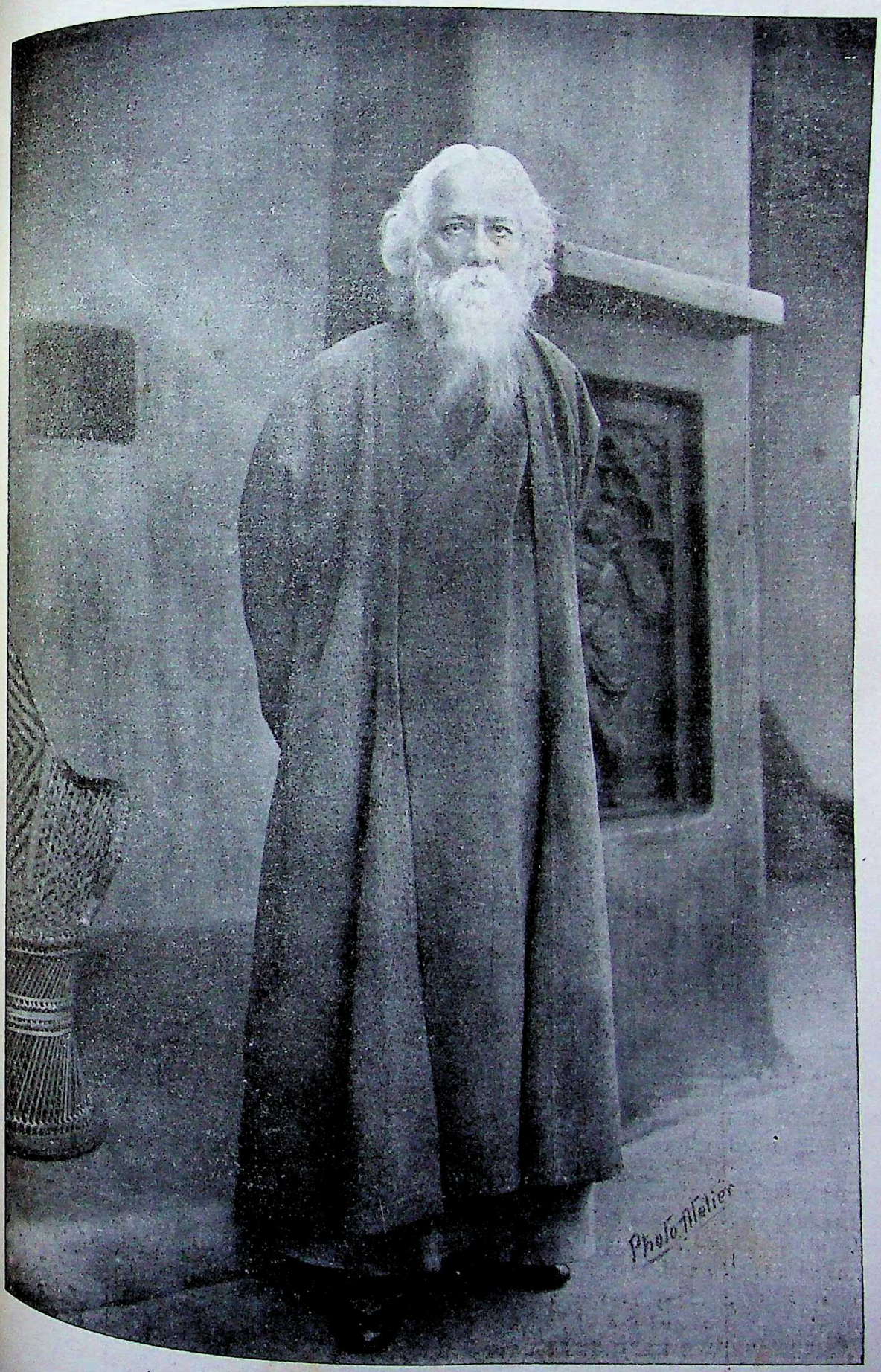

Rabindranath Tagore

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IN THE RAINY SEASON
By Niharranjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

Economic Freedom

At Ootacamund Pandit Nehru's welcome speech to the E.C.A.F.E. delegates contained a note of warning regarding the possible attempts at the economic domination of Asia by more organised and financially stronger Non-Asiatic countries. It was a timely warning because it will not be very long now before the rival power blocks, that are now striving for the domination of Europe, turn their attention to Asia. And with China in chaos and the Near East on the verge of a total war on a minor scale, the control of the Indian Union will soon be felt to be a paramount necessity by the rival groups. Pandit Nehru's statement was couched in unequivocal terms and it certainly expressed the conviction that all the freedom-loving peoples of Asia—which prominently includes the nationals of the Indian Union—clearly hold. And there is not the slightest doubt that the sole path for the salvation and renaissance of the Asiatics lies in this determined resistance towards foreign economic domination.

But mere brave words would not suffice against aggression, economic or otherwise. The statesmen of Asia in general and our own leaders in particular have to be alert and beware of traitors and fifth columnists inside the camp. It is notorious the world over today that Big Business owes allegiance neither to State nor to Society and is capable of any treachery or breach of faith. And to Pandit Nehru we must point out that in the history of the world there has seldom been seen such a set of ruthless and unprincipled traitors, capable of any anti-social crime for the lust of filthy lucre, as there are today in the Indian Union, in the shape of those who have become "the successors in India to British Exploiters and Blood-suckers unlimited." Until Pandit Nehru and his colleagues have definitely formulated a plan to guard the nationals of the Union against these social criminals and moral lepers, there can be no safety for the State. We say with conviction that those who starved to death six millions of their own compatriots for the sake of 150 crores of rupees, those who have reduced to penury some 300 millions of their fellow countrymen by countrywide blackmarketing, are capable of the blackest act of treachery at the first sign from International Finance. They will sell the country, if the price be forthcoming, without the least compunction.

On June 3, at Coimbatore Pandit Nehru said in reference to the recent textile strike :

> "If production suffered for a long time, then there must be something wrong somewhere. Whoever is responsible for this loss of production is guilty of a serious attempt towards the nation. In future, we must find ways and means to prevent it. If the textile industry in the country cannot function effectively for the good of all it will have to be nationalised."

Pandit Nehru also referred to the recent partial removal of control and said :

> "When we have control blackmarketing flourished. When controls are removed, prices still go up. Every body seems to profit at the cost of unfortunate consumer and Government. Some way will have to be found to check this profiteering. I wish people whether they are workers, or owners or managers of factories, appreciate that the State cannot possibly permit a state of affairs to continue which interfere with the general welfare of the people."

Does Pandit Nehru really think that the owners of factories are little children, to be deterred from their wayward ways by mild rebuke? Does he realize that to-day the greatest danger to the Union lies in this unchecked and black-hearted exploitation of the hapless Indian consumer by those who are masters of India's trade and industry? For decades the poor suffering millions of this luckless country suffered privations due to tariff barriers, being obliged to buy inferior goods at inflated prices, just because they were "swadeshi." The hard-earned money of the poor thus went towards the sustenance and growth of the infant swadeshi industries. And now that very same

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consumer is realizing to-day what venomous reptiles he nurtured thus.

India must be industrialised, for it is an axiomatic truth that no nation can lead a healthy and safe life to-day, unless she has fully developed key-industries, inside its domain *and under its control.* But the vital questions of the moment are, under whose control and for whose benefit?

On the same day as Pandit Nehru made the above statement, Ex-Ambassador Asaf Ali declared at Delhi that

> "Mr. Asaf Ali thought there were very few countries which could meet the principal requirements of India within a reasonable period and the U.S.A., he said, was the most important of them all. And the U.S.A.'s local and foreign commitments meant such heavy calls on her production that if India was not on the list "almost at once" she may have to go a long way down the queue and wait for deliveries.
>
> "He affirmed that the immediate need of the country was industrialisation and increased production and it appeared to him that individual enterprise was an absolute necessity unless 'the people were prepared to postpone their immediate needs until long-term plans had been converted into blue-prints along socialistic lines.' Mr. Asaf Ali welcomed Mr. Birla's plan which he said was 'attractive.'
>
> "Mr. Birla's five-year plan recently released is a timely contribution to constructive thinking. It can form the basis of a fruitful discussion of the immediate tasks for developing the country's untapped resources. Had not abnormal times and difficult circumstances supervened in a successive series of unforeseen political crises, the Government's productive projects would have been well under way by now and many of the difficulties which are being experienced by the people in respect of their daily needs could have been nearer a satisfactory solution. Much precious time, however, has already been consumed by urgent emergency problems, and the urgency of the economic problems, which affect the categorically imperative requirements of the people both individual and collective, have by now reached a point when they must claim the most immediate attention of those who are conscious of the gravity of the consequences.
>
> "Mr. Birla's plan is attractive. As a businessman of proved acumen he has envisaged the raising of a loan in the U.S.A. Right in the beginning of my term as Ambassador in America, I received from private businessmen offers of large loans amounting to one to two billion dollars for self-paying constructive projects. The policy of the Government regarding such proposals at the time was one of examining their implication without any commitments one way or the other. In my opinion the time has come when definite decisions have to be taken. There are very few countries which can meet some of the principal requirements of India within a reasonable period, and the U.S.A. is certainly the most important of them all. But the U.S.A.'s local and foreign commitments mean such heavy calls on their production that if we are not on the list almost at once we may have to go a long way down the queue and wait for deliveries for a long time. I have examined the position very carefully and I feel that our expectations from other countries are not beyond questions."

We admit the cogency of Mr. Asaf Ali's plea and we are prepared to admire with him Mr. Birla's plan. We further admit that Mr. Birla is a "businessman of proved acumen"— and there, in that last entry in Mr. Asaf Ali's encomiums, we find all the cause for wariness and hesitation. We have all seen what the "businessmen of proved acumen" have done for the poor consumers of this country. Is it not a fact that have all battened on the prone flesh of the suffering millions? Is there any real exception? We think not and therefore we are suspicious of all such plans. Where is the guarantee in Mr. Birla's plan that his scheme will result in the greatest good to the largest number? What guarantee is there that this scheme will not further strengthen the shackles that encumber the limbs of our nationals, holding them helpless while those of "proved business acumen" squeeze them dry of the last drop of blood?

Pandit Nehru said in the course of his speech at Coimbatore:

> "I want India to be a progressive, fast-marching State, growing from one objective to another and raising not only the standard of living of millions of the people but their moral and spiritual quality."

If he really wants that then let him devise a scheme for National Control of all industries in India, present or future. The system of Managing Agencies—a truly satanic device for illicit gain—must be smashed, and all concerns that control industries and large-scale commerce in public utility goods must be subjected to rigorous inspection by special departments of the Governments, so that the public can no longer be mulcted. Anti-trust laws, fully equipped with the necessary "teeth and claws", must be put in force at once.

Let the Indian Union borrow, if it must, from abroad for the development of a free country, but let us all beware of the trap that may lead to the perpetuation of economic slavery for the millions, exploited for the vast benefit of "Big Business."

Pandit Nehru's Inaugural Speech at Ecafe Conference

At Ootacamund welcoming the delegates to the U. N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East to India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said: "India has alone been associated with the United Nations because India has believed in the aims and purposes of the United Nations. And even if sometimes no tangible results have followed from the United Nations, we have, nevertheless, believed that we and the world must, follow that course in the hope that tangible results will come sooner or later. We have believed in Commissions such as ECAFE because we have felt that whatever the political aspect of the United Nations the economic aspect is at least as important, if not more important than political

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aspect indeed, perhaps, we cannot consider the one without the other.

"Politically we have not so far met with great success but I hope that if we met with success in the economic field that will affect the political field also."

Emphasising the need for looking at Asia's economic problems in the larger context of world problems, Pandit Nehru said that speaking as a layman he would urge the importance of dealing with economic problems in a human way and not as so much with figures and figures. He proceeded, "In this area that is under your survey, I suppose, there are, at least, a thousand million human beings and if you look at the human aspects of it, at the aspect of the joys and sorrows and the sufferings of these one thousand million people, the problem becomes something much more than a dry economic problem to be solved on paper and assumed a tremendous urgency."

Pandit Nehru said: "In the past many years, most of these problems have been considered in the world context. And I have a feeling—and I still have that feeling—that the Continent of Asia has been somewhat neglected and somewhat overlooked.

It is not considered important enough to receive as much attention as is given to certain other parts of the world. Possibly that was so because the people who considered those problems were intimately concerned with the non-Asian parts of the world and naturally they thought of themselves in the first instance. Probably, if I were to consider these problems, I would have attached more importance to Asian problems, because they affect me more intimately. But it seems to be obvious that you cannot consider the problems of Asia, or Europe or of Africa isolated from other places. That just cannot be done.

"If some countries which are fortunate enough to be, more fortunate than others, think that they can live their lives apart, whatever happens in the rest of the world, it is obvious they are under a misapprehension. Today if one part of the world goes down economically or otherwise, it has a tendency to drag others with it.

"So it is not a question of the prosperous nations, being kind out of the generosity of their heart, helping those that are not prosperous—though generosity is a good thing. But it is a question of enlightened self-interest, realising that if some parts of the world do not progress and remain backward they have an adverse effect on the whole economy of the world."

Pandit Nehru continued, "Asia has been for many generations past in a somewhat static and backward condition but during the last few years mighty forces have been at work in Asia. These forces inevitably brought in terms of political changes to begin with, because without political changes it is not possible to have any far-reaching and enduring economic change. Large parts of Asia were politically territories dominated over by other countries. While their conquest has had some advantages sometimes, it did undoubtedly in a sense shake up their static condition, and at the same time it tended to preserve that condition. The political struggle in Asia is largely over, though there are parts of Asia still where some kind of struggle for political freedom is going on."

Pandit Nehru continued, "It is obvious that so long as there is that type of struggle on the political plane, other activities will be ignored as not important. The sooner, therefore, it is realised that politically every country in Asia should be completely free and be in a position to follow its own genius within the larger world policy that the world organisation lay down, the better it will be, but one thing is certain and it is this:

"There will be no peace in any part of Asia where an attempt is made to dominate by force.

"I regret that some such attempts continue to be made in some parts of Asia.

"They seem to me not only undesirable themselves but singularly lacking in foresight, because there can be but one end to that attempt, and that is the complete elimination of any kind of foreign control.

"Now generally speaking, this political aspect of the Asian struggle is drawing towards its natural and inevitable culmination. But at the same time, the economic aspect continues and it is bound up today by all manner with other economic problems affecting the world. From Asia's point of view, it has become extremely urgent to deal with these problems. From the point of view of the world, it is equally urgent, because unless these are dealt with in Asia, they must affect the other problems of the world."

Pandit Nehru added: "I trust that these gentlemen who are members of this Commission will no doubt realise the importance of what I have said and will make it clear to the United Nations as a whole that any attempt not to pay enough attention to Asian problems, economic and other, is likely to defeat the ends which the United Nations have in view."

Pandit Nehru said that the Commission could look upon the problems of Asia from the long-term and short-term points of view. There was the food problem and, incidentally, he considered it wrong that a predominantly agricultural country like India and similarly placed countries should be lacking food supplies. But the problem was there and they had to face it urgently.

It was admitted all round, Pandit Nehru went on, that industrialisation should proceed in these countries of Asia. The only limiting factor for industrialisation was the lack of capital equipment.

The easiest way, of course, of getting that capital equipment and also the various technical experts was to secure them from those countries, which at present possessed it and who had a surplus of such items. How far this could be done, it was for the Commission to calculate and for those countries to decide.

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The Prime Minister said that if such help was not obtained quickly the process would be somewhat delayed, but the process would go on. He continued, "If it is considered right in the larger interest of the world that countries like India and other countries in the East should get industrialised, should increase their agricultural production and modernise it and have new industries, then it is to the interest of those countries that can help in this process to help the Asian countries with their capital equipment and their special experience. But in doing so, it has to be borne in mind that no Asian country will welcome any such assistance if there are conditions attached to it which lead to any kind of economic domination.

"We would rather delay our development, industrial or otherwise, than submit to any kind of economic domination by any country.

"That is a maxim that is accepted by everyone in India and I should be surprised if other countries in Asia did not accept it also."

The Prime Minister added: "We want to co-operate in the fullest measure with any policy or programme laid down for the world's good, even though it might involve the surrender, in common with other countries, of any particular attribute of sovereignty, provided that is a common surrender all round. But a long period of foreign domination has made the countries of Asia very sensitive about anything happening which leads to some visible or invisible form of domination, and I would, therefore, beg of you to remember this and to fashion your programme and policies so as to avoid anything savouring of the economic domination of one country by another."

The Prime Minister then proceeded to refer to the long-term needs of Asian countries and particularly to the need for developing India's power resources. He referred to the various schemes of the Government of India for increasing power resources and irrigation facilities. "If you look at the map of India, you will see the noble range of the Himalayas on the north and the northeast. I do not think there is any part of the world similar in area which has so much concentrated power, latent or potential. We intend tapping and using it. We intend doing it fast and speedily. To some extent we have done this."

Pandit Nehru then referred to the mineral resources in India and said what was true of India was also true of other Asian countries.

The problem was how to yoke all these resources, human as well as material. The easiest way was to have assistance in capital equipment and technical personnel from countries which had them, but if that was not forthcoming, then naturally Asian countries should have to go on their own. Pandit Nehru did not think Asian countries were utilising their resources to the fullest extent. There were long-standing social injustices in these parts and they could not hope to get satisfactory work as long as these existed.

Pandit Nehru said: "In India I have no doubt that our production has suffered because of this acute feeling of social injustice. So this problem has to be viewed from the human point of view and apart from purely economic view."

Pandit Nehru asked the Commission to look at the problem from the human point of view of removing social injustices. The Commission, of course, would not dictate to each individual country about its economic structure but any advice from the Commission would, no doubt, go a long way and many countries would probably follow it in as large a measure as they could.

Pandit Nehru welcomed the representatives of Burma and New Zealand as new members of the Commission and added: "I should have liked to see the representatives here of Indonesia. I am not going to enter into legal or constitutional aspects of such matters, but it seems to me necessary from the practical point of view that an area like the Indonesian Republic, which is one of the richest areas in Asia, obviously cannot be ignored in any plan that you might draw up for Asia. Now if that area is not directly or sufficiently represented here, then your plan is inadequate. It does not meet the necessities of the situation.

"You cannot leave out a highly important part of Asia and then make a plan for the rest of Asia. So I regret that direct representatives of the Indonesian Republic have thus far not found a place here. I hope it may be possible for them to be invited and to take part in the Commission's deliberations in some form or other."

Pandit Nehru referred to the importance of India both from the population point of view—it had [illegible] per cent of Asia's total population—and also from the geographical point of view. But while India proposes to take the fullest part in this co-operative effort both for Asia and the world, he deprecated all talk of India's leadership of Asia. "I want this problem to be approached not in terms of this country or that country being the leader and pushing or pulling others, but rather in a spirit of co-operation between all the countries of Asia, big or small. If any country pulls more than its weight, well and good. If it does serve a common cause more than its fair share necessitates well, I have no doubt it will be patted on the back and it will be a good thing. But this business of any country thinking of itself as the leader of others smacks too much of a superiority complex which is not desirable in organisations working together for the common good."

In conclusion, on behalf of the Government of India Pandit Nehru extended a cordial invitation to the Commission to have its headquarters in India. "You will be very welcome and we shall do our utmost to meet your requirements here," he said.

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The Impending Economic Collapse

Unmistakable signs of an impending economic collapse are fast appearing on the horizon. The recklessness and thoughtlessness with which our economic problems are being handled must, and in very near future, lead us on the abyss of a colossal economic disaster with rack and ruin for the multitude. Administrative incompetence, short-sighted and merely selfish economic policies and an unheard-of official corruption in every sphere of economic life, including production, distribution and communication, by way of discriminating grants of trading and production permits under the control systems in force, have made the collapse inevitable. Uneasiness in the banking circles and in the mind of the general public has already started. Prices show no sign of abatement, instead it has taken a turn towards further increase and in this racketeering the "national" industries have succeeded in obtaining the full support of the Government at their back. Commodity prices have now gone beyond the purchasing power of the masses. The millionaires have amassed fabulous wealth by profiteering. Tax dodging has been so successful that huge quantities of illicit cash remain in their possession. The requirement of Income-tax certificates for registering deeds in land transaction has effectively excluded them from land speculation ventures. Then share speculation has also become risky because of the increasing uncertainty and threatened economic crisis. So, the huge cash stocks seem to have been diverted into "cornering" and strong corner-bases in essential commodities have already been formed. The fall in prices of dal, sugar, mustard oil, etc., have been completely halted and a steep rise in case of mustard oil has been effected. The leading racketeers have established their own banks during the past few years; an enquiry into the manner of employment of their funds should yield illuminating and instructive facts.

The following comment by the city commercial editor of the *Hindusthan Standard* is illustrative :

"It seems there has been a conspiracy all round to squeeze everything out of the consumers. And this has been aided by wrong economic policies pursued by our administrators. Our administrators have forgotten all the while that the country's malaise is economic in essence, and as such it is neither for the political pastmasters nor callow neophytes to solve them.

"It is said that since the acquisition of freedom by our administrators have been too busy with an unexpected plethora of untoward events and troublous happenings. But that is merely a "stunt" to hide their administrative incapacity. These events and happenings are, in truth, nothing in comparison with the problems and troubles that beset our alien rulers during 1942-43. There was utter discontent all over the country due to incarceration of our popular leaders. The resentment of this from the underground let loose the forces of violence and destruction all over the land. Food shortage and subsequent famine took its toll of millions here and there. The Japanese knocked at the very doors of India, and the bombing of the city of Calcutta and its environs threatened the industrial production of the country. These were the problems that faced our alien rulers in 1942-43 and notwithstanding that they administered the country well.

"Now, however, we have our own Government, and we suffer more than we suffered under an alien rule. Today, the whole problem can indeed be solved immediately if the rich men's problems be ruthlessly cast aside for a moment, and the poor men's burdens be kept in the front. As a matter of fact, during the past six months or so the rich have made more money by blackmarketing, profiteering and through the rising spiral of commodity prices. In other words, aided by Government policies, the rich have continuously kicked at the back of poor consumers. Take for instance, the essential necessities of life like food, clothing and housing. Food prices have gone up everywhere. Even the prices of rationed articles like rice and *atta* too have been increased by our Government. Prices of sugar, mustard oil, fish, vegetables and everything have gone up recently. Cloth prices are now double that of what they were some three or four months back. And as for housing the situation can best be gauged from the following table showing the cost of some of the building materials :

	Nov., 1947.	May, 1948.
Bricks (1,000)	55	100
Lime (100 mds.)	210	600
Soorkey (")	100	160
Sand (")	80	200
Cement (ton)	180	260
Steel (")	600	1,000

"Is not this table sufficient enough to show what money the rich business community has made during the past three or four months at the cost of the poor consumers?

"Indeed profiteering has now gone amuck. Blackmarketing has become more rampant than it had ever been at any time before. The blackmarketers thrive because of official apathy and connivance. Look at the cloth racket set up by the blackmarketers in Burra Bazar. They flourish openly and sell cloth at any price they like. Ask the Government to help you in the matter, and they would plead their impotence. They would say that they are unable to check blackmarketing because cloth has now been decontrolled. That is true. But they should have the vision and imagination to take prompt action in any other way to check this evil than see indifferently citizens being cheated downright by a set of rogues and scoundrels that have sprung up under their apathetic aegis. They can, for instance, immediately stop blackmarketing by prosecuting them on charges other than blackmarketing. These blackmarketers, as a rule, do not issue any

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cash memos to other customers, which in other words means that they are cheating the Government of its revenue from sales tax. The blackmarket has perhaps already caused loss of sales tax to the Government to the tune of several crores of rupees. Let there be immediately a raid on these evaders of sales tax, and blackmarketing as now openly practised will come to an end.

"Indeed the problem of the hour is: lightening of the burdens of the common man. The Government should concentrate all its efforts on that. There should be an all-round fall in the prices of commodities."

The industrialists who are today shamelessly cheating the consumer have all thrived behind protection walls, the entire cost of which has been borne by the consumer for the last three or four decades. The resulting excess profits that have gone to fatten the Indian industrial concerns run into many billions. These human sharks should now be made to face realities and reap the whirlwind. They have cheated both the people and the Government. Indian mills have forfeited all rights and claims to be termed "Swadeshi industry." They are worse than the worst foreign blood-sucker. They have tarnished the fair name of India in the eyes of the world. The sooner the stamp of "swadeshi" is withdrawn from their signboards, the better for the country's interest and honour. The Government would now honour people's sentiments if they treated the cotton mill, the sugar mill, the paper mill, the oil mill, the cement mills., etc., with punitive measures branding their owners as social criminals fit to be put under restraint under Public Safety Acts. For the next three of four decades there should be no talk of granting such industries any tariff protection. War profiteers and blackmarketeers must not be recognised as Swadeshi businessmen.

Re-distribution of Provincial Boundaries

The Prime Minister of the Indian Union appears to dislike the idea of disturbing the present set-up of provinces. In an indirect way he has tried to explain the reason or reasons for this unwillingness. Faced by many problems unimagined when the Mountbatten Plan of division of India was accepted, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru feels that his Government should be allowed to take up leisurely the problems associated with the re-distribution of provincial boundaries and the constitution of new provinces in the Union of India. This plea for delay has not been accepted by the people. Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Maha-Gujarat have been expressing their determination to "evolve a homogeneous administration for themselves," to adopt the words of a resolution passed by a Maha-Gujarat Rajasthan Praja Sammelan held at Bombay sometime back. To this crescendo of demands must be added that of Bengal for the return of Bengalee-speaking areas that were added to Bihar when it was constituted into a separate province in 1912. We cannot see how the Nehru Ministry can ignore these claims without creating feelings that would seek outlet in agitation. And we are one of those who have long felt that the Nehru Government would be wise to resolve all agitational factors, or as many of them as are possible, so that the people can devote their whole attention and energy to constructive activities. We have also felt that the Nehru Government have been taking dangerous chances in putting off the solution of this problem whose dimensions extend almost throughout its whole territory, south, west and north-east.

The All-Parties Conference of 1928 of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a secretary, if we mistake not, recognized the importance of this problem and stated it in their report which has come to be known as the Nehru Report after the name of Motilal Nehru, Chairman of the Conference. We make no apology in quoting a relevant portion of it.

> "Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of tradition, of literature. The redistribution of the provinces must be governed by the history of the people concerned. The mere fact that the people living in a particular area feel that they are one unit and desire to develop their culture is an important consideration even though there may be no sufficient historical or cultural justification for the demand. Sentiment in such matters is often more important than fact."

This recognition may be accepted as the charter of the demand behind the linguistic re-constitution of provinces referred to above. The leadership of the Congress for the last 30 years has been recognizing its validity, and the people are in no mood to tolerate their resiling from that position. This "sentiment" the Nehru Government has got to respect, and give concrete shape to. And if they once determine to solve the matter, the difficulties will yield. These difficulties revolve round certain vested interests that have grown up as a result of decades of neglect of one of the deepest sentiments of the human mind. The Nehru Ministry has the power in this behalf to have an Order-in-Council passed in the name of the Governor-General under Section 290 of the India Act (1935) since adapted and amended. Why they are afraid of or unwilling to have recourse to it is more than we know. And their silence in this matter has been creating confusion in the public mind. "After me the Deluge" is seldom a good quality in a statesman.

At page 159 of the *Draft Constitution of India*, First Schedule, Part I, there is a foot-note by the Draft Committee, recommending that "a Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters, not only as regards Andhra, but also as regards other linguistic regions with instructions to submit its report in time to enable any new State to be created under Section 290 of the Act of 1935." This appears to be a departure from the procedure that was followed in the case of Sind and Orissa; immediately after their mention in that Act, these two provinces were constituted; the Act came into force in 1937. On

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the present occasion, the mention of Andhra province alone by name has created a suspicion in other areas which have demands to be re-grouped into new or existing provinces. The New Delhi correspondent of the Nagpur *Hitavada* writing on February 25 last hinted that there had been a deal with Andhra leaders who had been keeping themselves "aloof from the others" who were also interested in the formation of linguistic provinces. Strange are the ways of politicians! Time was when Andhra leaders were the most forward of the protagonists of linguistic provinces; but the New Delhi report referred to above sought to make it out that "if the Andhras had joined issue with the others, linguistic provinces would have been in existence shortly."

The facts discussed above make it clear that the Nehru Government for unexplained reasons have been pursuing a "Go Slow" policy, that the non-official leadership of the Congress does not know its own mind. There is hardly a month before the Draft Constitution proposed in the Constituent Assembly will be finalized. Every day is precious. Dr. Rajendra Prasad advised the people concerned through the Karnataka Unification Deputation on January 24 last "to make the task of the Government and the Constituent Assembly easy" by themselves coming forward with "an agreed solution regarding their boundaries." We should like to know what he himself has done to help this process of evolving an "agreed solution." Four precious months have been wasted, the Congress President giving no lead in the matter. And during these months bitterness has been mounting high in areas which should be his special concern as custodian of the people's interest. He should declare himself, and let us know where he stood. We will then know what to do.

Kashmir

Fighting in Kashmir continues with success on the Indian side, but the State has not yet been cleared of the tribal intruders. With the gradual clearing of the snow, the situation seems to have come well in hand. Meanwhile, the Security Council has given its full blessings to the five-man Commission formed with the object of supervising the holding of plebiscite in Kashmir this year for deciding whether the State shall be incorporated in India or Pakistan. The Commission has started for Geneva where the first formal meeting will be held on June 15. The Commission is composed of the United States, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Argentina and Colombia.

The Security Council has given the Commission power, "when it deems it appropriate" to look into the questions raised by Pakistan, *viz.*, the matter of a plebiscite in the State of Junagadh; the allegation that murder of Moslems in India is a calculated part of a policy of "genocide"; and the claim that India is now delivering to Pakistan all the stores to which Pakistan is entitled under the partition scheme. These terms of reference are the result of the successful Anglo-U.S. conspiracy at Lake Success for bringing the Kashmir question under the general term of "Indo-Pakistan issue" and India's rather too gentlemanly handling of the pernicious issues that Sir Md. Zafarullah brought into the Kashmir issue with the help of Mr. Noel Baker. The foreign policy of India is still following along the lines of an inferiority complex in utter contradiction of the guiding principles of *Kshetre karma vidhiyate* and *Sathe sathyam samacharet.* We again commend our heads of the foreign department and our ambassadars abroad to carefully go through the *Rajdharma-prakarana* chapters of *Manu Samhita* and Kautilya's *Arthasastra.*

The final terms of reference that have been given to the Kashmir Commission were discussed in a meeting of the Security Council under the presidency of Faris Bey al Khoury of Syria. Pakistan pressed for the inclusion of the three terms and Syria was clearly very much in favour of it. China opposed the claim for the inclusion of alleged genocide and said, "It casts a certain amount of slur on the Government of India and I don't think that our handling the question here would improve relations between the two Governments." As regards the Pakistani complaint of alleged non-implementation of agreements, China asked Pakistan to drop this also. Colombia supported the idea of instructing the Commission to concentrate on Kashmir. India opposed any extension of the Commission's terms of reference to include the three subsidiary questions raised by Pakistan. Finally, Britain put forward and got passed a clever resolution which extended the terms of reference under the cloak of "study and report to the Council, when it considers it appropriate, on the matters raised by the letter of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan of January 15." This resolution virtually enables the Commission to stretch its powers to whatever length it likes and may now be looked upon as a menacing intrusion in the domestic politics of India.

We do not yet know what the Government of India's attitude to this resolution will be, but we have reasons to apprehend that it may not be as strong as is expected under the circumstances. Calcutta papers report that whatever may be the Security Council's decision about its previous resolutions on the Kashmir dispute, the Indian Government thinks that the proposed Commission can function only as a conciliatory body. A high official of the External Affairs Department is reported to have told them that the Security Council itself, as had been emphasised on many occasions, would act in an advisory capacity. "I should be surprised," the spokesmen said, "if it were now beginning to think in terms of giving effect to the resolutions." Asked whether India would withhold co-operation from the Commission's programme in India, the spokesman could not see any reason why the Commission's scope had been extended to investigate the additional complaints of Pakistan, namely, Junagadh, genocide and the alleged non-

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implementation of agreements. The facts here are that Junagadh's accession to India had been decided by a plebiscite. The Pakistan representative on the U. N. had also admitted that if there was another plebiscite in the State, the result would be the same. The application of the term genocide to what has happened in India is as mischievous as it is preposterous. Only a very small fraction of the Muslim population of India has left for Pakistan while their bulk, numbering 45 millions, still remain here and continue to enjoy the same civic rights and amenities that they did before.

We commend, in this connection, the stand that Sheikh Abdullah has taken. At a press conference held at Srinagar, Sheikh Abdullah said, "The U. N. Commission on Kashmir cannot act without our consent, nor can the United Nations thrust any decision upon us. We have rejected the Security Council resolution but I shall be happy if anybody comes here and see things for himself. We have nothing to hide from anybody. Our hands are clean. We always offered to decide the Kashmir issue absolutely democratically. If the people of Kashmir do not want to accede to India, neither I nor any body else can force them to do so. In fact this has always been our attitude and the attitude of India. In the beginning Pakistan rejected the offer. Probably they had their own plans. Kashmir did not take part in the communal killings and probably in view of that and from the Pakistan's point of view the atmosphere for holding elections was not favourable. So they tried to create chaotic conditions just as they did in the Frontier. They failed in Kashmir, although to a certain extent they succeeded in Jammu. As the atmosphere was not favourable they laid down conditions and counter-conditions. They said that plebiscite would not be impartial as long as Abdullah was there. So they wanted to thrust somebody from outside. Even in regard to this they stipulated so many conditions. All this shows that they do not want a straight fight."

Asked what was the possibility of plebiscite, Sheikh Abdullah said, "I have not claimed to be a prophet. We shall see. The Security Council cannot dictate terms. Our attitude is the same as before. It is fantastic to say that some people will come from the other end of the world and they will dictate terms to us. It is no good telling us that as long as Abdullah is there you cannot have fair elections. It is no personal question. It is a question of principle."

"Failure" at Security Council

The "failure" at the Security Council of the United Nations Organization by India to secure its help in stopping the Pakistani marauders into Kashmir has led to much heart-searching in the Indian Union. Some disgruntled elements have been blaming it on the leader of the Indian Delegation, Shri Gopalaswamy Iyangar, for his handling of the case. But the real fault appears to be extra-Kashmir considerations that have influenced the various elements amongst the powers dominating the organization. There had been also an element of innocent faith on the part of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the U.N.O. faith born of his internationalism. Shri P. D. Sharma in an article in the Bombay *Forum*, has brought out these and some other factors that explained the failure of the Indian reference. "Our ignorance and lack of independent experience" of men and matters of international significance, explained part of the failure. "The Security Council is not a Court of justice," it is not concerned with "the rights or wrongs of disputes brought before it," its primary concern is "the bringing about of peace" threatened by aggression by any one of its members. We do not understand how the U.N.O. can function in such a moral vacuum; directly or indirectly it has to pass judgment on disputes brought before its forum. If it does not, it fails. And we are of opinion that the U.N.O. has failed because of this lack of courage to consider the morality of disputes brought before it.

The next point that the writer emphasized was the hostility of the British delegation which was regarded by the others as "experts" on India. The U.S.A. delegate agreed to be briefed and guided by them; the French were more or less uninterested, though with their tiny possessions in India, they will have scores to settle with India; the Chinese, understanding all that, could not take an independent line of their own, their internal difficulties handicapping them; the Soviet delegation appeared to be prepared to support our cause at a price—in "return for Indian support on the Korean Commission." Belgium, newly bound to Britain by the recent pact along with France, Holland and Luxembourg, was ineffective; Canada followed the British lead, as well as Colombia! with regard to Argentina, the writer points to an episode to explain her attitude—"Argentina seems to be angry with India because of the notorious visit of an Indian delegation which did no credit to India." Shri Sharma should be more specific in explaining this charge; the Indian public should not be kept in ignorance of the men who go in their name and bring disgrace on it. The New Delhi authorities as the custodians of India's reputation should make an example of such men. Have they done so on the present occasion?

Shri P. D. Sharma seems to suggest that the Indian Union cannot maintain a neutral attitude in the competition between the two Power Blocs into which the international field is divided today. He has no concrete suggestion to recommend; he is against "a daily declaration of foreign policy which makes no friends but adds to suspicion against India" . . . "we have to keep our mouths shut more often than we are prone to do." This is a failing which we also have warned against both in internal and in external affairs. Our ministers in the Central and Provincial Governments cannot get over the habit

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of their agitational days; they must hold forth, and in doing so simply add to the confusion of thought and action. Their opposite numbers in Mr. Jinnah's realm do not feel this urge to talk. It is sometimes wise to learn from the opponent.

The article in the *Forum* is, however, not confined to pointing out the deficiencies of other people; it does well to indicate the mote in our own eyes. And the following long quotation is, we are afraid, representative of a state of things that should engage the attention of the Central Ministry.

Some of our Ambassadors and diplomatic representatives do not believe in hard work or closer association or personal contacts. They believe in cocktail parties for the sake of cocktail parties and social contacts for the sake of social contacts. The Ambassador of India stays in Washington away from the American Press or Lake Success.

One of our delegates, due to make a speech at the United Nations Assembly, came full of alcohol smelling and his head swimming. The other members of the delegations and the staff made frantic searches for this worthy, and at last he appeared, and what a speech he made! No one seems to have reported about his misbehaviour and he is still in high esteem.

Hyderabad

Grave concern is expressed in quarters authoritative as well as public at the alarming increase in border incidents and train attacks committed by the Razakars in the Hyderabad State. On May 16, an A. P. message from New Delhi stated that the Government of India have drawn the Nizam's attention to the border raids. But neither any action has been taken by the Nizam to stop these unwarranted attacks nor have the Government of India been able to protect the lives and properties of their own citizens inhabiting villages bordering on that State. Narrow threats from this side seem rather to have brought the Indian Government into ridicule and the incidents have assumed an alarming and menacing proportion.

The Government of India, as well as the Hyderabad State Congress, desire an immediate introduction of constitutional reforms on democratic lines. These demands, not yet fully published but occasionally hinted in the press as a surrender by Nizam of the three subjects of defence, foreign affairs and communications to the Indian Government for ten years and setting up of the State Government and Legislature on a 60 : 40 ratio, fall far short of the demands that justly ought to have been made. These repeated approaches to the Nizam are sure to be interpreted there as signs of gross weakness and cowardice on the part of the Union Government, indicating their eagerness to avoid an armed conflict even at the cost of national self-respect.

Meanwhile, the militant Razakars continue to gain strength and entrench themselves solidly within the State. The efficiency and resources of the Razakar organisation can be assessed from the following facts. The Ittehad-ul-Muslemin, the parent body of the Razakars, control seven daily newspapers, besides a number of weeklies which all enjoy complete freedom in propagating a violent campaign against the Hindus and the Union Government. Their publicity is done by the Nizam's radio and the Information Department as well. Members of the Nizam's Government attend Razakar meetings and deliver fiery speeches there. While the public are denied petrol, the Razakars get as much petrol as they want on permits signed by the Director-General of Police. The Razakars are generally recruited to the army, the police and the civic guards. No criticism of the Razakars is permitted within the State and newspapers which venture to criticise them are put under a pre-censorship order. It has been reported on several occasions that the Razakar raids on the border areas are backed by the Nizam State forces and considerable evidence has reached authoritative quarters at New Delhi, reports the *A. P.*, that the Razakars act in border raids and internal incidents in unison with the police and the military. This unison has been further proved by the inactivity of the Nizam police at the railway station where the Razakars had made an attack on the Madras-Bombay mail running through the Hyderabad territory.

The attitude of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemin and the Razakars to the proposed reforms in the State has also been made clear by their leader Syed Kasim Razvi. In a public meeting at Hyderabad, held on May 15, Razvi said that he wished to make it quite clear once for all that a responsible government could not be established in the Hyderabad State and that he would not be a party to any round table conference to discuss matters. He said :

> I want to make it clear to members of the so-called State Congress that they will not be successful in their efforts to form a responsible government in Hyderabad.

It is now abundantly clear that the Nizam is riding two horses and making preparations to sabotage any responsible government that he might be compelled to accept under pressure of the Indian Union. In that meeting, Razvi asked for enrolment of five lakhs of volunteers. It was resolved in the meeting that in the event of the grant of a responsible government in the State they would launch a direct action and establish a parallel government. The strength of the Razakars is now estimated at 60,000.

Account should also be taken of the Arab element in Hyderabad. The Jamiat-ul-Arab is the most powerful body of the Arabs there and the Ittehad-ul-Muslemin is also dominated by them. The Special Representative of the *Hindusthan Standard* gives the following account of this aspect of the menace in Hyderabad :

"Arabs are a menacing and turbulent lot and have been likened by more than one observer to the Janissaries of Turkey. In any street affray it is they who are involved. If any violent conflict occurs in

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Hyderabad, it is the Arabs even more than the Ittehad volunteers, who will first take the law into their own hands. The Arab in every part of the State has created an uneasy feeling among the people. He has been and still is the local money-lender, the office treasury guard. The Indian Union will do well to watch these people, many of whom are recent arrivals but known as 'Villayatis', *i.e.*, native-born Arabs.

"At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Nizam's Government started the process of creating feudal armies on a contract basis. Mercenaries soon flocked to the court of the Nizam. Among these, most prominent were the Arab hirelings brought over from Arabia to sell their swords to the highest bidder. They swarmed over the Deccan—in the courts of the Nizam, Peshawas, Gaikwars of Baroda and Rajas of Nagpur. Their contractors, themselves known as jamedars or chaushes, earned good estates for themselves. These contractors received estates for their levies as also for their personal upkeep. Thus they owned two kinds of jagirs, known as Tanka and Jat jagirs. After the downfall of the Marathas, the Arabs of the Maratha kingdoms flocked to Hyderabad as a rallying centre.

"This intrusion of the Arab element in the Deccan is something the like of which is not found in northern India. Arabs have not ruled in India outside Sindh. We do not hear of any migration of Arabs in northern India. In the Deccan they today number nearly one lakh. The Arab contractors raised levies and proved generally good fighters. We hear of the tough fight they put up in the Anglo-Maratha wars. In Hyderabad they found further scope for their talents.

"These Arabs do not know Hindustani, let aside the local languages. They are known as Villayatis and are noted for their very quick temper and insulting behaviour. Those who settled and married locally bore children who came to be known as Moulluds. The captains of these Arabs became prominent jagirdars in Hyderabad. The Arabs proved good soldiers, but were never amenable to discipline. They actually proved such a nuisance in the Maratha wars on the side of the Nizam that the East India Company insisted on a trained contingent by the Nizam and offered to train the troops themselves. These Arabs after 1817 were no longer called upon to perform duties of a military nature, and so rapidly became as tough a problem for Hyderabad as the tribal problem is for Pakistan. Bands of Arabs would swarm about the streets of Hyderabad, armed to the teeth, making life insecure for every one. Street fights between Arabs and the Pathan soldiers of Chanchalgura became a notorious feature of the life of Hyderabad. In the thirties of the nineteenth century in nearly half a dozen fights thousands of Pathans, Arabs and other Muslims were murdered. Prime Minister Sirajul-Mulk thought of dispersing them in districts. Three thousand Arabs surrounded the Diwan's Palace and forced him to rescind the order.

"Arabs lent money to Government. The distinction between private debts and State debts was thin in those days nor was it felt improper by the Government to borrow money from the Arab and Pathan money-lenders. The result was the curious spectacle of ordinary Arab Jemadars who lent money to the Diwan and other officials of the State to the extent of lakhs of rupees. What is more, the State mortgaged many districts to its money-lenders who held these districts for years together only on interest. There are a number of such money-lenders, Arabs and others, who fattened at the expense of the State. Arabs further used to bid for districts at auctions and thus held them. Hundreds of Rohilla families also followed the same game in Hyderabad. Thus by 1853 the State held only one-fourth of its area directly. After Salar Jung came into power in 1853, Arabs were slowly and tactfully spread to some extent in districts as guards for office treasuries. There are thousands still left in Hyderabad. Salar Jung also stopped the system of letting out districts on contract. He further set aside many illegal acquisitions of land, he also examined and settled many of the State debts and recovered the districts held by money-lenders.

"The Arab contingent in Hyderabad is known as 'Nazme Jamiate Be Qaida,' the irregulars. The individual Arab guard or sepoy is known by the contractor who brought him, such as Muhummad Bin Salam, Awarda Qamqam Uddowla and so on. They are allowed to retain their arms with which they terrorise the local population. Whenever there are murders or stabbings, the principal perpetrators are Arabs. In districts Arab money-lenders are looked upon as worse than Shylocks. There are instances when an Arab guard of an office treasury, starting life on ten rupees a month, has become owner of lakhs. Then they sometimes leave off their jobs and set up independent business. Other relatives are attracted and also become good businessmen. The moral depravity of Arabs has become a bye-word in Hyderabad. It is a common sight in towns to see the debauched Arabs, swaggering in streets and terrorising the people. Nobody's honour is safe at their hands. The local Arab is a nasty fellow. More often than not he is ignorant of Arabic. He is mostly illiterate. He does money-lending in spite of the orders prohibiting Arab soldiers from doing this business. In one place an Arab has become a millionaire by money-lending. He has also made good business by securing permits and control in these days. He gets false documents written on pain of murdering villagers. He has the backing of the local officials. This is the typical Arab in the Deccan. Being mercenaries, these Arabs have made no cultural contribution to Hyderabad. Today the Arab is the most hated Mussalman in the Deccan. His liquidation will be the first charge on the statesmen of the future. The local Muslims feel this nuisance, but they have a sneaking admiration for the way the Arab and the Rohilla exploit the Komti and the Baniya, and squeeze money

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rest of them. The Muslim Press admires what it calls the traditional bravery of Arabs and almost grows eloquent over their swaggering, their dress, their arms, and their honesty, ignoring that the typical Arab is not in the Deccan but in Arabia, that the worst Arab has come here, that his progeny has remained brutal and illiterate and that with his rapacity, debauchery and greed he is hated by all in Hyderabad.

"Rohillas have a few jagirdarys of their own. They also came in the early 19th century. The Nawab of Turbun is their representative. Bahadur Yar Jung's family came from the Manduji Pathans of the Khyber Valley. Rohillas and Arabs are traditional enemies of each other. In 1840 in the brutal massacre of Pathans by the Arabs many prominent families were murdered. Rohillas also came as contractors of arms and became money-lenders to the State, though not to the extent as Arabs did. The present-day Rohilla money-lender has become a menace to Hyderabad. But he is a newcomer. The Rohilla jagirdars have produced Bahadur Yar Jung as the most energetic Hyderabadi Muslim since Salar Jung I."

After a long series of futile talks between the representatives of India and Hyderabad carried on at New Delhi the centre of gravity relating to the negotiations had shifted towards the end of May, from New Delhi to Mussoorie where Sardar Patel has been convalescing. Pandit Nehru had previously met Mir Laik Ali. He apprised Sardar Patel of what transpired between him and Mir Laik Ali and discussed the line of action which the Government of India would now take up in regard to the Hyderabad problem. But nothing tangible and understandable has as yet been the outcome.

The Nizam's Terrorism

"Eh Union! Eh Union! Hushyar, Hushyar! Ham Hein Rajakai-e-Watan, Rajakai-e-Watan."

A writer in the Bombay weekly *Blitz* quotes these lines of a song that is heard in the Nizam's State these-a-days as the volunteers of the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, the terrorist gang organized by Haji Qasim Razvi with the ruler's support, are being drilled for a fight with the Union of India in defence of his feudalistic interests with which have got entangled the ambitions of the dominant section of Muslims in the State. In the ranks of these volunteers are to be found all types of people—young and old, educated and illiterate, Government employees and businessmen." Their daily parades are not only a sight in Muslim-majority areas, they make a special point in displaying their semi-military organisation in Hindu-majority areas also. The Hindus being about 85 per cent of the population of the State, the purpose of this display is to strike terror into them and to crush their power of opposition. Mir Osman Ali Khan, the Nizam of Hyderabad, is "an astute and ruthless politician" as Mr. Kingsley Martin, Editor of the London *New Statesman and Nation*, describes him; but even his cleverness cannot hide the secret any more that the Majlis-i-Ittedhad-ul-i-Muslimeen could not have thriven so luxuriantly if the money of the richest man in the world had not been at its beck and call. And this organization has proved itself to be worthy of its hire. It has been able to rouse Muslim feeling in the State to a white heat of excitement, and the peace of the Deccan is in jeopardy with its repercussions beyond this State's territory.

This fact has become plain today. And as the negotiations are being prolonged from week to week, the chances of peace are getting progressively thinner. Observers, Indian and foreign, are agreed on the diagnosis of this malady in the body polity of India. We have mentioned the name of one of the latter. As a result of his tour through Hyderabad, he is convinced that the *genii* which Mir Osman Ali Khan has released from his pot has got beyond his control. Mr. Kingsley Martin went so far as to say that should he agree to accede to the Indian Union, the fanatics of the Majlis "would probably murder him." The rulers of the Indian Union have been trying to halt such a possibility, and to arrange for a peaceful settlement of this affair. The leadership of the Rajakars appear to regard this as a sign of weakness, and, therefore, are they emboldened to warn the Indian Union in the way they have done through the song quoted above.

There are other factors to encourage them; one of them is "Pakistan," the other is the encouragement of British imperialists. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's double morality has been notorious; he went all out for partition of India, he is opposed to partition of Palestine; he is not against plebiscite in Kashmir; he is opposed to it in the case of Hyderabad. British imperialists under the leadership of Churchill and Butler, are ever in the look-out for opportunity that can be used towards making things difficult for the Indian Union.

But the malignity will not avail. The Indian Union can wait. There are elements of strength in its armoury that can bring the Nizam and his cohorts to heel. Mr. Kingsley Martin has wondered why the Nehru Ministry has not been bringing these into use. He doubts the success of "diplomacy," and suggests as a "realist" the way out:

> ". . . instead of discouraging pressure from the Communist-Socialist elements, Delhi should turn a blind, if not a favourable eye upon all such activities, legal and illegal."

Pakistani Tactics

Dr. Hameed, a nationalist Muslim of Bombay, had got published in the last week of last month a circular in the Bombay Press throwing light on the doings of a certain organization in West Punjab whose aim is to wrest areas from the Indian Union which have been specified as "Delhi, Ajmer, United Provinces, Bihar, Berar and the city of Bombay." But this is no news to us. For, we saw published in a Bombay daily, a news

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under the date line of January 25, 1948, giving publicity to the text of a circular addressed to all "prominent Muslims all over India." We do not know whether or not Dr. Hameed refers to this circular. But whatever be the fact, it will bear reproduction as an indication of how the mind of a section of Pakistani Muslims has been working. The areas marked out for inclusion in Pakistan have not been incoherently chosen. Delhi as the seat of Muslim kings has an attraction for Mr. Jinnah's followers; Ajmer as seat of Moyenuddin Chisty's Dargah has a traditional attraction for Indian Muslims; Rohilkhand and Lucknow in the United Provinces played a part during the decadent period of Moghul rule. Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman hailed from the latter place. In Bihar there are areas where Muslims are concentrated in strength, one of which, owing to the Radcliffe "award" is next door to East Pakistan; Berar was a "dominion" of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, is therefore a Pakistani area, and Bombay—which Karachi hopes to rival—must fall a prey to Pakistani greed! The circular did not elaborate this thesis of acquisition; the "literature" annexed must have done it. Therefore, the circular has to be interpreted between the lines, and here it is:

INDO-PAKISTAN ISLAM LEAGUE
Ferozpore Road.
Lahore, Dated 10th January, 1948.

Janab-i-Wala,

As-Salamo-Alikum Wa Rahmat Ullah. The annexed literature is sent to you. It explains itself. A quick reply is essential in case you agree to the necessity of this organisation. When a very large number of prominent Muslims in Pakistan and Hindustan agree to its necessity, a meeting will be called in Lahore, Karachi or Delhi (whichever you prefer) which will choose the President, etc. Up till now about 1,500 Muslims have signed the membership form and more are signing every day. But there is none in authority yet and this letter is sent with the general desire of other members. A few of the prominent forms are about 200 Advocates, Barristers and highly educated Muslims, members who have signed membership are also men of note like Nawab Mohammad Sewar of Bekh State, Allama Mashraqi, and Nawab Muhammad Hussain.

You may send the adjoining receipt with your signature on the counterfoil and subscription in case you wish to enlist as a member and give choice of place where the meeting should be held within the next three or four weeks. Your other suggestions will also be welcome. An intimation to the effect that you will certainly attend the meeting will greatly help in knowing the exact position.

The stern realization that the existence of ten crores of Musalmans of India is a sure danger, that five and a half crore Musalmans in Hindustan are bound to be wiped out or converted to Hinduism under communal tyranny and that the two parts of East and West Pakistan are separated from each other by many hundred miles (which puts the Pakistan Musalmans to a terrible disadvantage) ought to bring home the necessity of immediate action on your part. May Almighty Allah be with you in the action you take at this critical operation on our part at this moment which threatens to render us a nation of hewers of wood and drawers of water. So beware of the danger ahead: Please address the reply to this letter to: The Secretary, Office of Indo-Pakistan League, Ferozpore Road, Lahore.

Palestine

Fighting between Arabs and Jews has started, the former taking the offensive. The United Nations Organization has been making vain attempts to stop it. A "Cease Fire" order issued by it has been under the consideration by the contestants; the latest report is that the State of Israel has agreed to it on condition that the Arab States do the same. As we write we cannot say that the fighting will not develop into a regular war, and if that does unfortunately happen whether or not the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain will be able to keep their hands off it. The first two Powers disagreeing in every conceivable subject under the sun, are agreed in recognizing the new State of Israel. Britain has withheld recognition in consideration of the feelings of her Muslim subjects and allies, far and near. She is agreeable to partition of Palestine if the Arabs and Jews agree. This has been her policy since the Peel Commission recommended this solution. But as the Arabs have been refusing to abide by it, there is fighting in the Palestine made anew by Jewish enterprise and idealism. Jews have transformed what was desert into smiling settlements where the most modern of scientific techniques have drawn out of the womb of the earth life-giving waters; these have utilized the Dead Sea as source of fertilization of desert lands.

In India Britain divided the country on the plea that the Congress and the Muslim League had accepted the solution. In Palestine she had been at the back of Arab intransigence. And the Pakistanis are being heard put to it to justify partition in India and oppose its application to the case of Palestine. Sir Muhammad Zafarulla on behalf of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's State whined out, in the course of his speech made in the Assembly of the U.N.O., that partition as "a means of divorce with continuation of marital intercourse" for the purpose of procreation was a "monstrosity." How his similies fit into Palestine's case, he did not care to explain. But things in Palestine have so developed that these cannot be reconciled by similies, and cold steel and gun-powder will settle the problem.

The Arab League of States, a creation of a Britisher, General Clayton, and of an Australian, Mr. Richard Casey, who was in 1942-'43 Resident British Minister of Britain in the Near and Middle East, has taken the lead in starting the fight. The most powerful of them—Saudi Arabia—is dependent for its solvency on U.S.A. dollars for oil. And perhaps therefore King Ibn Saud appears to be lukewarm with regard to this enterprise. King Farouq of Egypt and King Abdulla of Trans-Jordan represent the most forward amongst the "Jehadis." And it may happen that

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expansionistic ambitions will weaken the solidarity of the Arab League. This is the position as it has developed up to now. The future is on the lap of the Lord of Hosts.

As anticipated, British ceremonial withdrawal from Palestine on May 15 has been followed by the birth of Israel and an all-out Arab attack on the new-born State. The withdrawal has relieved Britain of the ignominy of playing a double game. She has now openly joined the Arabs. The "Nation Associates" have submitted a Memorandum to the General Assembly of the United Nations on April 30, which covers the British record in Palestine since November 29 1947. The Memorandum has been published by the *Nation*, the leading American liberal weekly. Discussions at the U. N. over Palestine are taking place in an atmosphere of violence to which Britain is alleged to be a party. An examination of the facts contained in the Memorandum shows that the present violence results from :

(a) *British Sabotage of Partition* : This British sabotage was deliberately undertaken in order to secure British base rights in Palestine in perpetuity, as well as to safeguard British oil trade and military interests in the Middle East.

(b) *Britain's alliance with Arab League.* To achieve these ends, the British have embarked on an alliance with the Arab League composed of the Governments of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Transjordan and Yemen. The Arab League, and the Arab Higher Committee, controls the military and political developments among the Arabs of Palestine. Representatives of the British Government were present at the meetings of the Arab League where the revolt was planned and organised and are in continuous connection with it. Within a month after the November 29th resolution, the Arabs were encouraged to believe, partition would be substituted by a Federal State, and arms shipments continued to the Arab States despite their known use for Palestine warfare. On April 28, Foreign Minister Bevin was still refusing to halt them.

Moreover, the Memorandum claims that facts will show that :

The British have allowed 10,000 foreign invaders to enter Palestine, offering the feeble excuse that the British armed forces, consisting at the outset of over 70,000 men, could not adequately protect the border. Although since December 11, 1947 the British have been promising to return to Transjordan the contingents of the Arab Legion brought to Palestine for police duty, they have allowed the members of that force to remain in Palestine and to attack Jewish communities. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the Arab Legion constitutes a major part of the effort to coerce the Jews into accepting less than the Jewish State granted by the U. N.

At no time has the British Government, in spite of its alleged impotence, requested any help from the U. N; in fact the British have continued to deprecate the situation, refused to identify the invaders, and have consistently denied that the Arab States as such are involved.

Through their action they have admitted into Palestine Arabs of known Nazi allegiance in command of the invading forces and have even admitted escaped Nazi prisoners of war now to be found in command of Arab detachments.

From Secret British Intelligence reports, which have been quoted extensively in the Memorandum, it is clear that the British know and have always known of every single Arab troop movement in Palestine, and that their relations with the Arabs are such that they could ask Arab leaders to request the invading forces to remain unobtrusive.

British sabotage has resulted in turning Jerusalem into an armed camp, has permitted the Arabs to seize the Old City and to hold as hostages some 2000 Jews. This great advantage has enabled the Arabs to finally occupy the old City by crushing the last remnants of the heroic Jewish resistance groups.

The British have failed to take any action to insure that Haifa should remain an open city, even though they were fully aware of the desire of local Arabs to achieve this end and that the Jews wanted to be only safe from attack.

Their prejudice against the Jews has been clearly indicated in their refusal to allow the Jews to arm for defence against Arab attack and in their blowing up of Jewish defence posts; in their turning over to the Arabs—and to certain death—members of the Haganah; in their confiscation of Haganah arms; in their treatment of Jewish defence personnel as criminals. The British have connived at the starving of the Jewish population of Jerusalem by their failure to keep the highways open. They have refused armed escorts to the Jews.

British attitude to the Arab community is however entirely different. By British admission, the Arab Community has been armed by the British. Arab train robberies, which have been frequent, have been met with shooting over the heads of the robbers. Arab desertions from the police, for the purpose of joining the attackers, accompanied by the stealing of arms, have never been prevented, and Arab violators of the peace go unpunished.

To this record can be added the detailed facts concerning the fashion in which the British have destroyed Central authority, and under the guise of establishing greater local authority turned over in the largest part to the Arabs the various services of the Palestine government created and maintained chiefly by taxation of the Jewish community. Simultaneously assets have been dissipated and vital communications disposed of to foreign agencies. The effect of this has been to seal the Jewish Community in a limited area, cut off its access to the outside world by land and sea, and surround it by Arabs in order to create such a

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state of seige as would cause the Jews to send up a white flag.

By arrangement with the Arab League, if partition is shelved through any one of several schemes to assure Arab dominance in Palestine, the British are to receive base rights in Haifa, the Negev and Galilee. But the British are not depending on Arab promises alone. They have already taken the necessary steps to assure their permanent rights in Palestine to air bases and land and sea communications. To be able to carry out this programme, Britain had required a free hand, that is why it has kept the United Nations Commission out of Palestine and refused its co-operation. The facts contained in the Memorandum come for the most part from the confidential reports of British Intelligence Service.

Britain Behind the Arab

The Memorandum explains the intention of British policy in Palestine. On December 29, 1947, exactly one month after the United Nations' decision on partition with economic union, the Lebanese envoy in London, reporting to the Foreign Minister of Lebanon on a meeting between himself and Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, quoted Mr. Bevin as having made the following statement : "Now that the question has reached this stage, we are determined to withdraw from Palestine so that Arabs and Jews shall remain alone to face each other and the hard facts." On February 11, 1948 the U. S. Minister at Beirut, Mr. Lowell C. Pinkerton, informed the U. S. Department of the plans being discussed in Lebanon for substituting the partition plan with a new scheme either in the form of a Federal State or in the form of a Jewish State within a Greater Palestine. In his communication Mr. Pinkerton wrote :

> "Many Lebanese feel that they have already shown an earnest of thin intention to prevent partition at all costs and that Jews now doubt their own ability to defend the territory allotted to them by the partition plan.
>
> "Two proposals, at least, have been discussed, either of which might be acceptable to a sizeable number of the Arabs. If adopted, the first might only be prelude to the second :
>
> "1. Revival of the eleventh hour Arab compromise suggestion at Lake Success—cantonisation of a Federal State.
>
> "2. An autonomous Jewish State within a Greater Palestine, under King Abdullah, which would have all its own machinery of government. It has even been suggested that such a State might take all of the Jews now in displacement camps in Europe, since the question of a majority would not arise. This proposal would certainly meet wide-spread opposition in Syria, Saudi Arabia and possibly Egypt."

The Federal Plan having failed to take any concrete shape, invasion of Palestine by Abdullah was decided upon. The British had previous knowledge of the Abdullah plan to occupy Palestine. On April 17, a day after the Security Council had adopted a resolution calling for truce between the Arab High Committee and the Jewish Agency, and upon the neighbouring States to refrain from activity which would upset the truce, King Abdullah of Transjordan let it be known that he would send the Arab Legion into Palestine to defend the Arabs allegedly against the Jews. On January 31, the *Nation* had reported a plan whereby King Abdullah would be permitted to overrun Palestine in exchange for giving up his ambition to establish the Greater Syria Federation through the annexation of Syria and Lebanon.

British representatives were present in the meeting when the Arab League projected a revolt of Arabs from within in order to facilitate Arab attack from outside. The decision to launch the revolt was made at a meeting of the Council of the Arab League in Sofar, Lebanon. This meeting was attended not only by the heads of the Arab Governments constituting the League, the Mufti and Fawzi Kawkji, later of the Arab Liberation Army in Palestine, but by Brigadier P. A. Clayton, the British representative in Egypt and a number of his associates from Cairo, and Jerusalem. It was at this meeting that the formation of a so-called volunteer force for the liberation of Palestine was decided upon, as against the use of regular troops of the Arab Governments. The decision to substitute so-called volunteer forces for the regular armies was adopted under the influence of Brigadier Clayton and his associates.

The British know every detail of the Arab invasion plan. They are fully aware of every incursion of the invaders and their exact deployment. This is indicated in the reports of British Military Intelligence in Palestine and the Middle East. A few typical excerpts from these reports, included in the Memorandum, indicate that as early as the January British Military Intelligence, and therefore the Palestine administrations, the British Colonial Office and the British Foreign Office were fully aware of the facts. On March 19, British Intelligence put out a document on the Arab Liberation Army detailing its location in every area of Palestine, its numbers and its commands. The document has been included in the Memorandum.

The British knew that German officers and Jugoslav Moslems had joined the Arab Army. On January 19, C. T. Evans, the District Commissioner for the Galilee District, wrote to the Chief Secretary of Palestine, Sir Henry Guerney, that the training of the Arab Liberation Army is by European volunteers and that in fact one of the incursions was led by a German Officer. Mr. Evans wrote, "It is reported that European volunteers are being brought to Syria and the Lebanon as instructors, and one of the parties who have crossed the frontier is stated to have been led by a German Officer." On March 19, the Fortnightly Newsletter No. 63, issued by the H. Q. British Troops in Palestine, revealed the presence of non-Arab volunteers in Palestine

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bers of the Arab Liberation Army, including man Officers and Yugoslav Moslems. The report

An observer of the Arab scene in Palestine given an appreciation of the non-Arab volunteers have been working with Arabs in Palestine owing allegiance to the Mufti. Firstly, there are the Yugoslav Moslems, estimated less than a dozen in ber who are attached to Abdul Qadir Al Husseini the Jerusalem area. They have had experience in and have expert knowledge of underground Their number is almost certain to be ed later. Then there are three or four German attached to Sheikh Hassain Salameh in areas Jaffa and Sydda. One popular rumour has it they are survivors of the Germans who para- down during the last war in the Jericho region contact Salameh, with whom they have kept in ever since.

The reason why the Arab Legion cannot move British signals is not also far to seek. The first of Palestine took place in 1922 when the separated Transjordan from it. In January, 1946, Britain, without the consent of the United announced the independence of Transjordan since 1922, had been governed under the mandate. On March 22, 1946, the British announced the conclusion of a Treaty of with Transjordan, which recognised Trans- as an independent kingdom, and the Emir as its sovereign. In an annex to the Treaty, was made for British bases in Transjordan the training of the armed forces of that country British military personnel. On March 15, 1948, a new of Alliance was signed between Transjordan Great Britain under which Britain undertook to its annual grant for the maintenance of Transjordan's armed forces. Brigadier John Bagot Commander of the Transjordan Arab Legion, his post under King Abdullah. The British are as well for equipping the Legion, and sup- In addition to Brigadier Glubb, more than 40 senior officers. Under the March Treaty, the receive the right to maintain units of the A. F. in Transjordan. Britain finances the main- and development of air-fields, ports, roads and lines of communications. The British undertake Transjordan forces in the United Kingdom or British colony. In Transjordan, joint training are to be maintained with the British training personnel. The British undertake to arms, ammunition, equipment, aircraft and war materials; all Transjordan war materials to standardised with that of the British. The British port rights. To carry out the military alliance permanent Joint Defence Board has been set up. Britain has not played fair even in regard to the of Jerusalem. On December 11, 1947, Arthur Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, told the House of Commons, "Up to the date of the relinquishment of the Mandate the Palestine Government remains responsible for the security of Jerusalem and its Holy places." But not even the special position of Jerusalem has deterred the British from sacrificing it to its own plans for an Arab alliance. Under the guise of a spurious neutrality it made possible a series of events initiated by the Arabs which have splattered the sanctity of the Holy City with blood. These events have been narrated in the Memorandum. Though the Mufti's Organisation, the Arab Higher Committee, with its Head Quarters in Jerusalem was directing its whole operation, not one of its leaders had been arrested. On the contrary, the British refused permission to the Jewish population to organise their own defence. They had blown up the Jewish defence posts. They had advised the Jews to evacuate the commercial section of Jerusalem. The British authorities connived at the starving of the Jewish population of Jerusalem. They had failed to protect the highways and refused to allow armed escorts and arming of the Jews for self-protection.

In contrast with the attitude of the British towards the Arabs and the Arab incursionists is the stringent measures undertaken to prevent the Jews from getting arms. A series of communications between the Superintendent of Police, Haifa, and the Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, have been included in the Memorandum. The communications are illuminating. This correspondence indicates that the British were attempting to prevent any possibility of the Jews receiving arms at a time when no obstacles were being placed in the way of armed Arab incursions and attacks on Jewish Palestine. The following letter is typical:

To S. P., Haifa,

Your attention is invited to the Defence (Emergency) Regulations published in *Palestine Gazette* 164 Supplement No. 2 providing powers for the Port Authority to control ships in the territorial waters of Palestine. The purpose of these Regulations is to deal with the possibilities of arms smuggling to Tel-Aviv Port where there are only Jewish Customs Staff. There is reason to believe that the importation of arms and explosives through Tel-Aviv Port will be attempted from U. S. and Yugoslav ports. It will therefore be desirable that ships from these ports should be required to discharge all cargo at Haifa only. If no approach has yet been made on the subject I feel that you should see the General Manager Pal. Rly., and perhaps the Port Manager to consider what steps will be necessary to implement the new legislation.

(Sd.) Fforde,
A.I.G., C.I.D

It should be remembered that Haifa is an Arab port. The British apparently have no objection to the discharge of the arms cargo at that port. When the U. K. was asked to identify Arab personnel who have invaded Palestine and to say whether the incursions were privately organised or were supported or

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encouraged by Governments outside Palestine, the U. K.'s answer was an attempted exoneration of the Arabs. In fact the British were finding praise for the Arab invaders as a stabilising element.

Having been convinced that their withdrawal from Palestine was a certainty, the British took great care to effect a dissipation of Palestine's assets and to see that whatever was left did not fall in Jewish hands. On December 11, 1947 Arthur Creech Jones told the House of Commons, "We certainly did not wish to leave Palestine in disorder after the tremendous and costly contribution Britain has made in developing Palestine and discharging our responsibilities under the Mandate. I can assure the House that we shall wind up our affairs in Palestine in a fair and reasonable manner, and I hope with little suspicion and ill feeling about the arrangemets we make." This was a promise which had been honoured only in the breach. The refusal of Britain to permit the Palestine Commission to reach the country until May 1, two weeks before the scheduled termination of the Mandate, was predicated on the intention, as the facts substantiate, to dismember the Palestine administration so as to have little or nothing to turn over to the Palestine Commission, and to take such action as would safeguard British interests after the end of the Mandate. In April 1948, the month previous to the termination of the Mandate, virtually all departments in the Palestine Government had ceased to function. The exceptions were those like the Palestine Broadcasting Service, the Attorney General's Office, and Chief Secretariat, which served the British primarily. Typical examples of the collapsing public services were the railways and the postal department. This did not come as a sudden development. The Chief Secretary had received a number of warnings concerning such an eventuality as early as December 17, 1947 from the manager of the railways. Britain was willing to allow this breakdown on the assumption that Jewish need for supplies would force the Jews to keep roads open for themselves as well as the British. If the Jews failed, they could starve and for military purposes the British could make other arrangements. As early as April 1, six weeks before the termination of the Mandate, the Land Settlement Department closed down its offices. This was done after the head of the Department, a Briton, sold out lands in the State domain to private persons, mostly Arabs. Parcels of land in the Haifa Harbour Estate were sold by him. All plans and documents relating to irrigation projects in Palestine were shipped by him to the U. K. Water installations were handed over to the Arab town and village councils. Having closed his offices he secured release from his post and has now been named by the Iraqi Government as its irrigation expert. The disruption of postal services has ensued as a result of instructions to create a vacuum. The Palestine Commission has charged the British Government with deliberately inducing a deficit where a surplus existed and thus creating ensuing financial and economic difficulties. Four specific charges in this connection are made by the Commission in its reports submitted both to the Security Council and to the General Assembly. As one of the means of creating a deficit, the British paid out £300,000 recently to the Supreme Moslem Council, knowing full well that the treasury of the Organisation represents the war chest of the Moslems.

In February 1948, a Special law, to amend the Municipal Corporation Ordinance 1937, was enacted. As a result of this special legislation the three regions heavily populated by Jews have been placed under Jewish control. All the remaining regions have been left to the Arabs. The exceptions are Jerusalem, Haifa, the Valley of Ezdraelon and Eastern Galilee. Ceded to the Arabs were such important installations as the water plants at Ras-el-Ain and Safad. In addition, the Arabs have received most of the Government services including Health, Education, Social Welfare, Agriculture and Broadcasting Departments—services which are paid for by the taxes imposed on the population to which the Arabs constituting two-thirds of the population of Palestine contribute 26 per cent, and the Jews 74 per cent. In dividing the assets of the country the British allocated for themselves the Haifa enclave with all its services and installations.

While liquidating the mandate, the British have concentrated on safeguarding in perpetuity the British hold in Palestine in key areas, including Haifa and the Negev, in order to insure uninterrupted lines of communication by air, sea and land. Early in 1948, the Hejaz Railway linking Palestine, Transjordan and Syria was transferred by the Palestine Government to the Government of Transjordan. The explanation given was that actually the British Government was the Mandatory Power, initially for Transjordan as well as Palestine and therefore was trustee for Transjordan. On April 1, 1948, the El Kantara-Rafa Railway line was turned over to the Egyptian State Railways by the Palestine Government. The Egyptian Railways system is partially controlled by British capital. Moreover, the El Kantara-Rafa Line linking with Rafa in the Southern Negev which has now been transformed into a military base by the British. By thus disposing of the El Kantara-Rafa Railway and the Hejaz Railway, the British Government has attempted to seal off Jewish Palestine from access to the outside world. In disposing of the El Kantara-Rafa Line to the Egyptian Railways, the British have assured themselves a continuous railway connection from the port of Haifa to Egypt where their soldiers are still stationed. They have also assured a railway link between their new military encampment at Rafa and their military encampment in Egypt. At the same time, by placing this railway link in the hands of the Arabs, they have placed the railway access of the Jews to the outside world at the mercy of the Arabs. The effect of the transactions is to assure British connections from Haifa to Transjordan and uninterrupted military links between the military enclave in Haifa and the British military base in Transjordan.

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which continues to exist under the new British Military Treaty with Transjordan. A main military base has been established by the British at Rafa at the southern border of Palestine.

Tripura State and East Bengal Hindus

Almost submerged under the avalanche of Hindus and Sikhs driven out of West Punjab, N.-W. Frontier Province, Sind, Beluchistan and the State of Bhawalpur, the Central Government of the Indian Union had no time to apply their mind, their collective mind, to the problem created by the exodus of East Bengal Hindus from their ancestral homes. Their agent, the Government of West Bengal, have been generally indifferent to the various issues implicit in this vast movement of population, lacking as they did the imagination to understand their various factors. In this matter, the Ministry under Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh had been notoriously insensitive. This has generated a bitterness, wide and deep, that will in the not distant future exact its price. For, it will take time to erase the idea that but for the votes of the Hindu members from East Bengal of the Legislative Assembly of undivided Bengal, the chances of a West Bengal Province taking shape as part of the Indian Union were somewhat remote.

The East Bengal Hindu must, therefore, fend for himself. He must not depend on others to find him safety and salvation. The strength that had enabled him to live and work through the terrorism of the British regime during the last 42 years and more, the spirit of adventure that had enabled him to establish himself in dignity in every sphere of modern India's life cannot be a lost virtue to him. He may not rest on his oars like many others in India. Fate has decreed that he has to take up the burden and the song of a strenuous life in tune with his past, to create and build new avenues of usefulness for himself and for the country whose storied life he has inherited. This nobody can take away from him. For, during the last hundred years he has helped to build up the traditions of a better life by which the Indian of today swears by and takes pride in. This is the inspiration that will uphold him in the immediate future as it did in the past. And it may be that in the inscrutable dispensation of providence the dangers and difficulties that encompass him today will open a new path before him for self-dignity and assurance. The clouds of today will float away in the sunshine of his faith in himself and in the dignity of his people. In this faith he has to labour and work.

And we are glad to come upon this spirit infusing the Memorandum submitted to Shri Kshitish Chandra Bagchi, Minister in Charge of Relief and Rehabilitation at the Centre, on behalf of the Tripura State Congress Relief and Rehabilitation Committee. The royal family of Tripura has during the last hundred years been in close touch with reform movements in Bengal. The letters of Rabindranath Tagore published in the *Prabasi* and *Visva-Bharati* monthly to members of this family have borne testimony to their sensitiveness to influences emanating from Bengal. Ten years ago when Muslim hooliganism devastated the Raipura area in the Narayanganj Subdivision of Dacca, during the period of Janab Fazlul Huq's Ministry, when the present Premier of East Bengal was in charge of Law and Order in the Province, the then Raja of Tripura had nobly responded to the cry of the distress of the Hindus affected by the depredations, affording them asylum and shelter in his State. This kingly act has built up a tradition which the present Maharani, the Regent of the State on behalf of the minor king, should be following with prescience of the possibilities of the future. It is in this assurance that the Memorandum was drawn up giving details of the planning of the State's resources so that a million and half of East Bengal Hindus may build up a more assured life for themselves and a better life for the State.

Already there are a lakh and twenty thousand of them in the State, some of whom had been there since October, 1946, when fanaticism and greed, whipped up by the Muslim League had disrupted Hindu life in Noakhali and Tipperah. From that time, the more far-sighted amongst them had decided to start a new life in the State. And the Memorandum is a blue-print of what is possible and desirable under the circumstances. Of the State's 4116 square miles only about 16 per cent, about 635·7 square miles, are under "settlement," the "reserved forests" cover 1160·3 square miles, producing timber, bamboo and thatching grass; under tea are about 18 square miles. Thus only about 43 per cent of the total area of the State is "productive and revenue-yielding." Not even the whole area under "settlement" is under cultivation. It has been found that the soil of Tripura is very fertile, the 16 per cent of assessed land yielding an annual paddy crop of 65,00,000 maunds, about three times the food requirements of the State whose population of 6,35,77 occupy only about 125 per square mile. The net area sown at present is only about 15 per cent of the total area; it can be immediately raised to another 25 per cent. And if this 40 per cent are connected by good roads with other areas in the State, prosperity unimagined today can be reached, and the pioneers who work this transformation will be justifying their capacity for organization and their citizenship of the State. The Memorandum indicated the other possibilities of industrial development; the "Tipperah cotton is good enough" for ordinary cloth, and cotton mills and *khadi* production point to a new source of income to the people, both indigenous and those who have been flocking into the State; fish culture can be organized on a larger scale in Rudhyala, Ompichhera, Baluchhera, and the adjoining marshy lands of the valleys of the Goomti, Khowai, Manoo, Dholai and Deo rivers; sugar and oil production can be extended, and the State, rich in kaolin, can be the centre of a pottery industry. The *Adibasis* given to

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"Jhum" cultivation have to be organized into habits of plough cultivation; their custom of "collective farming" can be transformed into co-operative agriculture, raising their standard of life and adding to the revenues of the State.

These are the possibilities indicated in the Memorandum. The State of Tripura lies cut off from the Indian Union by East Bengal. It represents a problem in defence of the integrity of the Union. The Central Government can transform it into a bastion of its eastern marches, into a rampart standing guard over regions that have remained unknown to us. The East Bengal Hindu can help in this transformation. He is prepared to share in shouldering this responsibility. He fought the challenge of British imperialism. Today a new prospect of a bitterer fight is ahead of him. He cannot avoid meeting it half-way; the traditions of the immediate past built on courage and enterprise will enable him to create a new Bengal in the Indian Union's eastern frontier. This is the hope that sustains those who have played their part and look to the younger generation to fulfil the rich promise of the past.

Territorial Force in West Bengal

We have seen reports about the West Bengal Government taking in hand the raising and training of "several units of Junior and Senior Division Cadets under the National Cadet Corps Scheme" of the Indian Union. We have heard of the training at Kanchrapara of village defenders of the eastern frontier of West Bengal. We are sure that much of value is being attempted to be done by these arrangements. But we witness a lack of enthusiasm in the general public who have not been roused to the necessity of making a supreme effort to get over the handicap created by British policy in keeping Bengal as a "non-martial" area in India's scheme of defence. A Government and a Ministry in Bengal fully conscious of their special responsibility in the matter would have been more enthusiastic in making leeway in this matter. And it was with some concern that we noticed the indifference of Shri Rajagopalachari and of the Ghose Ministry to this matter. The present Ministry under Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy have been more active; but none amongst its members has the tradition in public life that would inspire him to throw himself heart and soul to the task of "militarizing" his own people. The organizers of "revolutionary patriotism," of "terrorism" if you must have it so, who could have done wonders in this line of activity are hardly to be found in the picture; their lack of aptitude in "power politics" appears to be standing in the way of their playing a significant part in shaping a new manhood in their province. Regrettable as this development is, we think, there is yet time to make up for the neglect of the last nine months. We are emboldened to entertain this hope by the news sent out of Calcutta to the Press outside on May 24 last that:

West Bengal will have her own infantry, armoured car regiment, heavy anti-aircraft, and field artillery regiment as also other technical territorial units. In addition, the railways, posts authorities and the Posts and Telegraphs Department will have their own technical units.

This was decided at a conference held today at the West Bengal Secretariat in pursuance of the Government of India's decision to reorganize Indian Territorial Forces.

The conference was attended by the Premier, the Home Minister, the Sub-Area Commander and prominent military officers.

The training of these civilian units, which will begin next winter, will extend from two to three months. Subsequently they will have to undergo one month's refresher training every year.—A.P.

This cryptic announcement leaves the impression in the mind that the "new departure" is moving only in the official groove. It is a pity that popular enthusiasm is not being harnessed to it.

New Regime in South Africa

The defeat of Field-Marshal Jan Smuts in the election, with the result of Dr. Malan stepping into his shoes as Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, throws the Indians resident there from the frying pan into the fire. We have our doubts whether the elder statesman of the British Empire was kinder than his successor-to-be. The former was bound by the words in the Charter of the Transvaal Church that "in Church and State there cannot be any equality between white and non-white." Since those words were written about 75 years ago, white-humanity has fought two World Wars in the name of democracy and equality, in the name of the brotherhood of man. But its heart has been denying what the lips uttered. The latest exhibition of such colour conceit comes from the Land of the Free, the United States of America. From Columbia (South Carolina) a news item, dated May 12, flashed it for all the world to take heed of and profit by. Delegates of six Southern States to the General Council of the Methodist Church adopted the following resolution, comment on which is needless:

> We are ever mindful of our obligations to all races of people, and in particular to the Negro race for its spiritual betterment and for our leadership of these people towards Christ within their own racial structure.
>
> The Almighty God saw fit, in His infinite wisdom, to segregate the races in the beginning and we earnestly believe that the Will of God will be best served by continuation of the total segregation of the black and white races.

Indonesian Imbroglio

During 1947 Indonesia was prominent in the world's news, her fight against Dutch imperialism drawing to her Asia's sympathy. But since the United Nations Organization's "Good Offices Committee" came to the islands, being sent thereto to mediate between the Republic Government of Indonesia and the Dutch Government and to arrange for a "cease fire" order between these two, there has ensured a stalemate which the "Good Offices Committee" has not been

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able to remove. The negotiations initiated by this body appears to have reached an *impasse* due to the peculiar ideas of the Dutch. The *Mardeka*, organ of the Indonesian Information Service, New Delhi, published in its May 5 issue the differences that preclude an agreement. The Dutch are reported to have demanded that "the plebiscite should be held not only in the Dutch-occupied Republican territory but also in the territory entirely controlled by the Republic"; the reason for this demand appears to be that "the Dutch Government have recognized *de facto* only the Republic Government, not its territory." This paradox still holds the ground. The 15th May issue of the paper says that U. S. A. member, Mr. Coert Dubois, is said to be supporting the Dutch stand-point; his proposal considers "the Republican Government as a political organ only without any definite territory." This move in effect would "split up Java, Madura and Sumatra into seven or eight States", it would effect the "abolition of the Republic of Indonesia." We know that the Dutch empire is a satellite to British and U. S. A. Big Business. The former is weak today, and the latter has stepped into its shoes. We have been hearing of late of the "leadership" of the United States in the modern world, of the 20th century being American in a special sense. If the Indonesian negotiations be a sample of this "leadership," then God help the modern world!

Japan's Future

Though an Indian citizen has had the privilege of captaining the Commission that supervized the elections in the U. S. A. Zone of Korea, we cannot say that we in India are fully cognisant of the many developments in the Far East that sooner or later will touch our country and influence its policies. In this matter, Japan lying so low and silent today, may be expected to make herself felt as soon as the American occupying forces are being progressively removed from her shores. At present General MacArthur appears to be having his own way; administrative circles of his own homeland trying to oversee his activities and their consequences by sending special missions to Japan. One such, a joint Government and Industrial Mission, headed by Army Under-Secretary William Draper (Junior), formed certain appreciations of the situation which have been summarized for the world as below:

1. Japan has been completely de-militarized and has made great progress toward representative government. It is not handicapped by separate occupation zones, as are Germany and Korea,.....

2. Although food and coal production has been rising, industrial output is only 40 per cent of that 15 years ago. Uncertainty over which plants will be taken as war reparations has retarded reconstruction. Only excess plants should be removed and the Advisory Group found this excess "not great."

3. Japanese exports have grown to 200 million dollars last year, but must increase six or seven times to sustain tolerable living standards and balance imports.....

4. The United States, in its own interest, should assist in Japan's industrial recovery. Japan's industrial products are needed throughout the Far East, which also needs Japan as a market for potential surpluses of raw materials. Japanese imports should be shifted gradually from dollar traders to sterling traders and the Far Eastern areas.

5. Reduction of the Japanese merchant fleet to 20 per cent of the pre-war tonnage is a serious factor in the foreign trade deficit.....

6. Drastic domestic economic and fiscal reforms involving great sacrifices will be required of the Japanese themselves. But the U. S. Government in the national interest should support a reasonable recovery program for Japan.

From this summary it appears that the Japanese are having a better deal than their "Axis" partners in Europe, the Germans. It remains yet to see how they react to this considerate treatment.

Germany's Recovery

The war-time camaraderie of the victorious powers lies shattered today. And this is one of the reasons why defeated Germany cannot recover from her fall. The Big Four—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France—have each a plan of their own by which Germany can be pulled out of economic doldrums. All of them agree that she should consent to remain weak; all of them expect her to pay reparations. But as they cannot agree with regard to the means to this end, there is the loud controversy. The *Worldover Press* of U.S.A. has brought out an instance how even the "democratic" powers who are supposed to be acting in concert against the Soviet Union have been playing havoc with German economy. The Soviet Union has been following her own plan behind the "iron curtain." But the Western powers have been pulling in different ways. The Rhine is the most important river in Western Europe serving Holland, Belgium, Germany, France and Switzerland; it is the principal means of transport of the coal of Rurh out into the world outside. But Allied jealousy or short-sightedness have been "blocking the rational use" of the river. Belgian and Dutch ports have been cut off from their natural hinter-land. Traffic goes by rail through Bremen for the U.S.A. zone; for the British zone through Emden and Hamburg. German Rhine shipping is denied access to Belgian and Dutch territory; as a result, the occupying authorities, belonging to these two countries, have to use non-German shipping and pay all expenses in foreign currency. This sample of administration high-lights the contradictory policies of the Western powers. And it is no wonder that they should be fighting with so little success against the single-pointed Soviet strategy. The Marshal Plan, heralded with so much hope will, we hope, be able to put at end to these confused methods of the Western Powers, and enable the German people to know where they stand. At present they appear to be waiting on events, watching with intent attention the wranglings of her victors, and thinking of exploiting their differences. For, in the ultimate result, the

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German people, eight crores strong with traditions of discipline and scientific equipment, will decide whether "democracy" or "communism" will win the day in Europe.

Qaid-e-Azam as a Historian

The Indian public did not know that the Muslim League's Qaid-e-Azam was a researcher into history. But we live to learn ; the Pakistani leader appears to have undergone a sea-change by his elevation to the headship of a new State cut out of India ; he has developed unsuspected qualities as a historian. This new quality in him was displayed on the occasion of the visit of a Iranian Press Delegation to Karachi. To the admiring members of this Delegation, the Qaid-e-Azam is reported to have thus unburdened himself, according to the editor of the influential Persian paper—*Kaihan*.

> A new State of 6,00,00,000 has come into being in India. This nation of Persian race and religion, was plucked from the motherland from the foreigners' hand. It is time for us to come together.

The historians of the Aligarh and the Osmania Universities should be able to throw light on this conundrum. They are bound in loyalty to extricate their Qaid-e-Azam from this depth of ignorance. The dictum has been issued from Karachi, and it is up to Pakistani historians to sustain with arguments. Prof. Habib of Aligarh is no good in this research business ; he has shown himself to be more a *Kufr* than a Muslim. About Iran and Pakistan coming together, a difficulty may be created by Afghanistan which does not happen to claim descent from "Persian race."

"State of the Union" Message

On the 7th of January every year, the President of the United States delivers a message to the Congress—the Senate and the House of Representatives—putting before them a picture of the "State of the Union" as it is affected by world developments and as it affects world developments. This year at the session of the 80th Congress of the U.S.A., Mr. Truman told his people: "We can go forward with confidence that we are following sound policies", he indicated the "goals" that his people have been striving to reach—"one of which is world peace based upon the principles of freedom and justice, and the equality of all nations." About domestic anxieties he indicated "inflation", the rising prices of all commodities, as the "major problem." The "goal" of securing to her citizens "essential human rights" has yet to be reached. In view of the present world developments his statement carries a special significance and as such we quote from it. He referred to Negro disabilities, the disabilities suffered by about one-seventh of the 14 crores population of the country, when he said:

> Today, however, some of our citizens are still denied equal opportunity for education, for jobs and economic advancement, and for the expression of their views at the polls. Most serious of all, some are denied equal protection under our laws. Whether discrimination is based on race, or creed, or color, or land of origin, it is utterly contrary to American ideals of democ-

The next "goal" is to "protect and develop" U.S.A. "human resources," by affording them "equal" opp tunities for development of their fullest personalities, b protecting them from "economic insecurity." During th last fifteen years "we have erected a sound framew of social security legislation", many millions "are now pr tected against the loss of income which can come fro unemployment, old age or the death of the wage-earner There are "gaps and inconsistencies" in it, it is "un half-finished," the State has thus a duty to do.

"Extend unemployment compensation, old-age ben fits and survivors' benefits" to many more millions.

The conservation and proper use of "the bounty o our fields, the wealth of our mines and forests, and th energy of our waters" is the third "goal" of the U.S.A. people and Administration. More comprehensive know ledge of mineral resources, development of new supplie and collection of stock-piles of scarce materials is on part of the duty, combating erosion, building up soi fertility, and reclamation of arid lands is another, th third is the erection of multiple-purpose dams on gre rivers in order "to reclaim lands, prevent floods, to ex tend inland waterways and provide hydro-electric power This public power must not be monopolized for priva gain." All these measures will lead to the fourth "goal"— lifting the standard of living for all the people by "sho ing more broadly among our people the goods we produce

The President in his message took pride in what h people had been able to achieve during the past ten year pointing "the way for the next ten."

Today 14 million more people have jobs than i 1938.

Our yearly output of goods and services has in creased by two-thirds.

The average income of our people, measured in do lars of equal purchasing power, has increased—after taxes—by more than 50 per cent.

In no other ten years have farmers, businessmen an wage-earners made such great gains.

To maintain and improve upon the "amazing" progres already made would require that "agriculture, indus try and labour must move forward together."

The fifth "goal" is to achieve "world peace" in which the United States has been called by destiny to give a lead. The National Security Act passed by the Congress at its last session maintains the country's strength. In order to stabilise it, secure "a balanced national security programme", the Administration has proposed "universal training." But, the United States cannot stand by idle It is, therefore, "engaged today in many international activities directed toward the creation of lasting peace ful relations between nations." The "substantial aid given to Greece and Turkey in preserving their "integrity under foreign pressure" is having had "a powerful effect upon other nations in the Middle East and Europe." The 6.8 billion dollars aid to the "European Recovery Plan" to be continued for 15 months is motivated by the same purpose.

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OUR FOREIGN POLICY

By KAMALESH DAS GUPTA

It was reported that when India was competing for a seat in the Security Council of the United Nations, some countries refused to vote in her favour apprehending that the inclusion of India will mean one more vote in favour of the Anglo-American Bloc in the Council. Again, in high Anglo-American official quarters there is an impression that Pandit Nehru belongs to the group of the Reds, and this certainly does not earn for him any favour in their eyes.

These two sides of the picture are enough to show the general confusion in the international field regarding India's role in foreign affairs. There are doubts and misgivings within our own country also. Some have been eloquent over India's status as the Cultural Ambassador of the spiritual East to the material Western world; some have upheld the lofty ideal of peace and freedom in the war-torn world, and elimination of imperialism as the goal of India. But these beautifully-coined phrases only make the confusion worse-confounded.

Two Camps

The Western world today is divided into two clear camps: on the one side there is the United States of America trying to increase her sphere of influence and check the growth of Communist influence, and on the other side there is Soviet Russia attempting to strengthen her satellites in Eastern Europe and other areas; and a battle of nerves between these two rival blocs is already afoot. Britain, in her domestic economy trying to make a practical adjustment of private enterprise and state control of key industries, is closely allied with America in matters of world policy.

Now some leaders of our country have suggested that India should join the Anglo-American bloc in international power alignments. The core of the present world politics, they say, is the conflict between the U.S.A. and Russia—between Democracy and Dictatorship. . . . There is no doubt about it. . . . They continue, ideologically U. S. A. stands for freedom, Soviet Russia for complete regimentation. Hence of any policy India formulates, the necessary elements are strength and international alignment. Strength implies military power sufficient for her defence, i.e., the modernisation of her armed forces required which involves almost double the expenditure which we incur under this head at present. More military expenditure means greater industrialisation which is impossible without U. S. or U. K. help, they conclude.

But admitting the necessity of help from U. K. and U. S. A. in building India's industrial structure, one fails to see why that will necessitate India to become their satellite in the international political set-up. We can secure the help of foreign capital and technicians on equal terms without allowing them to have any say in the matter of our economic structure.

British Strategy

On the other hand, in view of the developing tension among the Big Powers, attempts are being made by U. K. authorities to tie the Dominions to the British Defence Policy within the Commonwealth of Nations. As India is still a Dominion, it has been pointed out in some quarters that though the sovereign rights of the Dominions are given a legal shape by the negative clauses of the Statute of Westminster, they derive their substance from the practical co-operation of all members of the Commonwealth, under England's leadership, for mutual defence. The *Round Table* writes in a recent issue :

> "The constitutional right of each Dominion to have its own foreign policy, only reflects the evident fact that each has its different interest in European affairs and in world affairs to maintain. On the other hand, their power to act . . . is bound up with their participation in the Defence system of the whole Commonwealth. In the event of a third war, it is not strategically conceivable that the Dominions will play any part except as the associates of United Kingdom. The Commonwealth may be a plurality in peace; if it is not a strategic unity in the war it perishes and each of its components perishes individually. But defence policy cannot be dissociated from the foreign policy it supports."

The recent news of a probable pentagonal military alliance between India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Britain is significant in this context. Moreover, the recent recruitment of Gurkha troops for British Army is another disconcerting fact because this is tantamount to the establishment of British extra-territoriality which must necessarily detract from our sovereignty to that extent.

It is evident that some of us support this view of the status of Dominions. It was also discussed in certain quarters that the objective resolution accepted by the Indian Consembly declaring India as a Sovereign Republic did not, from the legal point of view, clash with her status as a British Dominion. These discussions reveal a particular trend of thought among certain sections who are willing to see India's destiny still tied down to British interests, and in the case of a third world war, would like India to take the side of Uncle

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Sam to crush Soviet Russia and to ensure peace and democracy.

India's Stand

Now let us examine the situation. India must always take the step best suited to her own interests. It has been rightly pointed out by Pandit Nehru during the Foreign Affairs debate in Dominion Parliament, that the principle followed by all nations, no matter whether their politics have got a Red, Pink or true Blue tint, is one of pure self-interest. In case of any war, India also will not hesitate to take sides as her self-interest dictates. And in the immediate future, India would do well to keep an independent, neutral policy, as emphasised by Pandit Nehru, for her own sake. To take an example, the French or Italian Cabinet (backed by U. S. dollars) may be suppressing the Communist elements in their respective countries, for the safety and security of the state or for anything else, but it is not the interest of India either to lend her support for the French and Italian policy, or side with the Communists who may be trying to capture the State authority by fomenting labour trouble. That's simply not our concern.

Reading news and despatches of interested powers continuously, we are easily prone to accept their analysis of any particular question as our own. India in her present status must devote all her energy to make herself strong and resourceful which alone can ensure her an honourable place in the comity of nations, and an all-round effort must be made to increase the military strength which under modern conditions depend on the economic development.

Formal independence is not enough for creating sanctions for a truly independent policy, and in view of the increasing rivalry among the Big Powers, it is all the more difficult to maintain such a stand in international power alignments, without strong internal resources. So the first thing, that is required, is to make India strong industrially which alone would enable her to maintain her independent policy in external affairs.

Maintenance of Neutrality

Hence the question is not so much the desirability of such an independent policy as the possibility of creating suitable conditions for maintaining such a policy against continued pressure or wooing from the Big Powers. Here, the policy announced by Foreign Minister Pandit Nehru does not help much to remove the misgivings in the public mind. "We shall be friends with Britain," he said, "we intend co-operating with the United States and we intend co-operating fully with Soviet Union . . . India is not going to join a war if she could help it but if the choice came she was going to join the side which was to her interests." The *Round Table*, as quoted above, has shown that there is no choice before the Dominions, as regards Defence Policy, which must be wedded to the policy of the Commonwealth. Mr. De Valera of Ireland successfully resisted this view throughout the last Great War. The Defence Policy of a country cannot be dissociated from its foreign policy and the foreign policy on the other hand moulds and reacts on home policy. Without freedom in respect of Defence and Foreign Policy which is but an extension of a country's domestic policy, the sovereignty of Dominions is a misnomer. The recent news that Pakistan is offering the Indian Dominion terms of a military alliance under Field Marshall Montgomery is also significant in this context and it is also learnt that Lord Mountbatten is striving his best to persuade the Government of India to consider this proposal. The British air and naval bases in and around the Indian Ocean make the situation worse. Much will also depend on our future relations with the countries of the Middle East and with Pakistan, which is attempting religious regionalism in the Middle East. But ethnic, geographic and nationalistic sentiments are, I think, too strong now in this region to permit of a purely religious regionalism.

A 'Monroe Doctrine' for India

There is a certain section, no doubt, in our country which is eager to see our policy tied to the policy of the Commonwealth, in which case India's Dominion Status, miscalled 'Independence,' becomes a smoke-screen. We must guard ourselves against any such anti-national policy. Between the two groups of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., there is nothing to choose; while the former wields the big stick of Dollar and Atom Bomb, the latter flourishes the spectacle of an absolute totalitarian regime. One crushes you with finance, the other with aggressive dictatorship. India, with closer diplomatic alliance with the South-East Asian countries, must enunciate a Monroe Doctrine of her own for the coming ten years, and during this period rapid industrialisation of the country must be made which is vital for our defence, maintenance of independence and enforcement of neutrality in world politics. India must not be made to bleed for the cause of others.

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COMMON MAN IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND GANDHIAN REORIENTATION

By Prof. BHAKAT PRASAD MAJUMDAR

No political doctrine is final and true for all the ages. A new political philosophy is necessary for a new social order. The perspective of social thought presented by Machiavelli, Bentham and Hegel was appropriate to the age in which they respectively lived. The theory of sovereignty, which dates from the sixteenth century, was novel for that age and stood for nearly three centuries. But the moorings of sovereignty of nations were strained with the recognition of economic interdependence of states, the unity of the working classes, territorial limits, racial or national minorities, public health, international migration, aviation and prevention of war. In this century the struggle is not so much between one state and another, as between Unitary states and Federal states, liberalism and internationalism. We will have to wait for the solution. In the modern world Mahatma Gandhi favours decentralisation along with internationalism. Like others he advocates internationalism. But, unlike others, he thinks of the withering away of the state for the sake of humanity.

"My love, therefore, of nationalism or my idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole of the country may die, so that the human races may live. There is no room for race hatred there. Let that be our nationalism."—(Gandhiji in *Indian Villages*, 1927, p. 170).

The existence of a State for humanity's cause has never been thought of by any political philosopher, not even by Plato who also could trace 'inward light' guiding the actions of individuals.

Unlike other philosophers, Gandhiji seems to have not explicitly stated his view of the philosophy of history. But we can glean it from his writings and speeches. In an age when a World State is not merely an idea, he believes that the evolution of human history follows the dictations of God. No other political philosopher probably has relied more on God's hand in fashioning the process of history. He made a public confession of the mistakes committed by the mob at Chauri Chaura and Bombay. He saw in those atrocities a 'Himalayan miscalculation'. But that turn of event was a warning from God.

"God has been abundantly kind to me. He has warned me for the third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful and non-violent atmosphere which, and which alone, can justify mass disobedience, which can be at all described as 'civil'. ..... God spoke clearly through Chauri Chaura."—(*Young India*, Feb. 16, 1922).

God re-incarnated Himself in the Gospel of Swadeshi.

It is God, Mahatma Gandhi believes firmly, who "has provided, in all eternity, for the happiness of the World. This God has planned each human being in the environment best suited for the fulfilment of his task. .... We must accept what God has given us."—Kalelkar, D. B., *Gospel of Swadeshi*, Madras, 1922).

But God is leading us to one particular object. That object is the realisation of human unity by all living organism in the world. "Human history is really a store of unfoldment in terms of spirituality." Man, in each successive stage of progress, works better for humanity. He gradually disowns his own immediate circle of parents and relatives, tribe, city-state, national state, state whose population belongs to the so-called one race. Karl Marx was born with more love and sympathy and more with a vision of human unity than his predecessors. William James unceasingly emphasised with a greater stress the spirit of human brotherhood. He wanted to train the human character in such a way that each would work for others' welfare, and thence, like Rousseau's *general will*, welfare of mankind would become the guiding principle for each of us. Romain Rolland had to court imprisonment for his incessant preaching of the principle of 'love thy neighbour', of universal co-operation and struggling to lead mankind to a land where love reigns supreme and all work for humanity.

In the performance of this Herculean task of establishing universal brotherhood, Gandhiji believes that the common man will co-operate. The Gandhian man is not the wicked and selfish man of the days of Aristotle and Machiavelli. He is not the Hobbesian man searching for security and self-preservation. "I put for a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power, that ceaseth only in death" (*Leviathan*, Ch. II). He is almost similar to the man observed by Locke, in whom God implanted a spark of the divine nature by which he was able to discover the law of nature, and the principles of right conduct and establish a State. It is about this type of man that Tagore wrote on April 10th, 1921:

"We are grateful to Gandhi for giving India a chance to prove that her faith in the divine spirit of man is still living."

Man will rely on each other if not at once, but gradually. He will try to convince others in the love of fellow-citizens.

"The man who has faith in him and the strength which follows from faith, does not care if he is looked down upon by others. .... He is therefore courteous to all, and thus cultivates and enlists world opinion in favour of his own cause."—(*History of Satyagraha in South Africa*, p. 442).

"Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times, the Satyagrahi is ready to trust him the twenty-first time, for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed."—(*Ibid*, p. 246).

The reference to Satyagrahi, one might argue, is

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almost similar to Plato's Guardian Class. But a Satyagrahi remains so when he follows the code, and he retires when his duty is over.

Such men are guided in their actions by will and not habit, as the Socialists believe. Man will develop their will which would reduce exploitation of one by another, would achieve independence, and keep the flame of human love burning.

> "While admitting that man actually lives by habit, I hold that it is better for him to live by the exercise of will. I also believe that men are capable of developing their will to an extent that will reduce exploitation to a minimum".—(*The Modern Review*, Oct. 1935).

So, the will of a good-doer would never submit to the will of the evil-doer.

> The indomitable will of one good-doer is so strong that "working under this law of our being it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration."

Gandhiji's doctrine of will is like Kant's *good will* which is the source of moral action, and not opposed to reason. The aim of that will is to make life happy and dignified for all people and it is sovereign in the sense of Green's *general will*. But Gandhiji seems to have prescribed will not so much for the community within a nationality, as for the world-wide community and never believes as Green does, that, fear is rather an exception than the rule among the motives that lead men to behave sociably. "A Satyagraha bids good-bye to fear."—(*History of Satyagraha, South Africa*, p. 246).

It is the faith in human nature that hopes for the education of the masses, introduction of dignity and division of labour. When the fervour of Non-Co-operation Movement declined, Gandhiji said in 1925:

> "Individuals must cultivate the spirit of service, renunciation, truth, non-violence, self-restraint, patience etc. They must engage in constructive work in order to develop those qualities".—(*Young India*, 8. 1. 25).

But the masses would have to be educated for the fulfilment of these qualities.

Just as Plato thought it essential to reorganise education and educational system for the Platonic State, so Gandhiji feels that the maladies of this age would be cured by a proper system of education. With Plato education culminated in the Idea of the Good, which must permeate the structure of the State. In the case of Gandhi:

> "As an effect of giving an industrial education to the genteel folks and a literary education to the industrial classes, the unequal distribution of wealth and social discontent will be considerably checked."

As in Plato so in Gandhiji's proposals one should be educated from his very childhood. A student can enter the Ashrama at the age of four. He will have to remain there for about ten years in order to complete the whole course of study. The courses of study include compulsory learning of Hindi, Urdu, English languages, and the mother tongue and lessons in history, geography, mathematics, economics and Sanskrit. Study of these languages and knowledge of the above-mentioned subjects would develop the brain. But in order to inculcate spiritual training and training of the body, which European education neglects absolutely, they are to be taught agriculture, spinning and weaving. He believes that

> "To develop the spirit is to build character and to enable one to work towards a knowledge of God and self-realization. And I held that this was an essential part of the training of the young and that all training without culture of the spirit was of no use, and might be even harmful."—(*My Experiments with Truth*, p. 270).

But the exercise of the spirit entirely depends on the life and character of the teacher.

The teacher is as much responsible for the shaping of the destiny of man as it was in Plato's educational proposals. The Platonic teacher regulated the reaction of the soul on spiritual and physical life by adjusting the environment and turned the 'inward eye' of the student towards light. Unlike Plato, Gandhiji prescribes the following vows for the teacher: (*a*) truth, (*b*) *ahimsa*, (*c*) celibacy, (*d*) control of the palate, (*e*) non-stealing, (*f*) non-possession, (*g*) fearlessness, and (*h*) use of Swadeshi articles. The teacher is the keystone of the new educational arch. Though "the pilgrimage to Swaraj is a painful climb," yet through the teacher's effort and that type of education, Swaraj would be attained. Of course, it would take time to educate the masses. So it would, but this type of education would conquer the soul and territory, which the Western education or any other political philosophy divorced from spiritual education, would not be able to perform.

> "It will not spring like the magician's mango. It will grow almost unperceived like the banyan tree. A bloody revolution will never perform this trick. Haste here is most certainly waste."—(*Young India*, 21. 5. 25).

Swaraj can be attained not through warfare but by following those proposals on education. Gandhiji has clarified the concept of political independence:

> "By Swaraj I mean the Government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the largest number of the adult population, male and female, native born or domiciled, who have contributed by manual labour to the service of the State and also have taken the trouble of having their names registered as voters. I hope to demonstrate that real Swaraj will come not by acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused. In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority."—(*Young India*, 29. 1. 25).

The masses would be working not for profit, but for the benefit of humanity, 'love taking the place of greed as the motive.' (*Young India*, 13.11.24). Being inspired by humanitarian motives, none will exploit the other, there is not the sense of exploitation, every one will

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be labouring according to his capacity, and thus, the necessaries of life will remain in the control of the masses.

Though Gandhiji believes in the equality of all men and in their latent divine spirit, yet he has explicitly stated that all men do not have the same capacity. Those who are more intelligent will earn more. But when the accumulation of wealth from earning goes beyond the limit, he orders confiscation.

"I would allow a man of intellect to earn more, I would not cramp his talent. But the bulk of his greater earnings must be used for the good of the State, just as the income of all earning sons of the father goes to the common family fund."—(*Young India*, 26.11.31).

He also goes deeper into the problem of capitalism, i.e., accumulation of greater wealth in a few hands. But he is not right in saying that this accumulation is possible because, "no person can amass wealth without the co-operation, willing or forced, of the people concerned?"—(*Ibid*). So non-co-operation is another method of check on the growth of capitalism which can be followed by the masses, other than that of the coercive authority followed by the State.

But though all men are not equally capable yet everyone should serve the cause of humanity in the best possible way by exercising the talents endowed by nature. The realisation of this ideal would not only offer such an equality of opportunity but also consequently would bring equitable distribution of income. Everyone can adhere to each vocation by the acceptance of the *Varna-dharma*. It is not the *Varna-dharma* of the tenth or eleventh century India, but the ancient classification of society, which bears some resemblance to the Platonic classification of the subjects of a State. Gandhiji's 'caste system' is based therefore on "abnegation and not on privileges." But none of the classes is free from bodily labour, not even the Brahmins, the intellectual and spiritual class. Like Tolstoy and Ruskin he believes that no man should live upon the manual labour of others.

"May not men earn their bread by intellectual labour? No. The needs of the body must be supplied by the body. Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's perhaps applies here well."

"If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and enough leisure for all. Then there would be no cry of over-population, no disease, and no such misery as we see around. . . ."

"Obedience to the law of bread-labour will bring about a silent revolution in the structure of society. Man's triumph will consist in substituting the struggle for existence by the struggle for mutual service."

"This may be an unattainable ideal. But we need not, therefore, cease to strive for it. Even if without fulfilling the whole law of sacrifice, that is the law of our being, we performed physical labour enough for our daily bread, we should go a long way towards the ideal."—(*Harijan*, 29.6.35).

This social equality and economic equitability would be achieved. Here one finds a close resemblance with the Marxian doctrine, and an advancement on Plato's Communism. Plato's Communism applied only to the Guardian Class. Moreover, he was not the least concerned to do away with the inequalities of wealth, nor meant to use Government to equalise wealth. Further, when modern Communism takes the help of the State to bring about the equal division of material goods at least in the transitional stage between the overthrow of capitalism and withering away of the State, Gandhian economy takes the help of the traditional system.

As Burke, a loyal Whig, based his views on the actual settlement of 1688, so Gandhiji primarily an ancient Indian Rishi believes that India must revive the sources of her ancient culture. He is able to see that it was due to the steadfast clinging to a social tradition that ancient civilisations of India and China were able to withstand the waves of depredation, ruthless exploitation and massacre. That tradition was and is of village economy, family inter-dependence and village self-government. "To use the homely metaphor, he warns us against the danger of throwing out the baby with the dirty bath-water." In this explanation for respect of tradition we find in Gandhiji an Utilitarian who was convinced that what was old was valuable by the mere fact of its arrival at maturity. Whereas Burke held that a nation was not an idea only of local extent and individual momentary aggressions and Hegel held that a nation was an idea of continuity, Gandhiji holds that tradition and consequently the life of Man and State emanates from God.

> "We must accept what God has given us; we must accept tradition as coming from God and regard it as a strict duty to live up to it. To renounce tradition would be sinful."

His deep faith in tradition as well as in the common man naturally leads him to the early stages of Indian history when villages were self-supporting and when there was little of central control. He hopes that enlightened men would not need State-made laws to keep them on the right path. The richer classes would not exploit the poor in that ideal condition, because,

> "Theoretically when there is perfect love there must be perfect non-possession. Those who own money now, are asked to behave like trustees holding their riches on behalf of the poor."

But Gandhiji is fully alive to the fact that trusteeship is a legal fiction.

> "Absolute trusteeship is an abstraction like Euclid's definition of a point and is equally unattainable."

If the rich do not act accordingly, Gandhiji would seek the intervention of the State. The State may even go to the extent of confiscating their property and if necessary, may control the means of production on behalf of the masses.

But Gandhiji would not seek the intervention of the State unless all other means failed, because the State is a machine without soul, and represents violence in a concentrated and organised form.

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"The State will, as a matter of fact, take away those things, and I believe it will be justified if it uses the minimum of violence. But the fear is always that the State may use too much violence against those who differ from it. . . . . What I would personally prefer would be not a centralisation of power in the hands of the State but an extension of the sense of trusteeship, as in my opinion the violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State."—(*The Modern Review*, Oct. 1935).

Following Thoreau Gandhiji prefers minimum State interference and believes "that government is best which governs the least."—(*Young India*, 2.7.31). He does not favour Plato's Ideal State, not the good, bad, nobler and best states of Aristotle, not Hegel's and Bradley's State with a personality, spirit and soul assigning to each citizen his field of accomplishment, nor the absolute State of Mussolini and Hitler. He clearly states that an omnicompetent or centralised State would undoubtedly destroy individuality which lies at the root of the progress of humanity. As Prof. Bose rightly observes :

"Gandhiji's conception of the State is neither completely like that of the Anarchists, nor of the Communists. It approaches the former with regard to the aim on political and economic decentralization and the latter in that the interest of the toiling millions will have dictatorial position within the State."—(*Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Vol. VI, Part II, p. 172).

The toiling millions will be sending their representative for their governance in the State. They will be regulating national life. It means that political power rests with the masses, of course, not on the ground of a contract between the government and society as described by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

Man is ever ready to serve mankind beyond his immediate surroundings. Gandhiji's nationalism is not narrow nationalism.

"There is no limit to extending our service to our neighbours across State-made frontiers. God never made those frontiers."—(*Young India*, 31. 12. 31).

"We want freedom for our country but not at the expense or exploitation of others, not so as to degrade other countries. I want the freedom of my country so that other countries may learn something from my free country, so that the resources of my country might be utilised for the benefit of mankind. Just as the cult of patriotism teaches us to-day that the individual has to die for the family, the family has to die for the village, the village for the district, the district for the province and the province for the country, even so a country has to be free in order that it may die, if necessary, for the benefit of the world."—(Gandhiji in *Indian Villages*, p. 170).

The Gandhian man does not exalt private interest over public well-being. He does not want the rational desire for self-government and self-preservation within his own State—the factors which are responsible for so much of war and the drawing of anachronistic national frontiers. He is desirous simply of one's private success in the sphere of economic equitability, and hence believes that one would not encroach on other people's affairs. Even if he encroaches, he does so for the welfare of the masses not of the sovereign state but citizens of the World State. Such a change in the policy of the multitude would not bring about a clash between one state and another, one race crossing swords with another, but a World State. It increases the possibility of the success of the Utopian dreamers like Posel, Penn, the Abbe Saint-Pierre and Leonard Woolf. The poison of Machiavelli has been pumped out from the blood of the enlightened Gandhian man. For intellect, as Carlyle said, is like light; from a chaos it makes a world.

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ALCOHOL AND INTELLECTUAL EFFICIENCY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,
Vice-President, Constituent Assembly of India

Those who drink usually fall into three classes. We have first, people who drink regularly but limit the amount of liquor consumed to such quantities that they never show any of the well-known signs of inebriety. Among these come fairly large numbers of drinkers among the educated and well-to-do as well as the steadier among the working classes in the progressive countries of the West. In the second group may be placed what may be called the heavy drinkers who usually consume large amounts of alcohol regularly. Lastly, we have the class of men who whenever they drink, deliberately take liquor in such quantities as to become drunk. In fact they drink with the one and only purpose of getting drunk. Such people, not generally in prosperous circumstances, cannot afford to indulge very frequently but they get drunk whenever they are able to secure money for the purpose.

An attempt will be made to show that moderation in drinking is detrimental to the intellectual efficiency of even those coming under the first group and, after that, to ascertain what effect the consumption of alcoholic beverages has on the mental faculties of the other two classes of drinkers, *viz.*, regular heavy drinkers and incorrigible drunkards.

Alcohol and Impairment of Intellectual Efficiency

Impairment of intellectual efficiency due to the use of alcohol even in small quantities is a matter of every day experience. It is well-known that, under such

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conditions, people are incapable of making any mental effort requiring close attention, concentration of thought and execution of decisions arrived at after weighing probabilities. The correctness of this view has been established by a number of experiments of a highly technical nature which need not be described here. For the general reader, the experience of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley described below should be enough proof.

This eminent American medical man who, after completing his studies in his country, spent some years in Germany for post-graduate work, has told us that he used to drink beer with his fellow students in the students' club where he spent his leisure hours largely because of the facilities available there for playing chess. After some time, he found that, when playing with an equally skilful opponent when ordinarily the results would be 50 to 50 over a series of games, they became 75 to 25 in favour of his antagonist if he drank only one glass of beer. It cannot be denied that the only explanation of the bad show he made when he had taken the very small amount of alcohol contained in the single glass of beer was impairment of mental efficiency.

Alcohol and Arithmetic

The two elements which have to be considered in all mental work are first, quantity and second, speed. Experiments have shown that work of a more or less mechanical nature, such as reading aloud is quickened by small doses of alcohol but that it is rendered "less trustworthy and accurate." All observers are, however, agreed that, under the influence of liquor, the quality of mental work is undoubtedly affected even more than speed. This is proved by the following summary of an experiment conducted by a German scientist in the eighties of the last century :

"Half an hour daily for six days was utilised in adding figures without any alcohol having been taken. The ability to add increased, of course, every day. On the seventh day, the experiments were begun under the influence of alcohol, which was given for twelve days. In spite of the influence of the deftness acquired through the previous day's practice, the capability of adding did not increase; but instead it began to decrease very rapidly. On the nineteenth day the use of alcohol was stopped, and immediately an improvement manifested itself; but on the twenty-sixth day when the use of alcohol was resumed, a decided decrease in the power of adding figures again manifested itself."

Sir William Bayliss, the famous authority, had this in his mind when, in his *Physiology of Food*, he said :

"After even small quantities, the ability to add figures is decreased, although the subject believes that he is doing it unusually well. Moreover, the effect lasts for as long as twelve hours or more."

The correctness of the above view was further established by the results of a test reported on page 243 of *Alcohol and Man* by the well-known American medical man, Dr. Haven Emerson.

Twenty students each aged 17 years were divided into two batches, the first consisting of more and the second of less efficient people as regards the correctness of the results of sums in mental arithmetic worked out by them. Normally, the first "had an advantage in achievement of 2·5 per cent" over the second batch.

The first batch was given alcohol in doses varying from 10 to 40 grams roughly one-third to one and one-third ounces per dose, in the course of the different tests to which they were subjected to arrive at data on which to base the findings.

Without entering into details which probably will not interest most readers, it may be said that these tests established the fact that in one, two and three hours after the administration of alcohol, the formerly superior first batch did "12 per cent" less satisfactory work than "the previously inferior but abstinent" second batch.

Apart from the fact that alcohol diminishes the capacity of doing mental arithmetic, the following incident reported on the 28th March, 1940, in the *Evening News* of London shows how, under its influence, even the power of counting correctly is lost. Before proceeding further, it has to be added that though the driver in question was intoxicated, he was not drunk in the ordinary sense of the word.

> "A policeman said at Croydon Court on March 28th, that he tested a driver under the influence of drink by giving him 15s. 1½d. in loose coins to count.
>
> "At first the driver said it came to 20s. 1½d. On trying again he made it 19s. 6d."

Alcohol and Memory

As regards memory, the use of alcohol even in small doses was found by Kraepelin to be "distinctly hampering." This German scientist conducted a series of tests to ascertain the effect of alcohol on the capacity for remembering words and numbers to only one of which reference is made below.

A number of individuals were asked to memorise numbers which were written in columns and to repeat them again and again till they could be repeated correctly once. According to this gentleman :

> "It was found that, without alcohol, 100 figures could be remembered correctly after 40 repetitions, while, under the influence of alcohol, only 60 figures could be remembered even after 60 repetitions."

Professor Vogt of the University of Christiana, Norway, made tests on himself to find out the effects of alcohol upon memory. Stripped of scientific technicalities, the results arrived at by him may be summarised as follows. He committed to memory lines of poetry on days when he had not taken liquor and on days when he had taken as much alcohol as one would get from one and a half to

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three glasses of beer which, as most will admit, is a small amount. It was found that

> "On days when he took alcohol, he was not able to learn as many lines as he did on the days when he had taken no alcohol. He found that he forgot the lines learned on alcohol days much sooner than he did the lines learned on the other days. One month after the experiment, he again studied the same lines which he had almost forgotten and found it took much longer to re-learn the lines memorized on the alcohol days."

These tests prove that the mind does not learn as quickly, even with small quantities of alcohol, as it does when no alcohol is taken, secondly, that it does not remember what has been learned under the influence of alcohol for as long a period as what has been learned when it is not under its influence.

One reason for the above undoubtedly is that, under the influence of alcohol, there is less ability to pay close attention. This was proved by an experiment carried out by another scientist who found that a particular group of people could pay what may be called less careful and close attention after they had been given small quantities of liquor than when they were sober. It was also proved that

> "They were not able to remember so well the things they heard as they were before (alcohol was administered to them)."

Alcohol and Scholarship

From what has been said above in regard to the evil effects of alcohol on some only of our intellectual powers, it follows that it must have injurious results on the intellectual faculties of school-going people indulging in drink as also that a fair idea of the damage suffered may be gathered from the marks received by them in their examinations.

Such investigations can be carried on best in countries where wine and beer are easily available and where school-children are permitted and even encouraged by ignorant parents and guardians to indulge in them. Formerly, this was quite common in Austria and Italy with such unfortunate results that they attracted the attention of competent men who carried on extensive research work in this direction. Lack of space permits a bare reference and nothing more to two such investigations.

E. Bayer, a school director in Vienna, made careful inquiries to find out the effect of drinking on scholarship among abstaining and drinking children. In the language of the report submitted by him as translated into English by an American prohibitionist,

> "Almost half of the 134 abstaining children had 'good' marks. Only 12 of them had poor marks. With the drinking children, the more frequently they used wine or beer, the more the good marks fell off and the poor marks increased."

The next investigation was conducted at Brescia, Italy, where the records of 4,000 school-children were carefully examined to gather data bearing on the above problem. These when consolidated yielded the results noted below :

	Abstainers Per cent.	Occasionally drinking per cent.	Daily drinking per cent.
Good Marks	42·66	30·5	29·8
Fair	53·49	41·8	39·7
Poor	3·85	27·0	30·3

There cannot be more convincing proof that whether in the case of adults or of young people, alcohol is positively detrimental to intellectual efficiency.

Alcohol for Artists, Writers, etc.

There is a generally prevalent notion that because a few artists, writers, etc., have done universally acknowledged good work in spite of being consumers of excessive amounts of alcohol, therefore it must be helpful to people of this class if they are desirous of producing their best work.

As regards the effects of alcohol in stimulating good work among artists, Dr. E. H. Starling has the following things to say on page 189 of his book *The Action of Alcohol on Man* :

> "It is sometimes brought forward as an argument in favour of the use of alcohol that some of the greatest artistic geniuses have used it to excess, and it has been assumed that it stimulated their emotions and imaginative faculties, even if it weakened their will-power, and having made them indifferent to social customs and anxieties, their aesthetic feelings and passions were enabled to have full play. But 'poets are born not made,' and their imagination persists in spite of the effects of alcoholism."

As for great writers like Addison, Edgar Allan Poe, etc., turning out good work under the influence of, with the help of liquor, and the assumption that it is conducive to the production of writings of high literary merit, the best answer was given by Sir Victor Horsley in his contribution entitled "The Effect of Alcohol on the Human Brain," published in the *British Journal of Inebriety* for October, 1905, from which the following lines are extracted :

> "There is no foundation whatever for the view that alcohol by its action on the brain enables the mind to work more quickly. . . .
>
> "Alcohol even in small quantities interferes with the highest functions of the brain . . . in larger quantities it abrogates the controlling power of the brain and cerebellum."

Here Sir Victor Horsley was supplying scientific proof of the correctness of the opinion expressed by Schiller nearly a century before he penned the above lines. This great German poet had said, "Wine invents nothing ; it only blabs it (foolishness) out." Goethe also repeatedly declared that the so-called stimulation of poetic ideas through the use of alcohol "could produce only a forced inferior creation of ideas."

Alcohol and Intellectual Profundity

It is not often that ordinary people realise the extent to which the powers of conception and judgment

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are affected adversely by alcohol. Here and there, however, there are exceptions as for instance when we find Herbert Spencer saying in his own peculiarly cynic way that

"Incipient intoxication, the feeling of being jolly (due to moderate use of alcohol), shows itself in a failure to form involved and abstract relations of ideas."

As a matter of fact, in the highest and most purely intellectual type of thinking where scientific conclusions and considered judgments are called for, alcohol appears to be unfavourable to creative work. Thus we find Dr. E. H. Starling saying in his *Action of Alcohol on Man*:

"I do not think . . . that alcohol would facilitate the solution of the more complex intellectual problems, or the formulation of great generalisations of science."

This was said because Dr. Starling was aware that the value of intellectual judgment in the spheres referred to by him depends upon our power of recalling experiences, comparing possibilities and using what has been called "the associative links of the brain" in their accuracy. This is not possible because the use of alcohol cuts off, either wholly or partially, some of the more important of these links, thus limiting the scope of mental vision.

This limitation of the range of thought is a matter constantly observed in daily life. While any mental effort demanding the immediate recalling of an event or of an abstract idea or thought becomes somewhat difficult, conversation on commonplace topics can be carried on in spite of the slightly fuddled condition of the brain due to the moderate use of liquor. This happens as the powers of mental observation of persons in this condition are not fully available on account of the partial inactivity of some of the higher centres.

The distinguished mathematician Helmholtz, regarded as one of the greatest observers and thinkers of the last century, noted in himself and described for our benefit the effect of the smallest quantity of alcohol in impairing the highest powers of thought and conception. While describing in the course of a speech made by him at the celebration of his seventieth birthday, the conditions under which his most abstruse scientific thoughts had matured, he said :

"They were especially inclined to appear to me while indulging in a quiet walk in the sunshine or over the forest-clad mountains, but the smallest quantity of alcohol seemed to scare them away."

The views of this nineteenth century savant were shared by Professor Huxley who was not a teetotaller. On one occasion when he was asked whether he found alcohol helpful when engaged in intensive intellectual work, he said :

"When I have to do good or original brain work, I always decline it (alcohol); I become a total abstainer for the time being."

In the previous pages, reference has been made to only a few of the investigations carried on by scientists interested in ascertaining the effects of using small amounts of alcohol on mental efficiency. While they have approached the problem from different angles, it cannot be denied that the results arrived at have, in every instance, shown beyond any doubt that intellectual impairment invariably follows the consumption of liquor even where extreme moderation is observed.

Drinking and Business Efficiency

The British Alcohol Investigation Committee has stated that even moderate drinking is responsible for a change, naturally temporary, in man's mental attitude without any indication of signs of drunkenness "in the full ordinary sense of the term." Under such circumstances, the Committee pointed out, those who do business with him have to deal with one "whose mind lacks temporarily its normal factor of judgment and conspicuous elements of self-control." It is a self-evident truth that if the other party to some transaction in which such a man is taking part is unscrupulous enough to exploit the situation which develops under this contingency, he can always do so with absolute impunity and much profit.

Apart from the serious disadvantage which the businessman invites by his drinking, it is also a fact that, at least occasionally, such a man being dimly aware of his inability to think effectively and to arrive at correct decisions quickly, is inclined to procrastinate and, in fact, to be averse to deal with matters requiring immediate attention through fear of making mistakes. When he fails to correctly realise his mental fogginess, he makes erroneous decisions often to the detriment of his financial interests. Such a person in the language of the Committee mentioned above, diminishes his powers of

> "accuracy (in the transaction of business), tactful handling of colleagues and subordinates, punctuality, reticence in matters of confidence and an additional source of friction is brought to complicate the relations between employer and employed."

Manufacturers and distributors of beer, all very clever men, are aware that drinking is a bar to business efficiency. It is therefore that they recommend that those who sell liquor should not drink. The author of *Educate for Total Abstinence* quotes a writer in a liquor trade journal who said :

> "It is your business to sell beer, but if you know as much as you ought to know, you will never drink it."

The above advice was given because these men have come to recognise the fact that, with intensification of competition, the demand for all-round efficiency in an ever-increasing measure is being made on those engaged in the production and sale of goods and services and that even moderation in drinking seriously reduces the businessman's power to handle his problems promptly and correctly.

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Effects on Regular Heavy Drinkers

From what has been stated above about the injurious effects of even moderation in drinking, it hardly seems necessary to say much in regard to the evils incidental to the habitual consumption of large quantities of liquor. Reference must, however, be made to the investigations of two eminent German scientists. The first of these, Dr. Bonhoeffer reported in 1905, that he had noticed "stupidity in perception" among habitual drinkers of large quantities of Germany's national liquor, beer. Such people, he further observed,

> "comprehend everything badly ; they are unable to concentrate on any special object ; their memory becomes bad."

The second German scientist, Kraepelin, who submitted his first report in 1906, in *Der Alcohol in Munchen* in which he had stated that people consuming regualrly large quantities of beer slowly developed mental stupidity, went on with his investigations which reached their culmination early in 1909. The results were communicated to *Psychiatric*. The two outstanding facts which he dealt with in his paper were that he had noticed "a considerable reduction in their mental faculties" and that

> "After giving up the use of alcohol entirely, even when previously only small quantities had been taken, a marked increase of mentality takes place."

The Incorrigible Drunkard

With reference to the third and last class of [illegible] consisting of those who get drunk whenever they can afford to do so, it has been held that as these people indulge in excessive quantities of liquor from time to time, the alcohol-free intervals between drinking bouts enable them to recoup their physical and mental health. While this may be accepted as true within certain limits, it is far from correct to assume that complete and perfect recovery from all the evil effects of indulgence in drink takes place in every case.

Apart from the physical damage which may be suffered from imperfect recovery from past excesses and with which we are not concerned here, Kraepelin found in the case of a particular individual that even after total abstinence lasting for a fortnight immediately following a drinking bout, there was "considerable reduction in conceptive power."

There thus seems some justification for the view that repeated bouts of drunkenness ultimately lead to intellectual slowness if not to deterioration because recovery from their effects is never perfect or complete.

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DEFENCE OF INDIA

By Dr. C. SIVARAMA SASTRY

Some time back Mr. Creech Jones, the British colonial secretary, unfurled a plan for the development of colonial defence at a cost of over ten crores of pounds.

Mr. Arthur Graeson, *A. P. A.* staff correspondent, from London reported on July 23rd last year a deviation in the British line of defence along its Empire communications.

At a Far Eastern Conference held in Australia the British delegate announced his Government's determination to maintain her position in the Far East.

This evidently shows that Britain is intent upon continuing her imperial policy in the Far East particularly in Malaya and Borneo. She will stick up to her plantations, mines and other economic resources in the Singapore zone.

Singapore is the pivot of Asian communications and defence. Malaya to its north is full of deep rivers, fine harbours, and military bases which will be most suitable for any foreign power to use as bases against India or as a matter of fact against any other Asian power.

In modern warfare the co-operation of local population is absolutely needed and if it were hostile no power on earth can withstand enemy aggression.

The British have hitherto been playing one community against the other in Malaya. Their present scheme of a federation is betrayal of democracy and continuation of economic exploitation under the regime of the Sultan stooges.

Egypt is demanding the British to quit its soil. Palestine too is hostile. The hostile attitude of the Muslim nations in the Middle East coupled with their own economic helplessness at home forced Britain to withdraw from the Middle East in order to allow the great power of the U.S.A. to have a direct trial of strength with Russia. The recently disclosed Russo-German wartime document clearly points out Russia's lustful ambitions too in the Middle East.

At a future date the destruction or at least the blocking up of the Suez canal may save Asia from the spreading up of flames of the Western conflagration. During the first Great War such a plan of action was thought of by the British but it was never executed.

Britain has to keep up its communications with Australia for her own purposes. Consequently, she is developing a new defence chain of aerodromes, roads and railroad communications along the South African coast. In South Africa, the ruling population is of British origin. The industrial concerns and commercial companies are joint enterprisers. Britain can [illegible]

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back on the economic and military co-operation of the South African Government.

Under the circumstances, what is India to do. Is she to remain disinterested ?

If she wishes to sink or float with the destiny of Britain, the safest course is to be within the Empire.

But Britain is till sticking up to its old policy of colonial exploitation in the Far East.

Britain's hand in the division of India is an open secret to any student of politics in India. The British policy of paralysing the administration in order to promote communal riots, which in turn led to the bifurcation of India is still fresh in the Indian mind It was only through the patronage of the British that the Dutch could land back and get established in Indonesia. Therefore, what guarantee is there that at a future date by taking sides in Indo-Pakistan disputes the British may not make a stage back as an Anglo-American ruling power. The recent international power politics are indicating the possibility of an Anglo-American amalgamation of power.

India has still to build up its economic and military power. Any immature jumping into power politics will lead to her ruination.

It is urgently needed in India's own interest to throw off the British yoke and formulate an alternate way of defence.

Britain has placed India in a very peculiar position. Leaving the Empire defence ring, we find ourselves stripped of all the farther and natural points of defence, viz., *Aden, Colombo, Singapore,* and last but not the least, the Khyber Pass. These points are hereafter to be viewed with caution since they are no more our defence points but weak points.

The creation of Pakistan on extremely communal grounds has come to be the deepest stab wound to the heart of India.

The Indian line of defence receded from the natural point of defence in the Khyber Pass to a vast line of 200 miles in the Punjab.

The extremely communal regime in Pakistan will have violent repercussions in the Indian Union.

Economic co-operation will, in course of time, be impossible with Pakistan in spite of the fact that India will be a secular State.

Pakistan without having any industry or coal can not count on its wheat and jute to balance its budget for more than five years.

Eliminating the possibility of getting any capital from India, the only other source on which Pakistan can count is the American capital. American capital provides American military bases. Pakistan may be made a base against U.S.S.R. by America. This will be a danger to India since Pakistan is our next neighbour.

The British are in the diplomatic field doing their best to get Pakistan align herself with the other Middle Eastern Muslim powers that are tending to be anti-Russian. Further, Pakistan is the result of a nefarious theory that Muslims all over the world form a nation irrespective of the geographic units wherein they are living. Rail-road communications are being developed from the Middle East to Karachi *via* Kalat.

While danger is lurking in every sphere we the Indians will have to chalk out a cautious but well-planned system of defence for our existence. A strong India will also be a sure protection to any weak Asiatic nation.

By remaining a secular state India can hope to win over the goodwill and co-operation of the Far Eastern nations of Malaya and Indonesia which have a Muslim population with the ancient Aryan culture intact.

Co-ordination with Burma, Siam, China and other Asian nations in defence and the development of rail-road communications throughout the length and breadth of Asia will save Asia from the present tragedy of encirclement by the imperial powers on all sides. Co-ordinated research in the manufacture of specialised implements of war is also desirable.

Ceylon's goodwill should be won over by assuring protection, independence, and even economic aid if she would merge her defence with that of India for external purposes.

Nagpur should be the military capital of India. A chain of communications, air bases, and military units must extend from there to all outer points of India. In modern warfare it is only the depth of defence that will save rather than a single line of defences like the Maginot or the Siegfried lines.

A road along the Western boundary with regular patrols should be established. A similar one around Eastern Pakistan is essential for our safety.

Special stress must be laid on secular education to children to subdue communal passions. Peace at home is essential for defence outside.

Goodwill of the erstwhile colonial countries can be had only by sacrificing some of our capital interests therein, where they go counter to the interests of those countries.

Militaary education to every *kisan*, worker and student shall be our aim to deserve the hard-earned freedom we have had after so much of sacrifice and turmoil.

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GANDHIAN ECONOMICS

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By Prof. G. K. BHATT, M.A., B.T., LL.B.

Mahatma Gandhi, a great teacher of India and of mankind, preached and practised great ideals of life and living. His teachings are known as Gandhism or the Gandhian way. His economic ideals are a unique contribution to the economic thought of our age and show the real way to peace, happiness and freedom to war-weary miserable mankind.

Gandhiji was not an economist. He was a moralist or a saint or a great teacher and so he looked upon economics from the moral and spiritual ideas of life which mattered him most. He, therefore, questioned the justness of the modern economic theory and practice. The end of all economic activities under capitalist competitive economics is accumulation of wealth and abundance of material goods because wealth and material welfare are said to be the main end of life. Man has become a wealth-seeking individual; wealth is his supreme good and real God. It is still said in Capitalist U. S. A. that the dollar is a fact and God is a superstition. Thus modern economics is non-moral. Its goal is not real human welfare and real happiness of all. It lacks a moral principle and so has brought economic chaos and even self-destruction. Prof. R. H. Tawney in his book *The Acquisitive Society* emphasises the need of a moral purpose. Prof. E. H. Carr in his book *Conditions of Peace* describes the modern world-critics as fundamentally moral. Divorce of morality or ethics from modern economics has produced great evils like poverty in the midst of plenty, callous exploitation, greed for markets, imperialism and wars, liquidation of democracy and even destruction of civilization. Gandhi rightly diagnosed the real disease of the modern world and prescribed a sovereign remedy. He emphasised most vigorously that ethics and economics could never be divorced and that man was the supreme consideration with him. Man was more than money. Respect for human personality was his central theme and hence he pleaded for human welfare or real happiness of all as the goal of economic science and the criterian of economic progress. Gandhiji said:

> "Economics that hurts the moral well-being of an individual or a nation is immoral and therefore, sinful. Thus economics that permits one country to prey upon another is immoral," and added, "the values of an industry should be gauged less by the dividends it pays to its sleeping partners than by its effects on the bodies, souls and spirits of the people employed in it."

Such a moralisation or revolution of our economic standards is a vital necessity of our times for all seem to recognise that the major world crisis is not merely military, political nor economic but fundamentally moral. Sir Radhakrishnan also says the same thing and wants spiritualisation to save the world heading for a disaster. It is necessary then to emphasise welfare-economics of Gandhiji with the guiding principle of respect for every human personality.

The second principle of Gandhian economics is economic simplicity or limitation of wants. Gandhiji told us that real happiness did not consist in the abundance of material goods nor in the multiplication of wants and their satisfaction. The ideal of the Western people is bodily welfare and so they believe in multiplying wants and in satisfying them at all costs. The Indian ideal is different. It is plain living and high thinking. It is also the real Christian ideal. Gandhiji pleaded for this ancient ideal of economic simplicity or simple life in order to secure for us real happiness, self-development, economic and political freedom and social welfare. The craze for material welfare and money led to capitalist greed, exploitation and wars. Economic simplicity will cut at the root of capitalism, the enemy of mankind. It will guarantee economic independence, self-sufficiency and will pave the way for the healthier and saner ideal of cottage industrialism. Was not Gandhiji himself the very embodiment of this ideal?

The third idea was emphasis on production for use, for consumption and not for profit. This is also the socialist ideal. Capitalist production is based on profit-motive. Profit is its central guiding force. No profit, no production. Millions will starve but producers will not produce or sell without profit. Fire, earthquakes and wars are welcomed by the profit-seeking capitalist system though they ruin humanity. Goods will be destroyed to maintain price. Production will be restricted to maintain profits by creating artificial scarcity of supply. This is anti-human, non-moral economics, and Gandhiji spared no pains to denounce it. He, therefore, advocated decentralised industrialism based on human values and elimination of profit-motive and greed. The socialists rightly value production for consumption but Gandhiji went much further and championed the cause of humanisation of economic science. Socialist philosophy is material, the Gandhian economic and social philosophy is moral and human. The socialist ideal is economic plenty and maximum material welfare and production rather than human welfare, happiness, freedom and development of personality. The socialist ideal is based on force or violence which is inconsistent with true freedom and happiness.

The fourth important Gandhian concept is non-violence. This is an ethical idea but it is the basis of economic independence and economic justice. Without non-violence there can be no peace, happiness, freedom and development of human personality. Violence breeds violence. The suppression of Hitler may give rise to a super-Hitler. Socialism, therefore, cannot solve the problems of peace, democracy and happiness as it is based on violence. Russian socialism

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communism is the striking proof of this. It is turning anti-democratic and imperialist. Well-known friends of Russia like M. R. Masani and Louis Fisher pronounce this statement. According to Gandhiji, the failure of Western democracy was due to its non-acceptance of non-violence as the basic social value. Appeal to force must be given up. Non-violence will eliminate greed, develop fellow-feeling and respect for human personality, and will ensure freedom and peace, the requisites of real happiness. Socialists maintain that democracy is not possible without socialism. Gandhiji went further and said that both socialism and democracy were impossible without non-violence.

The fifth economic idea of Gandhiji is sanctity and dignity of labour. He looked upon work as the law of nature, praised all work as sacred and noble and glorified manual labour. He condemned idleness as the greatest enemy of mankind. He disliked the idea of leisure. He called it a dangerous moral trap. He taught people to respect manual labour, to live by honest labour by his own example; Khadi was the symbol of the dignity of human labour and fellow-feeling.

The sixth important idea is his attitude towards machinery. The place of machinery, the monster and master of our mechanical age, is subordinate in Gandhian economy. As man's happiness, freedom and personality were points of supreme importance with Gandhiji, he strongly disliked the mad craze for machinery and vehemently pleaded for its limited use. Machinery was exploited by capitalists to exploit labour and consumers. It brought unemployment, moral degradation, wars and so on, which still plague mankind. Socialists would nationalise the use of machinery to end capitalistic exploitation and yet Gandhiji detested them and their indiscriminate use as they reduced men to machines, killed their finer feelings, deadened their souls, brought new slavery, dictatorship of experts and managers and encouraged violence and greed. But Gandhiji was not a mad Luddist. He always would welcome simple machines which saved unnecessary human labour and helped millions of people. He welcomed sewing machines, electricity and called the spinning wheel a piece of machinery. He never tolerated the use of machinery to replace human labour which was available in plenty and which remained unemployed. Machines should never replace and degrade matchless human machines. In a country like India where there are seventy million unemployed persons, the large use of machinery is, according to him, anti-social and anti-human. So Gandhiji emphasised cottage industries with simple machines and yet he was wise and practical enough to allow the use of heavy machinery for big key industries of India. Prof. Agarwal of Wardha has published a plan known as the Gandhian plan on the basis of Gandhiji's economic ideals and ideas. Gandhiji supported it. It received a great support of many economists and thinkers.

Lastly, Gandhiji's ideas on distribution and private property are noteworthy. We have seen that his economic ideal is simple decentralised industrialism. With decentralised production and ideal of local self-sufficiency, there will be automatically decentralization of property and problem of distribution will be quite easy. There will be no inequitable distribution, and glaring inequalities, because capital will be dethroned from its dictatorial position in production and honest labour will rule the economic activities along with the principle of economic equality to which Gandhiji attached greatest importance. He said :

> "Economic equality is the master-key to non-violent independence . . . It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand, and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other . . . The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class nearby cannot last a day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land."

But a moralist like him will not kill the capitalist but will give him a chance to improve and serve society. He would reduce all the evils of private property, eliminate the influence of property and capitalists in production and in society but he would not vote for the total abolition of private property like the socialists. So he made a gift of the idea of the 'trusteeship' of the capitalist. The capitalist or a man of property must reduce himself to the position of a trustee of a certain property and accept all the limitations implied in the idea. Yet the capitalist must have no chance of exploitation and so he allowed him to keep twelve times the minimum only, much less than the Russian margin of even 1 to 80 in incomes, as Mr. R. Masani points out in *Socialism Reconsidered*. Wages naturally then with the ideal of economic equality will be just, fair and human. The Labour Minister at the centre under these influences has introduced the Minimum Wages Bill for certain industrialists with the principle that no minimum wages, no industry.

Thus Mahatma Gandhi tried to revolutionise our economic ideals and standards of values for the central human ideal of the development of personality in the atmosphere of freedom. The national government must slowly but surely plan for Gandhism. Then and then alone the challenge of socialism in India can be effectively met and the danger of capitalist domination eliminated. 'Freedom or Plenty' is to be chosen by us as the author of *Gandhism Reconsidered* well puts it. Gandhiji chose the former. We in India cannot forget his lessons and humanity too must follow him if it wants to survive. Let us remember his immortal words:

> "India's destiny lies not along with the bloody way of the West, of which she shows signs of tiredness, but along the bloodless way of peace that comes from a simple godly life."

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SWITZERLAND FACES AN ISSUE

By MARIE H. ALLEN

"From Military Service to Civilian Service" was the title of a challenging article published in September, 1945, by *Suisse Contemporaine,* a leading intellectual monthly of Lausanne. The time had come, the author believed, for Switzerland to effect an arrangement, already established in several countries, whereby conscientious objectors could fulfill their duty to the national community without war work of any kind.

Rene Bovard, the writer of the article and also editor of the paper, has now served a sentence of three months in prison because he felt he must "sign the article" with his acts. A first lieutenant in Division I of the Swiss army, former instructor of recruits, and former adjutant of a frontier battalion, he had refused last summer to present himself for a six-day officers' training course.

In a letter to the regimental commander, M. Bovard had asked to be allowed to give "a service conforming to my convictions," in some humanitarian work for a longer period than that required for military studies. The army authorities made a surprising response, one which implied the possibility of a change; they could not grant the request "in the present state of legislation." When M. Bovard failed to appear for the training, he was prosecuted, according to the military code, for refusal to serve.

The case was of more than ordinary significance. M. Bovard represented in a striking manner both loyalty in military service and leadership in high devotion to humanity. Since the end of the war, he had been conspicuously active in the work of the International Red Cross and director of information for "Don Suisse," the unselfish movement for mercy and restoration through which his country, neutral in arms, is aiding sufferers from the conflict. In his magazine, which is dedicated to the "spiritual defense of the nation," he has tried to arouse intellectual circles to greater responsibility towards the questions which agitate the world. His attitude towards his military service was expressed in his statement that "I do not know what our courage might have been in the supreme test, but I know that our fidelity was unquestionable, that we were determined to do everything in our power to preserve our country from the horrors of war."

The trial was dramatic. The hall where the military tribunal was held was packed with people who, while not unanimous in agreement with M. Bovard's point of view, had come to show their sympathy. None of the lieutenant's comrades of the First Division would conduct the prosecution, so a major from the Second Division was appointed.

The witnesses were men who held important posts: the President of the Geneva Council of State, along with university professors, testified to M. Bovard's patriotism, loyalty and idealism; a former superior in the army declared that though Lieut. Bovard "was not a military man and did not try to become one, as an officer he was disciplined and devoted."

When Rene Bovard himself took the stand, he reviewed his military career. He had become an instructor in the armed forces in 1927 to manifest his attachment to the national community. It was not until the world was at war that, through intense internal struggle, he had come to the grave decision that he should refuse further military service. It did not seem the time to take this extreme stand when the country was in such a critical situation. Therefore, he kept his post until after the war was over, though more and more as he saw the ravages of the conflict and the evolution of events, he came to feel that only the refusal of the individual conscience could put an end to wars. To the questioning of Colonel Paschoud, who presided over the tribunal, he asserted that henceforth he would refuse to fulfil all military obligations.

Major Duruz, the prosecutor, was extraordinarily moderate in presenting his case. He mentioned the contradiction between the defendant's military record and his declaration of refusal, not undertaking to attack the theories M. Bovard and his attorney advanced, whose weaknesses, he said, were apparent. He dealt simply with the specific act of refusal, which in time of active service would have constituted a crime. The penalty he recommended was imprisonment, as the law demanded, and the duration four months. He asked the tribunal not to impose additional punishment. The custom, he explained, was not to expel objectors from the army, since this would, in a way, yield to their wishes. The degrading of an officer would entail expulsion ; nothing justified such an ignominious sentence.

Larger Meaning of National Defense

Moreover, the prosecutor refused to demand the forfeiting of civil rights. He asserted that M. Bovard had not manifested "a spirit of hostility toward the national defense," had not issued propaganda against the army, nor tried to dissuade others from performing military service. Then Major Duruz expressed an opinion which marked an important advance in the attitude of a military officer. He declared that one could give to national defense a larger meaning than

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that of military service. All the acts of the accused, he said, showed that he was ready to defend his country in the manner that his conscience dictated. Finally, the prosecutor emphasized that in asking for a mild sentence he wanted to show that, contrary to legend, the military tribunals go to the extreme limit of indulgence in handling defaulters for reasons of conscience.

M. Bolle, who has often served as lawyer for conscientious objectors, gave a moving plea for non-violent resistance and for civil service. Eloquently he sought respect for humane convictions, and denounced the inequity of a system which is obliged to inflict ruinous penalties on citizens even when the tribunal, seeing the loyalty of their services, could not help recognizing them as perfectly honorable. He requested that the duration of the sentence should be only a little longer than that of the course in military training.

The tribunal reduced the time of imprisonment to three months, but would not give the defendant the benefit of "honorable motives;" the wish to escape from an obligation imposed by the federal constitution on every citizen, by disobeying the law, said the court, could not be so considered. Yet the court did not, as customary in such cases, deprive Rene Bovard of his civil rights.

Very significantly the tribunal suggested that the condemned man could have used all legal means to obtain the introduction of alternative civil service, since "the question is pending before the federal authorities."

This conspicuous case has forced attention on the difficult status of the conscientious objector in a land whose position of neutrality, and whose absence of aggressive designs, have seemed superficially to take the sting out of its compulsory military training.

Every boy by the time he is 20 must take a course of military instruction for about three months, and in subsequent years a repeat course of 13 days. There is a complicated system of grading in the army involving various degrees of training, with special courses for officers. The duration and intervals of all these training periods are subject to change by the Swiss Federal Council, an executive body of seven members, corresponding to a cabinet in other countries; one member is chosen as President of the Confederation. Basic military affairs are in the hands of the two-house Federal Assembly.

Compulsion is all-inclusive. Certain exemptions, such as those for physical reasons, are allowed; but even when one is thus exempted, he must pay instead a special military tax. The law provides for a maximum penalty of three years' imprisonment for refusal of army service, but except in wartime the sentence has usually been three or four months. Recently, however, a "C.O." of less prominence than M. Bovard received six months. Ten days is the maximum for refusal to pay the tax. The worst hardship of all is deprivation of civil rights which sometimes means not merely loss of income and possibly of employment, especially in cantonal or communal positions, but tight restrictions on free movement about the country.

"Tax Objector" Suffers Most

A "tax objector" as well as a resister to military service may be expelled, along with the members of his family, from the canton where he lives. He may have to search for another canton that will take him in. One of Switzerland's idealistic C.O.'s, practising a highly skilled profession, who has been consistent all his life in unwillingness either to serve or pay the tax, has suffered 30 years' loss of civil rights. Barred from his home canton, he could spend time with his mother, who lived there, only when both could go to France in order to be together. When she was dying, he sought and obtained a permit to enter his canton and remain there 10 days, on the last of which his mother was buried.

The C. O. must come up for trial each time he is called to service, and the sentence gets progressively tougher. Ordinarily, after three or four condemnations, he is dismissed from the army, but the tax requirement still continues.

The number of C.O.'s in Switzerland has not been determined. The Defense Minister has stated that during the war there were only 76, but this figure appears to include only those brought to trial for religious convictions. There has been little contact among objectors; one reason may be the independence of the separate cantons. There have been no organizational activities of C. O.'s, though various peace groups have long existed in different parts of the country.

About two years ago the Swiss Council of Peace Associations was formed, composed of 22 societies with differing peace emphases, and numbering in total membership more than 10,000 Swiss citizens. This movement has grown, and has been progressively active; it has had among its officers men prominent in public life. It appointed a commission to study alternative service in other countries, and to make recommendations for Switzerland.

In March, 1947, the late Professor Andre Oltramare, revered head of the Swiss Peace Council, presented in the federal parliament, as a member, a motion for the introduction of alternative civil service. "The creation of a Swiss civil service," he said, "would constitute a moral advance and would bear witness to the respect of our country for the sincere convictions of individuals; it would permit the organization of adequate relief aid in time of peace, and would furnish abroad the proof that Switzerland is disposed to demonstrate in a manner even more effective than by material aid, its international solidarity."

His arguments were opposed by the Chief of the Federal Military Department, and an extensive debate followed. In spite of this opposition, however, Professor Oltramare made a real gain, for the federal parliament voted by 53 to 40 to take up the study of the question.

This was not the first time attempts had been made

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to inaugurate civil service for C.O.'s. As early as 1903, it was urged by a Swiss pastor; others tried in 1917 and 1918 to get a favourable motion passed; in 1921, an appeal came from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; in 1924, a general petition was presented; and the last previous effort was made in 1930. Throughout much of this period, the work of Pierre Veresole in founding the "International Civil Service" was influential. It was only in 1947, however, when Professor Oltramare so impressively pleaded the case, that official recognition came.

Even so, it seemed that the issue might be forgotten after the death of Professor Oltramare. But the trial of Rene Bovard brought renewed and widespread interest. It is the first time that a conscientious objector has had such sympathetic treatment in court, and the first time that favourable reports have been published in the conservative press. It is now stated on good authority that the Defense Chief has ordered the setting up of a commission composed of doctors, jurists, and military and political leaders to re-examine the whole C. O. problem. This gives hope to pacifists and non-pocifist friends of civil liberty that the years of effort may be approaching success. They believe a plan can be worked out through which not only may civil service be substituted for military service, but a tax for support of the civil service program be instituted in lieu of the present military assessment.

Why Not a "Peace Quota"?

The achievement of civil service for C.O's, however, would not mean any relaxation in the military program. As shown by compulsory military training in Britain, and the constant pressure to get it adopted in the United States, the architects of military power appear to feel that when the block of conscientious objectors has been neatly fitted in, it is possible to build a bigger structure.

Hence it is not surprising that at this very time, plans are being prepared in Switzerland for a reform of the army with much longer periods of training, with the extension of the service age to 60, and obligation for women up to 40 to train for such auxiliary services as air protection, telephone, transport and nursing. More serious perhaps is a decree of January 7, 1947, introducing a gymnastics and sports training for young boys under the direction of the military department, though this was rejected by popular vote and interferes with sovereign rights possessed by all cantons over educational matters. Signatures of protest are being collected by peace and educational organizations.

It seems likely that Switzerland, of all countries perhaps best able to demilitarize its life, will wait for universal disarmament through the United Nations in the distant future. It appears like a caged bird with a far-away heritage of freedom, so long confined within protecting bars that when the door is opened revealing exciting outside vistas, it remains moping in fear on the floor of the cage instead of stretching its wings and soaring into the free sky.

And what of Switzerland in the world picture? The original home of the Red Cross, the International Voluntary Service for Peace, and other notable humane movements, a generous haven for refugees in need of friendly rehabilitation, its leadership in many a progressive international cause has brought it warm regard. Yet Switzerland, possibly the most "peace-loving" nation, is outside the U. N. Though now included in UNESCO, it has not pressed United Nations' membership. Through the years, it has treasured its acknowledged right to neutrality, and has not used this boon for itself alone. To send a military force for a world army or police might jeopardize its neutral position. Yet to ask a special status would put Switzerland in the position of a conscientious objector before the Security Council. How could it plead for consideration there, until it has provided alternative service for C.O.'s within its borders?

Some Swiss have conceived a plan for offering to the U. N., instead of a military contingent, an equivalent for purely humanitarian work. It would go wherever the need might be, to help conquer disease, damages done by natural cataclysms, illiteracy, poverty, or social and economic degradation. Such a force would literally be "an army of men without hate." It is a startling proposal, for the Swiss government would have to take one or two per cent of the regular military budget and devote the money to this end. Thus far, the authorities have deemed it an impossible scheme, though officials have listened tolerantly to its advocates.

An international query is immediately raised. If Switzerland were induced to make such an alternative offer, what reception would it get? Could a popular sentiment be aroused in other countries, strong enough to persuade their governments to permit this great experiment? At the moment, neither this little nation, nor the world as a whole, is ready for such a move. But some of the country's most public-spirited citizens hope soon to see a recognition of the individual conscience, as a step towards a possible wider leadership by Switzerland in the international peace struggle.*

Geneva, March, 1948.

* Marie H. Allen has been Associate Editor of *Worldwar Peace* since 1933, in collaboration with her husband and fellow-editor, Devere Allen.

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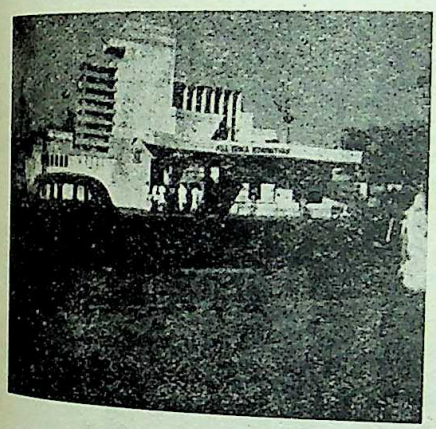
THE ALL-INDIA EXHIBITION IN THE EYE OF AN INDUSTRIALIST

By K. P. THAKUR, C.A.I.I.B. (Bom.), C.A.I.B. (Lond.)

Among the few amenities that the city of Calcutta offers to her citizens to recline or recreate, Eden Gardens occupy a position second to none in importance. The numerous zigzag waterways, covered here and there by overhead bridges, a shady nook, gay at a distance the row of tall trees—all these combine to make the gardens a paradise for lovers and poets, yet no less for the lay public who flock here to have their constitutionals.



The All-India Exhibition, Calcutta

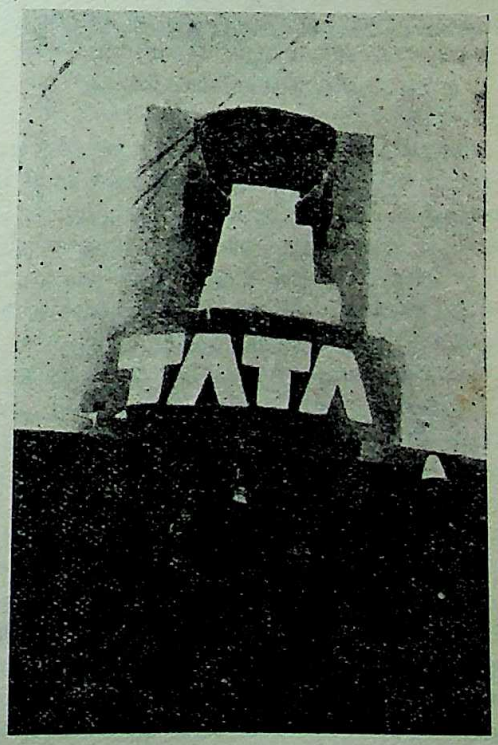
I am not a dreamer of dreams. Living in a practical world I am moved by no considerations other than materialistic. Yet when I visited the place after closure of the Exhibition I was really taken by surprise to recall in my memory the grandeur and magnificence which the show brought in only a few days ago. With the setting of the sun, when all the flood-lights were switched on, the Exhibition ground looked, as if, like a boom town. Myriads of visitors poured into the seven gates to find a place of beauty and joy, where there was apparently no sign of poverty, pain or misery which abounds outside.

The organisers of the Exhibition held in Calcutta in February, 1948, may feel proud for taking in hand one of the pioneering constructive measures adopted by the nation for its regeneration, social, industrial and commercial, on the morrow. Fancy fairs or exhibitions on large or small scales are things with which we are so familiar. Many of us must have seen how traders cluster around the footpaths of Calcutta on the occasion of Rath, Rash or Moharrum festivals with toys, household utensils and miscellaneous wares to housewives and juveniles.

Even in remote villages, fairs are not uncommon. On festive or ceremonious occasions there appear groups of village tradesmen to sell earthen wares and wooden toys to village folk. Folk-dances or "Jaree" songs are not complete without such fairs. All through the year the entire village anxiously awaits for the dawning of such days; the old aunty keeps aside a few pennies by trimming the family budget here and there, savings which are not usually touched upon but are kept reserved for distribution to boys of the family, girls not being excepted and what a joyous glow is visible in the eyes of the kiddies! And in the refracted rays emanating from the happy faces of the children of the family, the aunty never fails to delight her ownself.

We are not also forgetful of the gypsy girls of our land. With a load of cheap ornaments and fancy wares on the head they usually move from door to door and waiting on gullible village women folk they make them (villagers) an easy prey of their (gypsies') voracity.

These are loose and unco-ordinated specimens of our industrial efforts which, though in individual cases displaying high skill and excellence of craftmanship, had not in general contributed towards the betterment of our art and industry.



The Tata pavilion

The industrial exhibition of an organised type found its footing first in European countries. Radiating from France and Britain, it made its headway in the continental countries. In the initial stages such exhibitions were sponsored through private efforts. The beneficial

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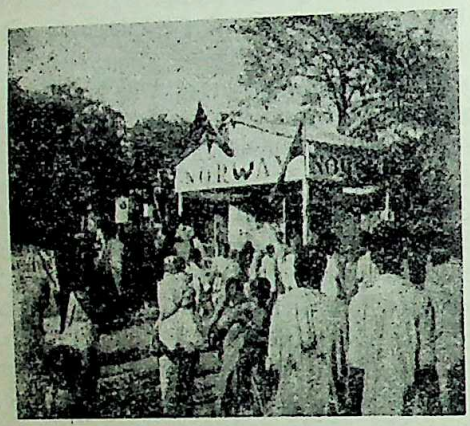
effects produced by these exhibitions soon attracted the attention of the respective national governments.

In the beginning exhibitions were looked upon as convenient modes of advertisement and sale of products; but gradually people began to feel that though the chief aim of exhibitions might be to increase sales and profits they have an indirect educational value as well. To the practical businessmen, however, ideal objects sink into oblivion, such as the creation of new ideas, the exposition of the most efficient methods of production and the general educational effects.

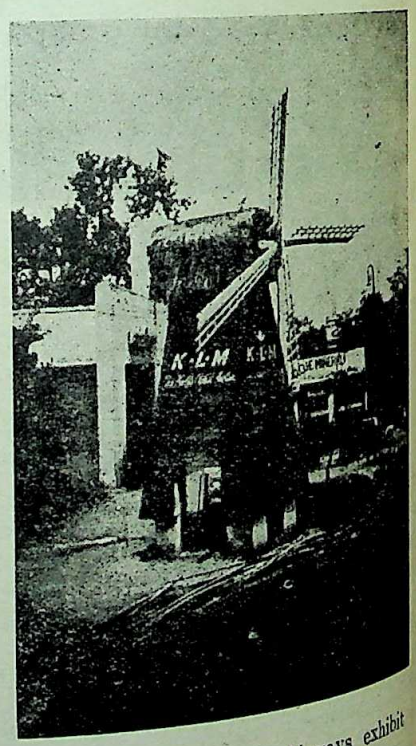


The Norway stall

As trade and commerce crossed national boundaries and entered the international sphere, national exhibitions changed their colour into international expositions. The first International Exhibition was held in London in 1851 and was known as "The Great Exhibition," although in magnitude it has been greatly surpassed by many others, notably those held in Paris, Chicago and St. Louis. The latest exhibition of first rate international reputation in the pre-war days was held in the Wembley Park, London in 1924-25. Strictly speaking the Wembley Exhibition cannot be called international out and out as its primary purpose was to exhibit goods of British Empire origin.

Thus far we have sung in unqualified praise of exhibitions. They have their dark spots as well. International exhibitions are the affairs of big industrialists —they have no place for small and medium scale businessmen. Exhibitions on foreign soil are expensive as such items as carriage, travelling expenses, ground rent, hotel expenses at the place of exposition, insurance, etc., are all to be borne by the exhibitors; yet the consequences may sometimes be quite different from what the exhibitors expected. They may not only expose their goods, but at the same time dispose of many trade secrets which are afterwards imitated and improved upon by foreign competitors. This happens more in the case of comparatively undeveloped countries, whose patents and designs are often purchased outright by highly developed countries either for use in their process or for giving them a watery grave. In such cases, exhibitions might be the means of assisting foreign competition without extending the sphere of sales of home products.

Notwithstanding such remote contingencies, the chances of benefits are greater than their bane effects.[1] This is why International exhibitions are growing in numbers with the passage of time and a feverish activity is again being witnessed soon after the termination of hostilities, and first came Britain with her British Industries fairs held in England in May 1947. A section of people in Great Britain raised their voices of protest that 1947 was too early for staging such an ambitious programme to show "what Britain can make." But despite all unfavourable considerations such as fuel crisis, shortage of building materials, etc. Great Britain held the Exhibition in full confidence that it was going to provide a great impetus to British industries and help exports. By ingenious devices and structures, decorations and general arrangements for accommodating buyers in the fair were designed on such novel lines as to dispense with many essential materials which were in short supply. This Exhibition has been able to rouse so much enthusiasm that the demand for space in the forthcoming fair (British



The K.L.M. (Dutch) Airways exhibit

Industries Fair, 1948) exceeds by 35 per cent of the total area available. As numerous as 87 United Kingdom major industries representing more than 3000 firms are likely to be represented in the fair.[2]

In India, exhibitions on western model were held in the past with indifferent success. We may recall the

1. Adapted from James Stephenson's *Principles and Practice of Commerce*, 1936 Edition.

2. Welcome Address by Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarkar.

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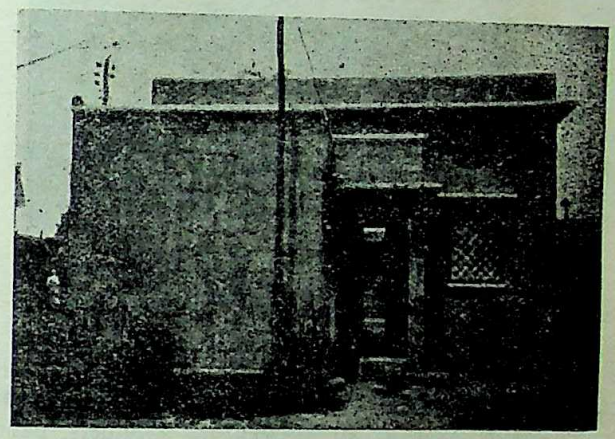
memory the Congress Exhibition held in Calcutta in 1938; but the Eden Gardens Exhibition, backed by the patronage and co-operation of the Central and Provincial Governments may be acclaimed as the first organised effort in free India to make a comprehensive stock-taking of the country's harnessed and potential resources for the planned reconstruction of the economic and cultural life of her people. To comment on all the displays assembled in the Exhibition is an uphill task. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the industrial and commercial aspects of the show.

Whether there was any necessity for opening an Amusement Park in such an Exhibition is a debatable question; but there is no denying the fact that the organisers of the Exhibition have to be extolled for sowing the seeds of education through the displays of the Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, All-India Radio, Health and Industries Department of the Central and Provincial Governments, the Meteorological Survey, the Indian Museum, the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Doon, etc. The most educative and attractive though no less interesting were perhaps the models of the Damodar Valley and the Mor Irrigation projects of the Matla Piali drainage scheme near Diamond Harbour and the old and modern methods of field irrigation from Archimedian wells to the latest use of power-driven pumps. I think there was hardly a visitor in the Exhibition ground who did not care to see these wonderful displays and did not express satisfaction imagining perhaps in his mind that at last something material and constructive could be done to stop recurring famines of Bengal and help the cottage and small-scale industries in Bihar and Bengal with the help of cheap electric power generated by the Damodar Valley Corporation. Besides, there were for those with historical interest, the Provincial Struggle and National Survey Court, for those with academical interest, the Fine Arts and Science Court, for those with social interest, the women and children section too. The growth and development of the Indian Press has been amply demonstrated in a separate Press Pavilion under the newspaper and political section.[3]

As already narrated the Exhibition was represented by the Central and Provincial Governments as well, prominent among which are the U. P. and Assam Governments not to speak of the West Bengal Government. The majority of the non-government exhibitors belong to the Greater Calcutta industrial area. Exhibits from Northern, Southern or Western India were not many. It is a matter of profound regret that exhibitors from the Bombay Presidency, which undoubtedly occupies the first rank in Indian industrial life, were few and far between. The scanty exhibits in silk *sarees* and others clearly demonstrate the poor response received from that province.[4] Opinions on the Exhibition differ. In the eyes of a certain section of visitors, the Exhibition has served no useful purpose other than providing a profitable source of income to the contractors and organisers; while certain other sections have gone so far in their praise to call it bigger than the Wembley Exhibition. In estimating the excellence and short-comings of the Exhibition, I shall not be swayed by sentiments in my estimate of what I have been able to witness in the Exhibition ground. I shall try to depict a picture to my readers and that too primarily from the point of view of an industrialist. Occupying an area of nine hundred and ninety acres the Exhibition is no doubt bigger than that held at Wembley at least from the point of view of space if not in any other respect.[5] However it is not the



A house made of pre-cast concrete

dimension which matters but the distinction that counts. Exhibitions are like the lens of an industrial camera through which we can get a true and undetached picture of the industrial stage a country is in; like binoculars with the help of them we can see through the distant industrial possibilities. In order to judge the merits of the present Exhibition we shall, therefore, have to see how far it will be able to help us in the rebuilding of our industrial structure in the best way we can do in our peculiar environment.

"Exhibition is not purely a business proposition. Fundamentally it has an educative function. We must see what is required for our country. It will not do for men and women of India, who feel the glow of freedom, to go on buying all the goods, and more particularly buying food from foreign countries. It is very unwise for us to go on in this manner by living on another people's work and feel happy over it. Today, it is a fact that we are living on the balance that we built during the war. If we go on like this, we shall be bankrupt. So every one would have to work and make people work in well-planned ways. This is why this Exhibition is necessary."[6]

3. T. K. Mazumder, Radio talk on 14. 2. 48.

4. The names of the participating firms are (a) Vithaldas Choonilal, Ahmedabad. (b) Metal Press Works Ltd.

5. The Wembley Exhibition covered an area of 220 acres.

6. Address of Chakravarty Shri Raja Gopalachari on the opening day of the Exhibition.

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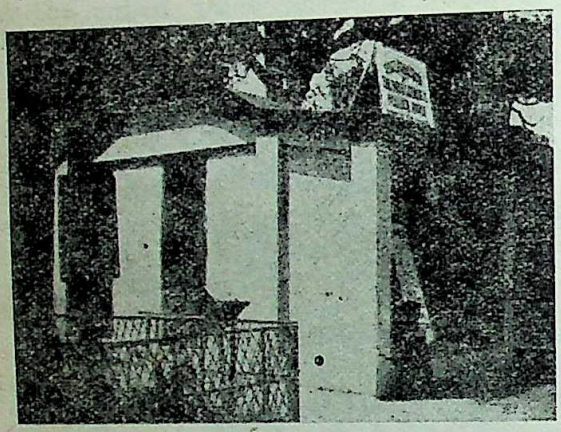
Against such a background we shall have to evaluate the merits of the game. If by virtue of holding the same we are sufficiently aided in our endeavour to industrialise India under modern methods, if it helps us to stand and occupy a position at par with the other industrialised countries of the world we must consider the enterprise a success, otherwise it shall have to be thrown overboard as not being worth the mortar and stone with which its structure was built.



A house built by the process of roll-lathing stone chips, cement and bamboo

The majority of the displays in the Exhibition were by large and small scale manufacturers of consumer's goods, such as pharmaceutical products, paper and writing implements, stationery and cosmetics, paints and varnishes, oils and vegetable products, china, glass and enamel wares, cameras and photographic materials, tobacco and tobacco goods, electricals, linen and woollen fabrics, etc. There were also many exhibits of engineering machinery, *e.g.*, printing press, spinning and weaving looms, pumps, machine tools and precision instruments, etc.

Of the Native States participating in the show, mention may be made of Indore, Jaipur, Mewar, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Manipur, Mayurbhanj and Hyderabad, each in her own pavilion showing specimens of her own arts and handicrafts. Among the State exhibits particular reference may be made of the Mysore Pavilion which showed in a miniature form the actual working of her famous Kolar goldfield. Thousands of visitors flocked into the Mysore Pavilion to have a glimpse of this artistic model. It is a stroke of misfortune that soon after the opening of the Exhibition, the Mysore Pavilion, along with a few other stalls, was badly damaged due to rain and hail storm and her pavilion gates had to be closed down. Visitors were thus deprived of having a look at this wonderful display till the end. Coal and gold—the market prices of these minerals are marked by a gulf of difference, yet what a pity it is to find that coal-miners and gold-diggers work not in a much different environment.

The mineral resources of the Mayurbhanj Pavilion indicate a store of future possibilities within the borders of the State. The Iron Ore Mines which feed the fu- naces of the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd., were discovered in a region adjacent to the soil of the State and it is not unlikely that many more mineral resources may be unearthed if adequate survey and exploration are carried out. The display of the Indore Pavilion centred round a hand-made watch, a specimen of which was presented to Mahatma Gandhi in June 1947. The Mewar State showed the image of Maharana Pratap, his armour, sword, and the saddle of his famous riding horse, the "Chaitak"; but alas, in this atomic age are we revert to duels and rely on cavalry in our defence programme? If not, what practical service do these specimens render except showing some historical relics; if it be so, why not place them in our National Gallery instead of making a show out of these articles in an Exhibition which was primarily industrial in outlook?

It appears Gwalior produces excellent crockery and porcelain wares and Indore makes out high-grade ivory products, but unless prices of such commodities are substantially reduced to bring them in line with other bazaar goods, we are afraid, these articles will continue to decorate the four walls of an Exhibition stall and are not likely to be useful to the common folk.

An array of tools and machinery was displayed at the stalls of Heatly and Gresham, Kilburn & Co. Ltd., Marshalls Sons & Co., India Machinery, Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. In the opinion of many a high level of proficiency was attained in many of these display. But I have my doubts if such displays were of any utility to our industrial life. In the exhibitions held in Western countries, visitors from comparatively the developed countries muster strong to purchase machines and tools of latest type and they have, therefore, great effectiveness; but in our country the need seems to be more of exposing how these machines are driven. If there had been no ambition to exhibit the working methods of such machinery, a stroll in the neighbourhood of the Netaji Subhas Road would have given a visitor an equal if not a better idea of the very same tools placed in the above-quoted stalls. An exception must have to be made with regard to the pavilion run by the "Philips." A unique apparatus for mass photography through X'ray engaged the attention of more than one visitor. It is an addition to public knowledge that the aforesaid firm is putting out many things besides radios and electric bulbs. In another corner, as found in a stall run by Messrs. G. C. Law & Co., the 132 varieties of pencils and 70 kinds of nibs are manufactured by a firm of our land. Under the domination of foreign rule we have been taught to regard "Venus" and "Kohinoor" pencils and "Red Ink" or "Relief" as to be the vehicles of learning. It is high time that a re-orientation of outlook is generated in our minds, that we begin to know things that are our own.

The design of the Tata Pavilion has an amazing ingenuity in it. As a flowing river fertilises such alluvion so will also the mould of The Tata Iron

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Steel Co. Ltd. turn out Iron and Steel ingots which will enable India to go ahead in her programme of industrial regeneration.

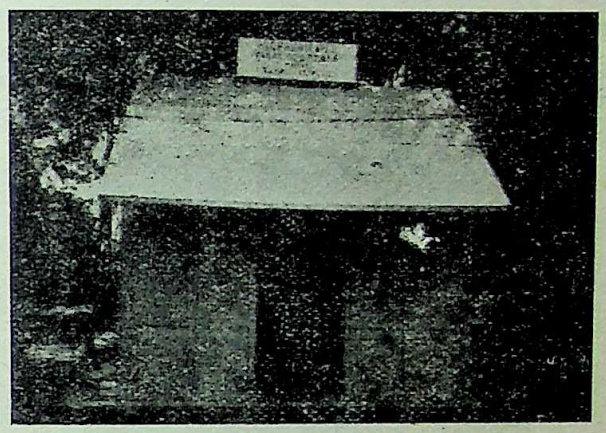
The representation of foreign firms in the exhibition was however negligible. Although there was a "Foreign Contact Section" representing foreign firms and exhibiting machines and services which India could avail herself of with a view to expediting her national reconstruction, a specific stall was opened by only one foreign country, *i.e.*, Norway. Without ostentation the pavilion showed in a neat manner by photographic illustration the natural wealth that abounds in the country. It also showed by illustration how and in respect of what materials India and Norway are connected with each other in international trade.

In the Exhibition, many of the products were displayed in a manner which maintained no harmony with the commodities exhibited. Illustrations may be cited galore but without making a catalogue of it, I may be allowed to quote the instances of "Lakshmibilas Oil" and "Jeewanlal (1929) Ltd." as cases in point. The stall of "Lakshmibilas Oil" looked more like an advertisement of high-powered "Westing House" electric daylights rather than toilet oil. Similarly, the construction of a chamber mounted with alluminium sheets does show more the craftsmanship of a house-builder rather than that of an alluminium dealer. Do Messrs. Jeewanlal (1929) Ltd. mean that we should dream of alluminium houses in a free and richer India instead of houses constructed with bricks, lime, stone or cement? To me it occurs that better service could be rendered to the country by showing with the help of a miniature model of the Kolar Gold Mining type the actual working in an alluminium factory, how our household utensils are turned out of bauxite. Such an action would have also done indirect service to the country by removing the residual blind superstition that still lingers among certain sections of people against the use of alluminium wares.

If, on the other hand, advertisement would have been the sole and only object, these firms should have done better by banking on the imaginative faculty of human beings. What a contrast do we find in the exhibit of the K.L.M. (Dutch) Airways? Without venturing in any air-plane they have succeeded in imprinting on our mind the ease and effortless unceasing speed of a modern aircraft simply by the display of a typical windmill of the low countries. Any amount of praise will not be too much for the high artistic sense displayed by this company.

In making the above remarks, I do not bear any animosity in my mind against some firms in preference to others. The sole purpose of my statement is to raise better sense in the mind of our exhibitors.

Among the hydra-headed socio-industrial problems that confront our social and industrial life today, the agitation of housing difficulties can claim high priority. An attempt to find out a solution of this problem has been made in the Exhibition. Four types of houses were placed on the ground, covering an area of one *katha* of land. The Concrete Association of India constructed a house built of pre-cast concrete which was also the centre of great interest. Without using brick or wood another house was constructed by assemblying stone chips, cement and bamboo which was technically called roll-lathing. Houses were also built simply with the help of venesta wood and bamboo.



A cottage built with venesta wood

No doubt, all these efforts are honest; but how far, under the present state of our life and living, houses of these types will be useful for our purposes? In cases of houses under the third and fourth category no estimate for building expenses was given. In view of the fact that these houses were primarily built of wood and bamboo these could not create much interest in the minds of the public. Besides the constant danger of being caught in fire, it is doubtful if these houses will be able to stand the rainy and moist climate of Bengal. Houses built of bamboo-concrete may be slightly more durable but these cannot be made double or triple storeyed. Architectural engineers also opine that bamboo retains much moisture within for a long time. With the advance of time bamboo will begin to shrink, cracks will appear in walls but there will be no means of repairs except by demolition of the entire structure even then leaving no break-up value. If instead of bamboo, iron rods are used, the project will show no innovation and will thereby lose much of its charms. The dwelling house made out of pre-cast concrete was found to be favourite with the middle class gentries—yet in this case the cost of construction is prohibitive. Besides the cost of the land it occupies a minimum expenditure of Rs. 4,848 is likely to be involved in building such a house, the total cost inclusive of the cost of the land will thus stand in the neighbourhood of Rs. 8,000|- to Rs. 10,000|-. To lay by such a huge amount of money is practically beyond the means of a middle-class gentleman after meeting all living expenses of self and members of his family. We are, therefore, left without any practical solution of the

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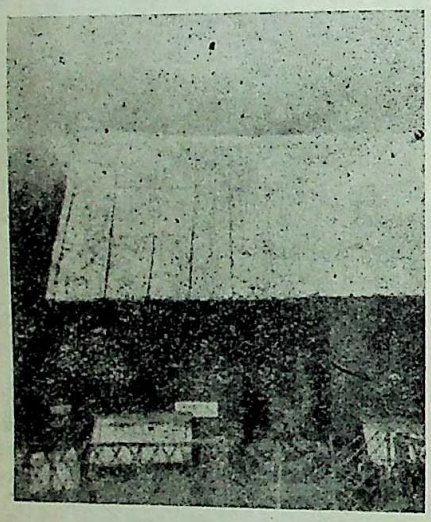
housing problem. We may have only this much solace that out of these efforts, cheaper and better methods may be devised. A word in this connection may not be out of place. The management of the Exhibition should have located these specimens in a contiguous spot; this would have enabled the visitors to form a comparative idea of the merits and demerits of each scheme in a better way.

Thus perhaps we have in our foregoing analysis covered in brief the excellence and short-comings of various stalls from the industrial point of view. Let us trerefore stop. Taking a general view of the whole affair one must have expected to witness a new ray



A thatched cottage made of bamboo

of light with the dawning of our much-cherished freedom. We wished not to see wearisome repetition of the same kind of booths, the cloying excess of tea stalls and eating houses, the duplication of exhibits as we find in Sir Stuart Hogg Market or in the vicinity of Bara Bazar. Our expectation was to have a look into the affairs of our business procedure, how its wheels roll on, where they are obstructed, who bear the brunt by the sweat of their brows and who reap the benefit. We had in our mind to get a glimpse of the crux of the labour problem and a model solution of the trouble. There is no dearth of Jute and Cotton Mills in the Union of India. Was it not becoming on the parts of the numerous Jute Mills on the Hooghly and Cotton Mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad to show the entire process of working of these trades from the sowing of seeds on the soil to the final disposal of the finished goods in India and abroad? Another commodity which India produces with wide world market is Tea. For the sake of mass education the details of tea trade from start to finish could have been displayed. In like manner, the working and production of each and every commodity out of Indian soil having any commercial importance could have been displayed in the Exhibition ground. Perhaps some such motive was behind the move of the sponsors of the show. In the foreword of a phamplet published by the organisers of the show entitled "The Purpose of the Exhibition," the Scientific Publicity Syndicate Ltd. said:

> "The task before industrial India is an uphill one. The time is opportune for producers, consumers, patriots and thinkers to plan the future of this country. It is conceded by all that before concrete blue-prints of our national future can be laid down, a scientific stock-taking of our resources, progress and potentialities is essential. It is in order to synchronise with the needs of the moments that this Exhibition is being organized.
>
> "Our object in holding this Exhibition on a scale hitherto unprecedented, is mainly to present a complete picture of India—realistic yet detailed, instructive yet suggestive, and critical yet constructive—of our national resources in respect of industry, agriculture, raw materials, minerals, production, health, education, art and culture. We believe that this Exhibition would bring into focus all the available data necessary for the various aspects of *National Reconstruction*."

In the fulfilment of the avowed object how far success has been attained must have to be left to the visitors to decide. To accomplish such a task is no doubt Herculean and incidental short-comings here and there are inevitable. In pointing out the defects therein my aim is not to decay the project; on the contrary, my object is to strike a note of caution that mistakes of omissions and commissions do not recur in our future attempts. In pursuance of the declared policy of the Government of India, Provincial Governments and Indian States for the speedy development of agriculture and industrial resources of India, the first International Trade Fair is likely to be held in Delhi in November, 1948. The Fair as the name suggests will perhaps be unique of its kind, as for the first time in the history of India, foreign visitors are being invited to participate. Foreign exhibits of raw materials, machinery and of industries, heavy, medium, small and also cottage industries will be displayed for the benefit of Indians proposing to start new industries. Let us be ready to represent on the occasion before the world a true and genuine picture of India as also what India can make.

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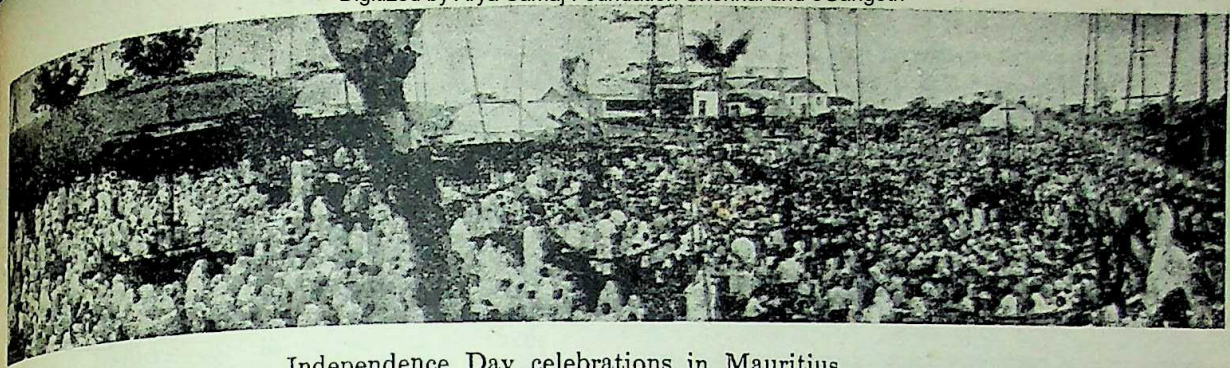

Independence Day celebrations in Mauritius

MAURITIUS ONCE AGAIN

By Prof. PRIYA RANJAN SEN, M.A., P.R.S.

More than three years ago, I had written on Mauritius and its affiliation, cultural and otherwise, to India. Significant changes have occurred since in our country, and their echoes have been heard on that island. The celebrations in Mauritius in connection with the proclamation of Dominion Status or Independence (as you like to call it) in India were a success from all points of view. The powers that be, made it a point to accord all facilities only to obliterate the bitter memory of the past, of the shameful story of the persecution of peaceful Indians. All those who could be made to side with the officials formed one group. The 15th August was proclaimed a public holiday even for the sugar estates; special trains ran on all lines; lorries carried passengers without permits and with the connivance of the authorities.

But this move on the part of the authorities—was it sincere? The word 'connivance' has been used advisedly. On reaching Port Louis the people realised it was a mere show—this parade of good-will for the people in general. It was observed that the Governor did not stay for more than 25 to 35 minutes. A short speech was made by the Chairman of the Reception Committee; the name of Mahatma Gandhi was not even so much as mentioned. The Governor, addressing the Mayor and the "Leader of the Indo-Mauritian Communities" (by which he referred to the reactionaries), declared in a mood of exalted blissedness that Englishmen have kept their promises in regard to India; anyway, the advantages that accrued to them made it possible for some 20,000 (twenty thousand) Mauritians to assemble at the Champ-de-Mars, Port Louis on that day.

The vast majority of the population celebrated the occasion in a becoming manner. Huge processions were held in almost all the villages and towns of the island. More than 50,000 Indo-Mauritians rejoiced in an organised manner. Prof. Bissondoyal, a graduate from Lahore and Calcutta, had introduced the Indian national flag to almost every home so that there was no difficulty in hoisting the flag when that memorable day came. Prof. Bissondoyal had already held a large meeting on the 10th August, 1947 in which he had instructed his audience that they should, on the 15th, explain the significance of that date to their people, and remind the whole population of Mauritius of the glorious reign of Emperor Asoka. This was done, and the celebrations took place in a suitable manner.

On the 17th August two important meetings were held. Let me give an account of one of them. The first one was attended by more than 20,000 Indians. It was held in a town in South Mauritius. Villagers came in bullock carts. History repeated itself on that occasion: the forefathers of the Indians settled there used to drive in their carts when they attended horse races. The enthusiastic crowd was thrilled to hear that the 17th was the day which saw the beginning of the departure of British soldiers from India. The news that communal riots had plunged Bengal and the Punjab in grief brought sorrow. But as soon as it was announced that Hindus and Muslims were once more friends in the old city of Calcutta, thunders of applause were heard. Paraphrasing Rajaji's words Prof. Bissondoyal had said that the modern Christ too can work miracles. Mahatma Gandhi and his peace mission in Bengal, Bihar and Delhi were followed with enthusiasm. In India's peaceful revolution, Mauritius received a new lease of life.

II

Bissondoyal, the new leader, has suffered and won.

The Government has, in the beginning of this year, shown a change of attitude towards him. Justice Brouard, of the Supreme Court, had to appear in Court on the charge of having said to some petty clerks of the Civil Service that Guy Forget, Attorney-at-Law, "is Bissondoyal's follower."

The press gave great publicity to the case as it does when any case in which the Professor is involved, absorbs the attention of the whole country. The question at issue was: "Is Professor Bissondoyal a great Mauritian who can number an Attorney-at-law among his followers even when the latter is not a Hindu?" Mr. Oshan, the Magistrate, was categorical. He said in his judgment:

"Was it defamatory to say, in October, 1944

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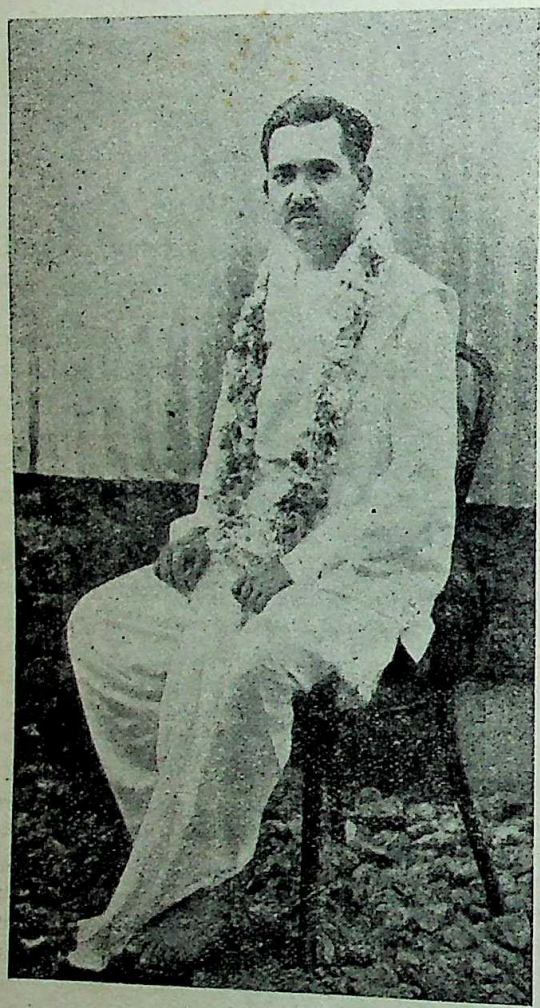
(when Professor Bissondoyal went to jail for the third time) of a man holding the political views of the complainant (Guy Forget) that he shared the views and political opinions of Basdeo Bissondoyal?

"Bissondoyal had been sentenced on 3.11.44 under war-time legislation..... It might even be possible that Bissondoyal would protest that the complainant had misunderstood or misinterpreted his political principles."



Prof. Bissondoyal

The complainant (Forget) had submitted that it would be derogatory to call him a "Bissondoyalist" since Bissondoyal made "seditious speeches."

To-day the Magistrate's judgment is lending support to my findings. Did I not write in *The Modern Review* for April 1946, p. 276:

"The Magistrate's judgment was based largely on the words our missionary was supposed (by witnesses having more brawn than brain) to have uttered...."?

The Magistrate had read all the documents relating to the historic cases. He was convinced that the Professor's words had been misinterpreted. He, for one, was not prepared to agree with the other Magistrates who believed in the words of Police witnesses. Mr. Oshan has been looking at the cases from a distance and has, accordingly, judged from the point of view of someone detached enough to tell the truth. Four years after the trial he has found that when Prof. Bissondoyal offered his defence (as in the Bench case) three magistrates were convinced that Police witnesses were not up to the mark.

It was only when the prosecution insisted on producing evidence on what incompetent witnesses had reported that the Professor refused to defend himself and agreed to undergo a long term of imprisonment to the horror of the civilised section of the population.

Forget, then, does not, in the eye of the law, suffer on being called Bissoondoyal's follower. Why, it may be asked, does Forget believe that one who has hundreds of thousands of followers, does not deserve his admiration?

The answer to this question is both interesting and informative. It throws a flood of light on the award of the new constitution. Without Professor Bissondoyal's movement no new constitution would probably have come. The old constitution is as old as the Indian National Congress. It dates from 1885, the year that saw the birth of the Congress. By his struggle the Professor made it as clear as daylight that if there is to be harmony among the various elements in Mauritius all of them must be placed on the same footing; the old constitution that favours the rich, must go. His clarion call roused the masses from their indifference and apathy. Clever politicians began to disparage him to please the official circles. Thus it was that on the 5th of March, 1947, seven experienced "leaders" submitted to the Constitution Consultative Committee a memorandum in which they stated:

"The organised agitation which has been going on for several years now among the Hindu population, the resolutions—invariably unanimous—voted at political meetings attended almost exclusively by Hindus will have only served to give more prominence to the fact that the mass of this community is still politically immature."

The term "Hindu" is repeated in season and out of season to give those who are gullible to understand that Professor Bissondoyal who has put a stop to all wranglings between Hindus and Mahomedans or Hindus and the down-trodden coloured population, is no better than a full-blown communalist of the Jinnah type. Forget's move is part of the manoeuvre. Even Dr. E. Millien, Forget's intimate friend, has of late supported, in his own way, the reactionary leaders who signed the above-mentioned memorandum. The same doctor wrote on 17.6.47 that the seven leaders were only distorting facts when they averred that there was a danger of a tide of Hindu or Indian nationalism sweeping over the country. Embittered by the success achieved by one who has counted no sacrifice too great in order to bring his country abreast of the times, some "leaders" are fretting and fuming; they are painting a worthy son of Mauritius "as black as it is possible for any person to be painted."

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But much more interesting than the charge laid at the door of the Bissondoyals (Professor B. and his brother, S. Bissondoyal, who will be a candidate at the coming elections), is the contempt with which the argument of the reactionary "leaders" has been treated in London. The new constitution is the fruit of eight years' labours. The "organised agitation," the "resolutions," the "political meetings" referred to could not fail to have the desired effect. It has become impossible to forget Professor Bissondoyal's movement in any reference to modern Mauritius and its constitution. The seven leaders set their face against the demand made to the effect that all those who would be able to sign their names should become electors. It is depressing to say that even an Indian was of their opinion. But the Secretary of State for the Colonies turned a deaf ear to their empty threat. If the New Constitution functions, as it should in course of the next few months, the reactionaries will be exposed and rendered futile: the interest of the people will be properly served. All well-wishers of Mauritius will eagerly watch the results of the elections.

There is no communal question over there. Hindus and Mahomedans have all identified themselves as sons of Mauritius. The bogey of religions differences has been exploded, and Professor Bissondoyal, a true son of Mauritius, is guiding his people along the path of honour.

III

Mr. K. V. Vaidya of the *Times of India*, addressing the members of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society at Madras, is reported to have said towards the beginning of the year, sometime in the first week of January, that India, exposed on three sides to any attack by sea, could be easily set upon by carrier-based planes coming from a long distance. India, once she decides upon her naval programme, would have first to establish three naval bases—one at the Andamans, another at Trincomali and a third at Mauritius. Professor Bissondoyal is emphatically of the opinion that Mauritius should move forward to help India and safeguard her defence for the sake of the peace of the world. If, he says, so little an island like Mauritius can play an important role and help much bigger countries to promote peace, it should do its duty without hesitation. If Mauritius can influence the future of Indo-British relations for good, why should it deny itself the honour of coming forwrad to contribute its mite?

Surely there will be found many other ways to cement the bond of union between India and Mauritius. What counts is not the provincial or communal or even racial aspect of the matter, though that counts so far as it goes, but the international aspect of the question. The houses both of India and Mauritius should be put in order for the purpose of serving larger interests.

———:O:———

WEAVING IN ASSAM

By Dr. S. K. BHUYAN, M.B.E., Ph.D. (Lond.),
Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam

Indian leaders have suggested spinning and weaving in every Indian home as a means of solving the cloth problem, and as a step towards the economic uplift-ment of the country. To the Assamese, however, it is a matter for gratification and pleasure that spinning and weaving were, and still now are, prevalent amongst them, irrespective of community and religion and social and economic status. All kinds of cloths, from cotton handkerchiefs to gorgeously brocaded and richly embroidered breast-pieces and skirts and *chadars* constitute the handiwork of Assamese ladies. The tribes on the Assam frontier were pacified by presents of Assamese cloths, and distant rulers and potentates were converted into friends by the same presents. There are many factors at the bottom of this unique custom, the principal ones being the patriotic zeal of the old-time Assamese people and the measures adopted by the State.

The Assamese of yore abhorred the idea of using foreign apparels. King Naranarayan of Cooch Behar once sent to the Ahom King Khora Raja several clothes as presents including "five beautiful silk *saris* made in Barnagar." The four Koch envoys who brought the present were received by the Bargohain at the presence of the Ahom monarch. The Minister said to the envoys, "The five *saris* which you have brought are worn by *Kharchais* or undesirable women of this place. They are not worn by men. How is this that you, being ambassadors, have brought apparels worn by women?" The Bargohain then dismissed the four envoys and gave them *mekhelas* or skirts, sewn in the middle.

The Raja of Mantara had once presented to his father-in-law, the Nara Raja, a suit of garments. The Raja of Nara, which was the original home of the Ahoms, consulted his ministers as to the propriety of wearing the presents. They in a body replied, "A foreign article, however good it may be, should not be worn by the monarch."

King Rudra Singha presented to his ministers sets of garments of the Mughal fashion consisting of cloaks, head-dresses and shoes. The three Dangarias returned the presents saying, "Why should we wear these presents imitating the fashions of foreigners in supersession of our own indigenous costumes?"

The measures adopted by Momai-tamuli Barbarua during the reign of Swargadeo Pratap Singh give an idea of the efforts made by the State. The Barbarua promulgated an order that every woman must spin during the course of the night two cops of yarn. The village headman while going round the locality next day would find out whether work in pursuance of this

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order was done or not. It was also the custom of every household to contribute to the royal stores an allotted quantity of silk yarn annually.

But we feel specially gratified when we recollect a measure adopted by Queen Sarbeswari Devi, consort of King Siva Singha. Coins were struck in her name during 1739 to 1744 A.D., as was done in the case of the two earlier queen-regnants Phuleswari Devi and Ambika Devi. The apartments, the courtyard and the grounds of royal palaces remain in many cases practically empty, or they accommodate articles of luxury, or paraphernalias of pomp and grandeur, or attractive gardens. But Queen Sarbeswari Devi admitted the girls of her subjects within the palace enclosures and taught them to spin. The girls who were musically inclined were taught music. About this we quote the following excerpts from a contemporary chronicle or Buranji:

"Anadari, the daughter of Solal Bargohain became the Barkuanri or chief consort of the King when she took the name Sarbeswari . . . The Queen adopted a Bhutanese boy and kept him with her as a *ligira* or attendant . . . As an innovation she admitted inside numerous batches of girls belonging to all communities and castes and engaged them in spinning. She also taught music to girls who were musically inclined."

We now ask: In the year 1740, how many kings of the world laid open their palaces and gardens for the benefit of the subjects, and how many queens brought into the royal premises girls of all denominations for teaching them spinning and music?

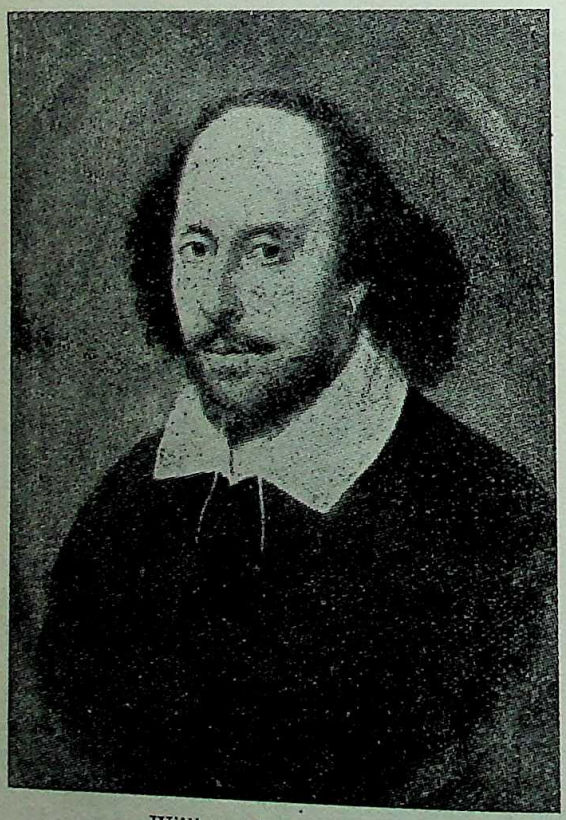
———:O:———

LONDON'S GALLERY OF THE GREAT

By JOHN STEEGMAN

London contains a museum which was the first of its kind in the world and which even now has only two rivals, one in Edinburgh and one in Dublin, both very much smaller and of recent foundation. It is the National Portrait Gallery, whose name exactly defines its nature: a collection of portraits of men and women who have played a prominent part in the history of Great Britain and her Empire. One cannot say "from the earliest days of that history," because portrait-painting as a separate and distinct craft did not exist in England before the beginning of the sixteenth century. But from the days of Henry VIII, there are very few great men in our story whose authentic portraits are not in that collection.

A man, to qualify for this posthumous honour must have made an outstanding contribution to whatever department of human endeavour he adorned



William Shakespeare

Horatio Nelson

Letters, the Arts, Politics, Statecraft, Science, Exploration, the Profession of Arms, the Law, Religion, or since he was an Englishman, Eccentricity. It is not enough that he should be merely "well-known" in the history of his profession; he must have had a profound and lasting effect on that history, and his fame must be such that his name is familiar to the average educated visitor.

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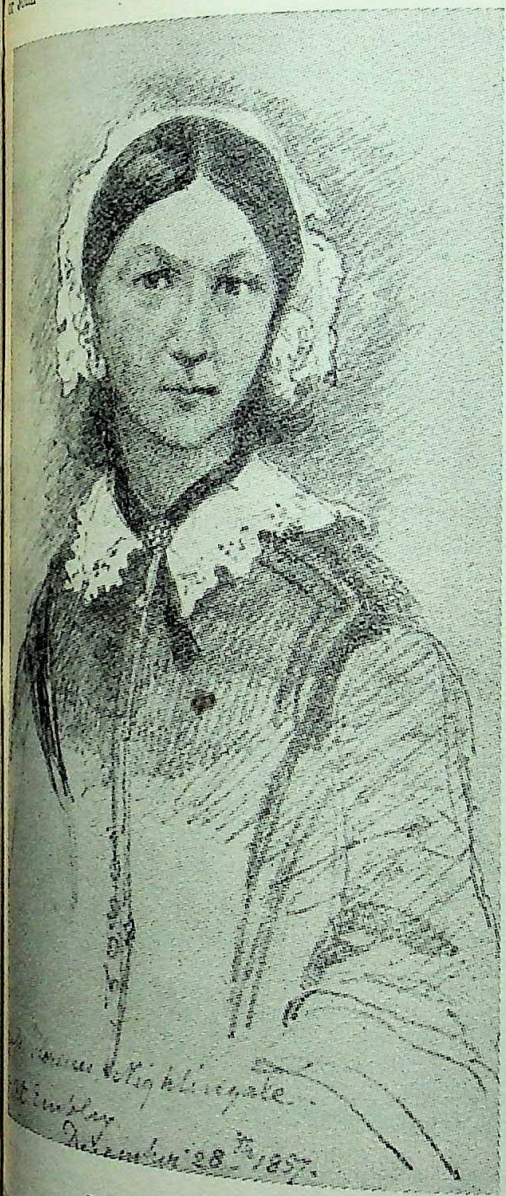
As individualists the English, and even more the Scots, are proverbial all over the world—active, unmanageable creatures who act as they do because "they are damned if they will be dictated to by anyone!" It was not very comfortable to be in the company of Queen Elizabeth, or Florence Nightingale, or Shelley, or John Wesley, or Sir Thomas More, but each of



Florence Nightingale

he proceeded on his perilous, difficult path absolutely convinced that he was right, and that everyone else was wrong, and of course, they *were* right! You can see them in the National Portrait Gallery: Elizabeth, with her vanities and arrogance; Nightingale, inflexible purpose; Shelley, all revolutionary passion; Wesley, with his vanities and inexhaustible energy; More, unshakable in the belief that his own conscience was right, and that the King was wrong.

The poets are quite unlike the poets of any other country. They sang their romantic songs in their own lyrical, unclassic language, and would have nothing to do with the rules observed everywhere else. They have made the English language the beautiful, rich, evocative tongue that it is (except when it is used in business correspondence). Their portraits are all to be seen: Shakespeare, Dryden, Gray of "The Elegy," Byron, Keats, Wordsworth, Tennyson. It would be very difficult to find someone in any country of the world who had never read a word by any of these in some translation, or in whom the sight of one of these portraits would not awaken the memory of a poem or a couplet.

In the Portrait Gallery are to be seen the faces of Wilberforce and Clarke, who have the imperishable honour of having won for millions of men and women their physical and spiritual freedom. Rousseau preached the freedom of mankind, and England practised it when she set an example to the world by abolishing slavery throughout the Empire.

Lawrence of Arabia

There are no tyrants in the National Portrait Gallery. But there are the breakers of tyrants; Elizabeth and Sir Francis Drake, who destroyed the power of Philip II of Spain to dominate Europe; John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, who destroyed the might of the megalomaniac Louis XIV, and enabled Europe to breathe again freely for a while; William Pitt and Lord Nelson, and the Duke of Wellington, who together proved that Portsmouth and Whitehall were in the end too strong for the giant who terrorised Europe from Madrid to Moscow.

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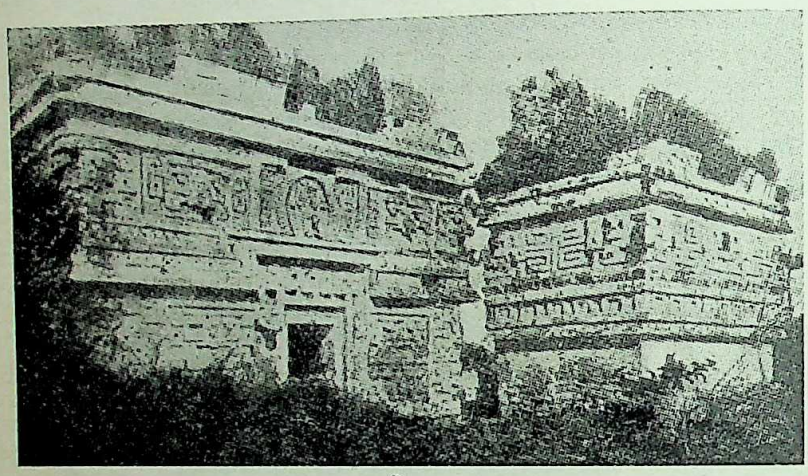
ARYAN RULERS OF AMERICA

By CHAMAN LAL

The caste system of the Aryan Incas (rulers of Peru) was as rigid as and very similiar to that of the Aryan-Brahmins; and in the beginning was instituted for the same purpose,—namely, in a desperate effort to preserve the purity of the White race.



South Indian imprints on a Mexican palace

No one of the lower orders could marry a woman of Inca blood on pain of death.—*The Ayar Incas*, p. 258.

* * *

Many of Inca hymns and prayers were similar to our own. The traces of the common origin of both can be found in the Rig Veda and the Zend-Avesta. They had been preserved by oral traditions from their still older sources before the invention of writing.

No doubt they had taken form in the religious rituals of the great parent race before the development of separate cultures of the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans.—*The Ayar-Incas.*

The poetry of Peru bears the imprint of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata on each page.—*Le Races Aryans de Peru.*

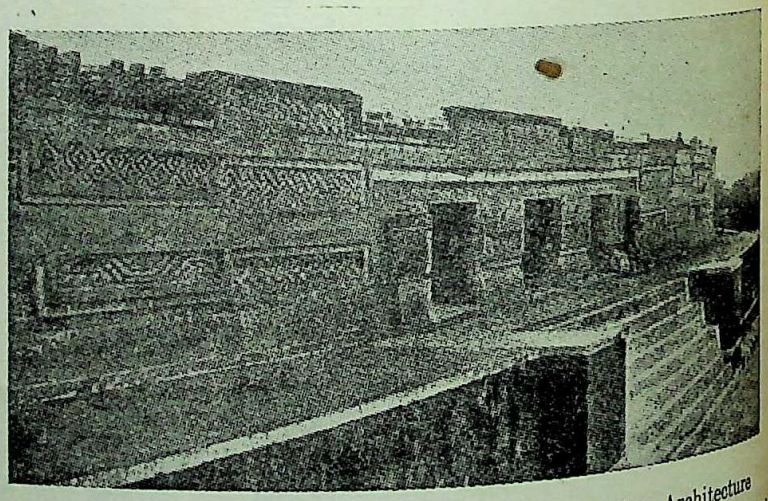
* * *

As among the Aryans of India, the worship by the Incas of the omnipotent and invisible spirit, Viracocha, creator and preserver of the world, was confined to the higher castes. The intimate family religion of the common people, as in China and India, was the worship of the ancestors of the family.

Seven years ago when I published my book I had stated that the customs, beliefs and religious ceremonials of the Inca rulers of South America gave me a definite impression of their being Hindus.

Ambassador Miles Poindexter of the United States who spent several years in Peru and made personal investigations from the descendants of the Inca rulers, has now proved beyond doubt that the founders of the Inca dynasty were four "Ayar" Brahmins : Ayar—Manco Topa, Ayar—Chaki Topa, Ayar—Aucca Topa, Ayar—Uyssu Topa.

The Incas observed the Hindu caste system and performed the sacred thread ritual more or less exactly as we perform today in India. The language of Peru (quichus) has more than a thousand Sanskrit roots and I have brought with me a vocabulary called the Aryo-Quichua vocabulary compiled by Lopez, author of *The Aryan Races of Peru.* The Spanish author who spent his life in Peru writes that one finds the imprints of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata on every page of Perucian poetry, and Peruvian music is based on the Hindu music. The Peruvian National Museum at Lima has even today preserved all Hindu musical instruments.



A Mexican palace bears imprints of South Indian Architecture

Asia and America.—Mr. Miles Poindexter, formerly United States Ambassador to Peru, has done signal service to the sciences of Anthropology and Ethnology by publishing two brilliant volumes on the *Ayar Incas* of Peru of which the second volume deals with their Asiatic origins. It is, indeed, a fascinating subject. The author has endeavoured to show that the Ayars of Peru are the proto-Aryan emigrants from Asia to South America, as the word "Ayar" itself expresses the phonological connection with the word Arya. The similarity does not stop with the casual

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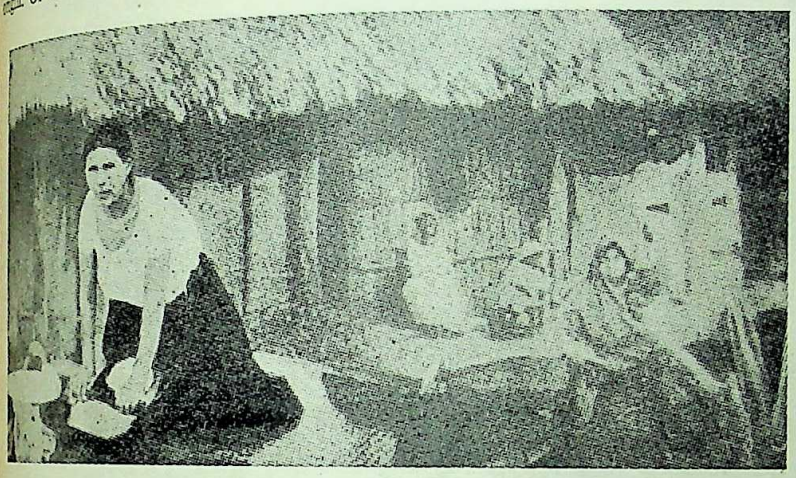
resemblance of two isolated words. The arts and ceremonies, the customs and beliefs, the rites and ceremonies, the customs and manners, and even the physical features and languages of these two races separated by wide distances of space and time show marked traces of close affinity; and hence the inevitable conclusion of a common origin. Of course, the author is aware of the existence



A Mexican woman prepares *chapati* (Hindu bread)

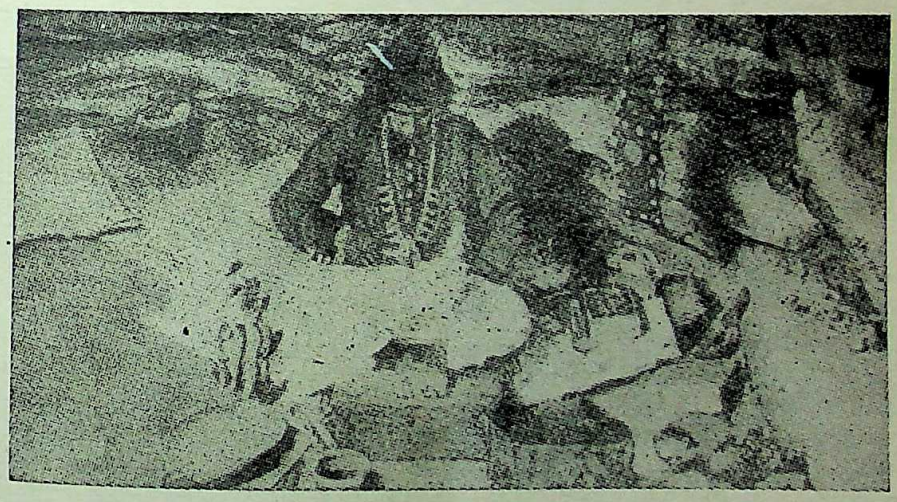
of a school which holds that two distinct races in distant places may develop similar tendencies under similar environments. But evidences as to a common origin are too weighty to be discarded in favour of such a debatable hypothesis. There is the tradition among various Polynesian tribes, such as the Maoris of the extensive voyages of their early ancestors and there is the corroboration of the fact in the tradition of South American Indians, such as the Incas and Mayas, regarding the distant homelands from which they migrated. The sciences of Anthropology and Ethnology augmented by philological evidences show that the Polynesians are Aryans. Mr. Poindexter rightly observes that

"America in race and culture was but an extension of Asia: and in pre-glacial times it was geographically so. Columbus was not mistaken when he called the people of the new world 'Indians'. They were of that and kindred mixed races and the unbroken line of blood and culture bound together the two shores of the Pacific Ocean."

Modern Hindus, who, for the most part, have become incorrigible stay-at-homes would be surprised to look back and behold the faint footprints of their prehistoric ancestors fading away in the sands of time. They were a race of giants fired with wanderlust and their motto seems to have been on the words of the Aitereya Brahmana, *"Charaiveti charaiveti charaiveti tam abravit"*—"Wander forth, wander forth, wander forth." They might have migrated partly by land through the Behring Strait and the Aleutian Islands and partly by sea, their canoes carried to the Chilean coast by the South Pacific Current, known to navigators as the South Pacific Drift or the New Zealand Current. "These early men," says Mr. Poindexter, "were among the greatest, perhaps very greatest navigators, considering their meagre equipment in the history of man's voyaging upon the sea" (p. 174-5).

Asia to America.—But what are the most prominent and notable similarities in the arts and sciences, customs and beliefs of these peoples, apart from their ancient traditions of origin? Mr. Poindexter asserts:

"There is a striking similarity between the Quichuas and Ayamras of the Peruvian and Bolivian Andres—in dress, colour, physique, and mode of



He looks like a Hindu goldsmith

life—and the people living in the high valley and river gorges of the huge mountain system along the border between Tibet, Nepal and the Chinese Provinces of Yunnan and Szechwan. Photographs of these people of the Asiatic Highlands, taken by recent travellers, might well pass for photographs of the mountaineers about Cuzco and La Paz."

And he goes on to enumerate the various common features.

Tibet and Peru.—Indian corn is the staple food of the Peruvians as well as of the Lutzu people in the remote gorges of the Selwin, and beer made from maize is the common drink. Even the reed flute these distant folk play is of the same type and shape. The Tibetans kept their records with knotted cords before

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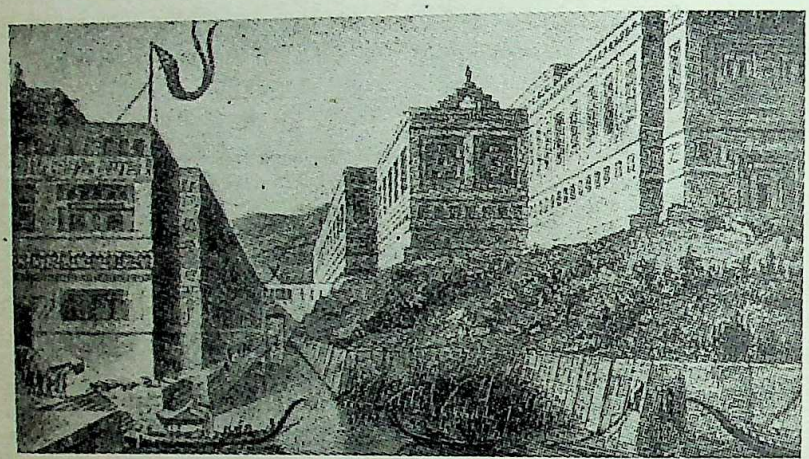
the 7th Century A.D., in the same manner as the Incas of Peru. The history of sovereigns who had governed the country, and the principal events that had taken place in the nation, was written in well-bound books of papyrus or parchment, covered with highly ornamented wooden boards. These books were exactly like the holy books now in use in Tibet. The latter are also written on parchment strips about eighteen inches long and four inches broad, bound with wooden boards, and wrapped up in curiously embroidered silk. Many



America's oldest temple

of the roots of the Tibeto-Burman family have been recognized in the Quichua and Yungu languages of Peru. In Tibet as well as in Peru, gold and copper were minted from early times.

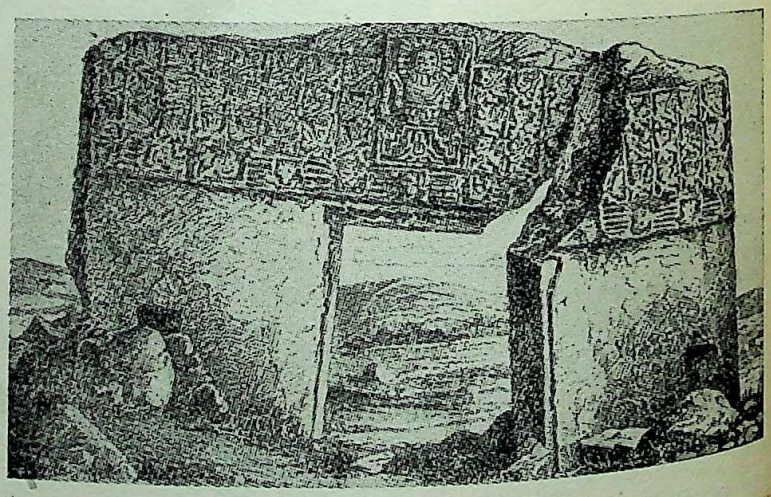
Puranic Beliefs in Peru.—An idol from the north coast of Peru (p. 111) represents the Sun God seated upon a turtle and a serpent; and it remains one of the myth of the Satapatha Brammana where the primeval tortoise Adi Kurma is referred to as the source and support of all things, and the current Puranic conception of the earth being supported by the Serpent Ananta who in turn is supported by the turtle or tortoise.

One of the most interesting facts that go to prove the Indian origin of these ancient South Americans is the appearance of the elephant in Mayan sculptures, for the elephant was otherwise unknown to America. Says Mr. Poindexter:

"Among the ruins of the pre-historic Mayan City of Copan in Honduras, on a large monolith in one of the long-abandoned courtyards appear carved in high-relief two elephant-heads with typical trappings of Indian elephants. Characteristic Hindu or Cambodian mahouts wearing typical Hindu or Indo-Chinese turbans are mounted upon them."

Another interesting feature suggestive of common origin is the occurrence of the *makara* motif notably in Mayan art. This composite "wonder-beast" assumes manifold forms in graphic art. It is one of the most frequent decorative forms sculptured in medieval Hindu temples. It was represented as a dragon, an elephant fish, and a crocodile snake. Smith, the learned author of the *Elephants and Ethnologists*, has traced the origin of this fabulous creature from its earliest form as the antelope-fish, which he regards as Babylonian. It may be noted in passing that the conception of *makara* as the antelope-fish is even now prevalent in Indian lore, as in the Western concepts of Capricorn, with the head of a goat or deer and the body of a fish.

The division of the zone of the ecliptic into equal parts and the use of animal names for each was admittedly Asiatic in origin. Seven of the twenty days constituting the Astec month bore names of the hoary signs which were evidently introduced from Asia. Though the Astec Calendar only dated from the seventh century A. D., the Zodiacal tradition embedded in it might have been very ancient. In the place of the sixty year cycle of the East in



Gate of the Sun

general and of Hindu in particular, the Mexicans have a fifty-two year cycle.

"The Mexicans shared", says Mr. Poindexter, "the tradition of the Hindus, and all peoples of Aryan origin, that the World had been several times destroyed and they looked for its destruction again at the end of a cycle."

The tradition of the destruction of the world by flood at the end of an age or Yuga, as we call it, was known to the Mexicans, as well as to various other races of the earth. The resemblance of the Mexican doctrine to that of the Hindus is more striking as they alike speak of four ages or Yugas at the end of which there is destruction.

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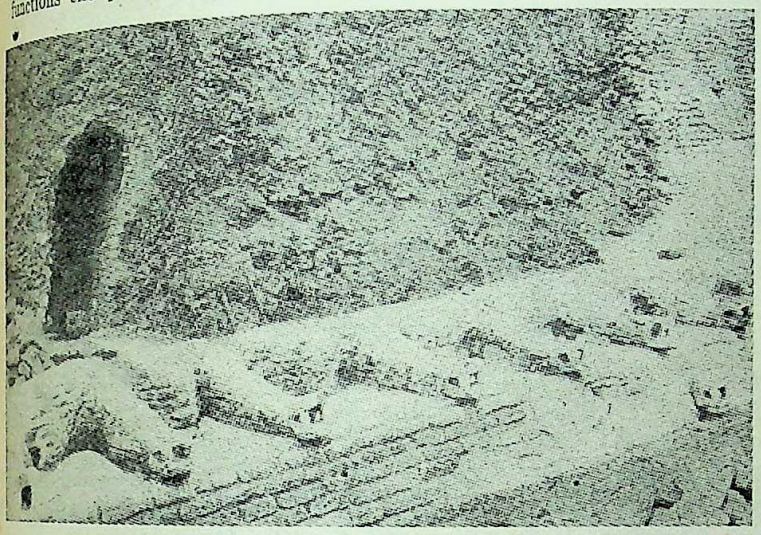
Goddess Maya from India.—And now the similarity of religious beliefs. Referring to the Goddess Maya from whom the Mexican race derives its name, Mr. Poindexter says:

"This same *Mother of the Gods* was carried to America and appeared in the Maya theogony of Yucatan under the name—Maya—in the same functions she performed in India."



A Naga temple in America

In Mexico, Maya was also called the *Mother of the Gods*. She was characterised in Mexico by the same emblem of the lotus as in India. This, indeed, is an irrefutable proof of the common origin of the faiths.

Incas had Sacred Thread.—There were many unmistakable resemblances in social customs and rites. The division of castes of the Incas was as precise as that which existed in Egypt or Hindustan, quotes Poindexter from Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*. An elaborate ceremony of initiation called "Huaracu" analogous to the Upanayana of the Hindus was in vogue. The youths of the Ayar Inca nobility at about sixteen years of age were given a badge of manhood—the *huaracu*, after the performance of the sacrificial rite.

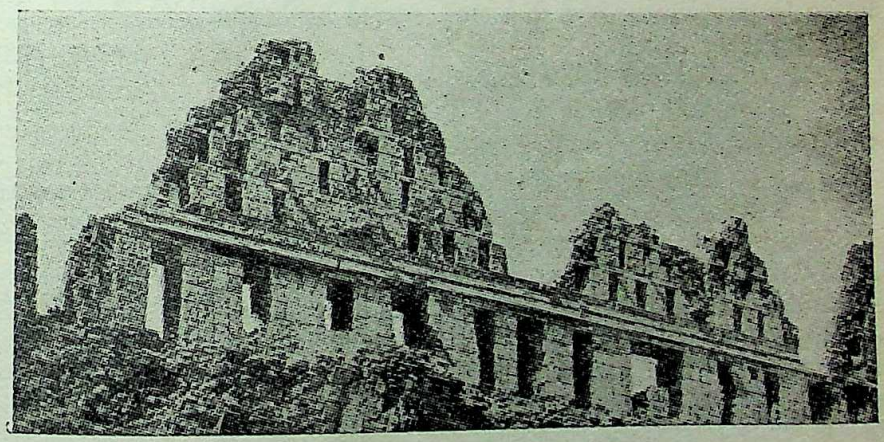
"This Huaracu was a cord made of aloe fibre and the sinews of sheep (*llama*), the aloe fibre being like flax."

We find even the counterpart of the *mekhala* and the *kaupina*.

"The insignia was conferred upon the youth upon his arrival at the age of puberty, and consisted of a cord of the thickness of a finger, which was fastened around the boy's waist and tied back of his kidneys."

In front a small triangular piece of woollen cloth was sewed to the cord. Two points of the triangular cloth were extended lengthwise along the cord and sewed to it and the third point or corner of the cloth was passed between the thighs and fastened to the cord on the back. What an exact description of the wearing of a *kaupina*! The wearing of a huge golden ear plug (the same as the Indian *kundala*) was considered the insignia of aristocracy. The lobe of the ear was pierced and gradually enlarged to receive the huge plug whereby the Inca nobles were called *Orejones* (*Big Ears*) by the Spaniards.

Sanskrit in Peru.—Mr. Poindexter has given a pretty long list of words of the Quichua languages and their analogous forms in Sanskrit. In the field of linguistic research, the author has his own limitations, but it must be borne in mind that he attempts only to suggest that the parents of both these languages might have had a common origin. Particularly interesting is the word *kon*, which designates one of the most ancient solar deities of the Peruvian Yungas. The word is said to be of the same root and origin as the Japanese *kon* (Lord). It is a well-known fact that *kon*, or *ko* in Dravidian means at once lord, kind, and God.



The stones speak

India—the Source

In India it is Deo, or Deota.

In Spanish it is dios, in Greek it is Theos, in Mexico it was Teot (according to Cortes the invader).

This clearly proves that the essentials of the primitive man and the primitive man himself, found their way, by expansion, contact, fusion, direct migration, war, trade and the chase from a common origin in the high lands of Asia, to Europe on the one hand and America on the other.

Lost Their Language

The Ayar Inca rulers of Peru did possess a written language but they lost it during four hundred years

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of struggle, according to U. S. Ambassador Miles Poindexter. He writes:

"As throughout Polynesia and elsewhere it was a war between kinsmen of Aryan against Aryan. . . The defeat of the Ayars in the Pass of Vilcanota was followed by governmental confusion, disintegration of the kingdom, social disorder, moral and racial decay, and invasion by a 'multitude of tribes which came from all directions.' . . . Thus was the government of the Peruvian monarchy lost and destroyed. It did not come to its own for 400 years and the knowledge of letters was lost. The Ayars maintained their superior discipline and the service of the religion of Viracocha in the romantic and picturesque fastness of the Vilcapampa (hills). In a subsequent generation, when it was sought to revive letters, the effort was suppressed by the Vilcapampa monarch, Tupac Cauri, on the advice of a priest, on penalty of death."

Aryan Teacher From India

There was a universal Inca tradition according to Cieza de Leon, Sarmiento and Salacmayhua of a white teacher who had appeared in the highlands (of Peru) in the very earliest times and given the people their civilisation. He was called *Tonapa* or *Tarapaca*—the latter word meaning eagle (Garuda) the god-bird of the Indo-Aryans. He told them to do no evil or injury to one another and that they should be loving and charitable to all.

This teacher was white and dressed in a white robe like an Alb, secured round the waist (Dhoti?) and that he carried a staff and a book in his hands.

History of the Incas. (Hak. Soc.), p. 35.

Indra In America

"The worship of Inti (or Indu), the Sun, from the splendid temple, on the heights of the Andes, as well as the more spiritual esoteric worship of Viracocha, appears to have been derived from the same original source as that of the Aryan Mithras, from a time before Indo-Iranian division. The attributes of *Inti*, the Peruvian Sun-God, visibly appearing and worshipped as the Sun itself, are in large part identical with those of the Indo-Aryan Indra, 'God of the clear sky,' lord of the elements, of the rain and thunder, Varuna, in the Vedic mythology, makes the Sun shine, the wind is his breath; river valleys are hollowed out at his command."—*The Ayar Incas*, p. 201.

America—Extension Of Asia"

"America in race and culture was but an extension of Asia; and it is said that in pre-glacial times it was geographically so.

"Columbus was not mistaken when he called the people of the new world 'Indians.' They were of that and kindred mixed races and an unbroken line of blood and culture bound together the two shores of the Pacific ocean."—Ambassador Miles Poindexter.

'Viracocha' Is Ganesha

"Viracocha was a deity of the people of Peru. Vira (or Uira) and Varuna suggest an interesting comparison with the primitive Greek Uranus—the sky, husband and fructifier of the earth. Also compare the word Vira (in Viracocha) with the typically Aryan Virud (in Virudhaka) of the Chinese Buddhists,—the "Ruler of the South." The latter wore an elephant-head helmet; while inscribed upon the walls of the temple at Palenque (Mexico) is the figure of a man (God) wearing the skin of an elephant's head upon his own."—Smith.

This was no other God but our Ganesha.

Peru and Pururava Aryan Ruler of the Seas

The great Pururava (Aryan King) held sway over thirteen islands of the sea.

The Paurava line was descended from Pururava, and the founder was King Dushmanta, gifted with great energy. And he was the protector of the earth bounded by the four seas. And that king had sway over the four quarters of the world. And he was lord also of various regions in the midst of the sea.—*Adi Parva of the Mahabharata*, Section lxviii.

Aryan route to Peru—"Indo-Arya to America"

Ambassador Miles Poindexter writes:

Primitive Aryan words and people no doubt came to America in the way cited by Kimmich in archaic times before the Indo-Iranian separation and dispersion north and south of Hindukush. But they no doubt also came by other routes and from other fountain heads at later times—especially from Indo-Arya by the island chain of Polynesia.

Kimmich, the renowed research scholar and historian of South America, wrote thirty years ago:

I believe they (the Aryans) arrived in boats like the junks which the Chinese people had in that epoch, and also the Catamarans (Tamil word for boat) of the Malayans which carried as much as one hundred tons. The Malayans and their relatives the Polynesians crossed in these boats the entire Pacific, populating it little by little, arriving in the fifth century A. D. in the Marquesas Islands and Hawaii, whence it is no more than thirty days journey to Peru. From the Marquesas to Lima (capital of Peru) which two are almost on the same parallel of latitude, is a distance some thousand leagues, the same from Hawaii to Guatemala, which latter two are approximately on the same parallel.

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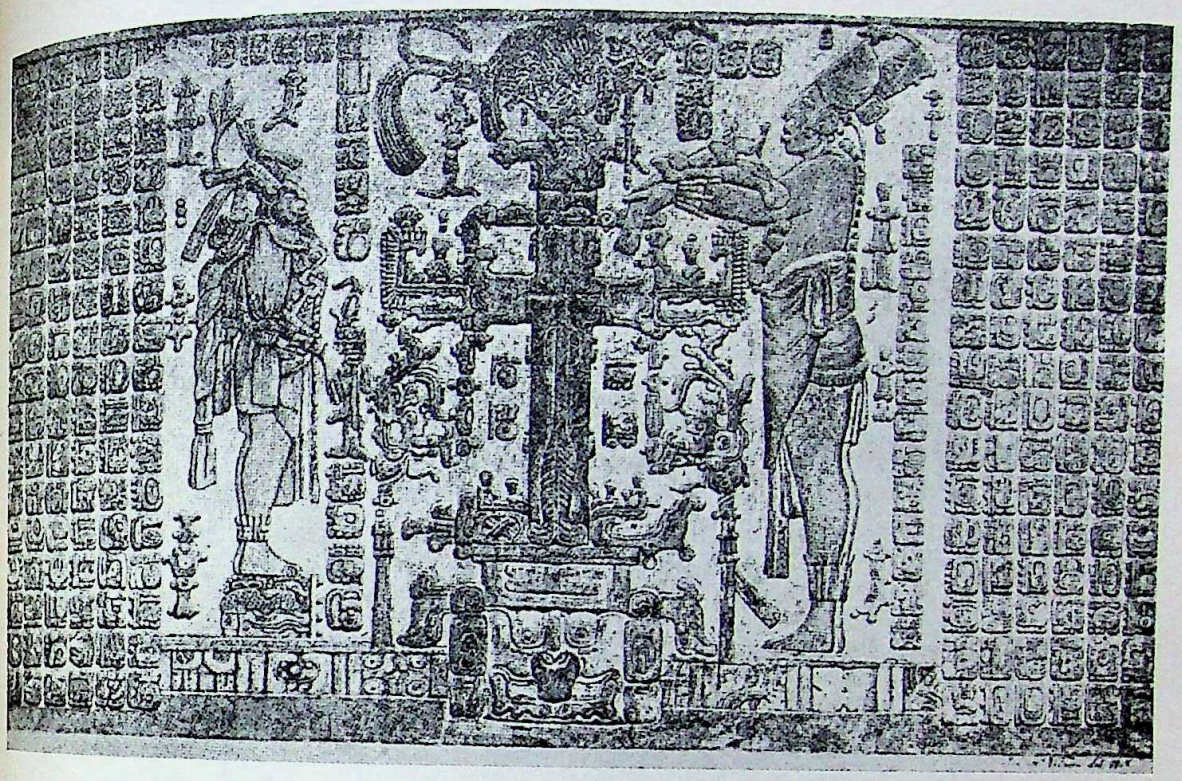

This slab from a Central American temple depicts the ceremony of slaying the year bird (*Shyena*), mentioned in Chapter IV of the Rig Veda

A Mexican woman with typical Hindu expression on her face

A Central American woman going to a community bakery to get *chapati* prepared

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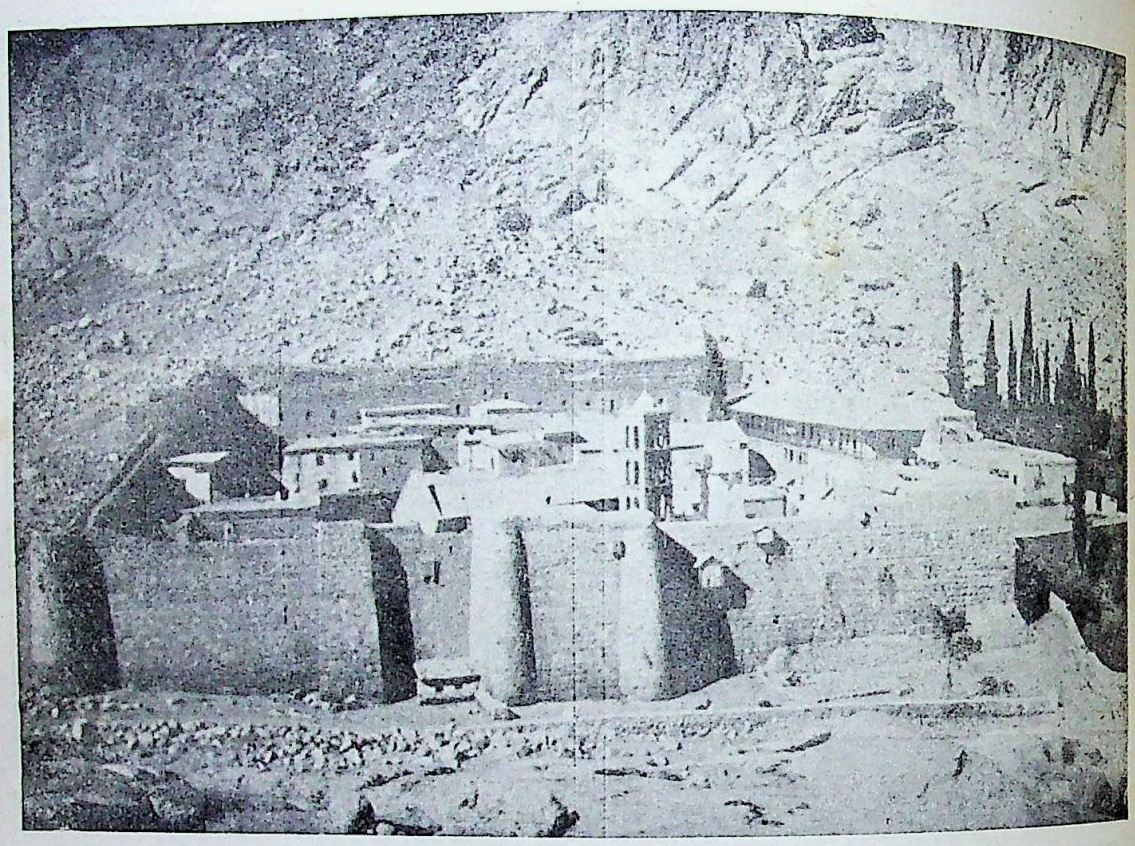
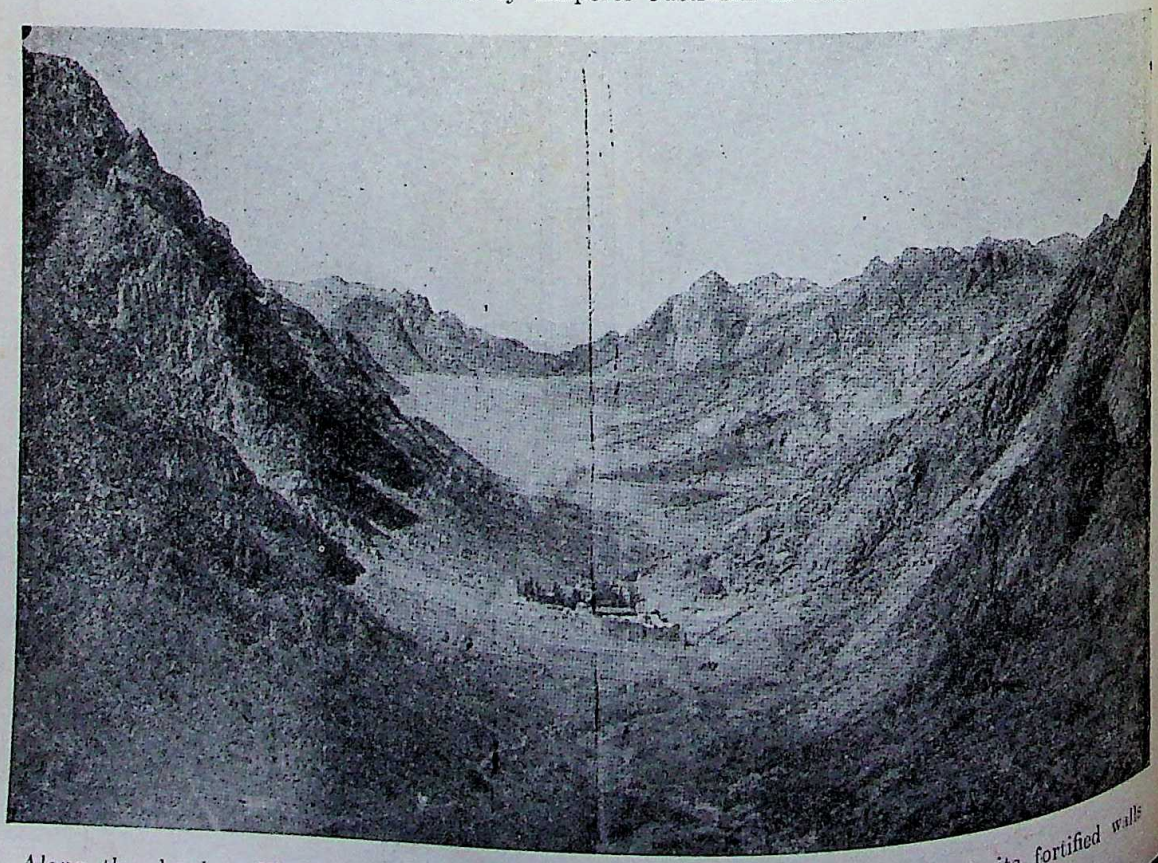


Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai
It was founded by Emperor Justinian in A.D. 559



Along the desolate Wadi ed Deir, in which the Convent of St. Catherine with its fortified walls shines like a jewel, lies the path to Gebel Musa

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NEW ROMANTICISM

By Prof. SUNIL KUMAR BOSE, M.A.

...so what is romanticism? Like Jesting Pilate one might cynically ask without waiting for a reply. For romanticism has gathered during all this time only a ...ability about it which gives a vague and faint ...escence but no clear light. This is because ...antic experience itself is very often vague, ...ding and formless, tending sometimes to become ...anarchical. It is naturally difficult to fix upon, ...concrete terms, the evanascent essence of this ...tant experience. Like Browning's thread it ...ally tantalises. Critics, however, have analysed ...ticism, focussed upon its inner depths from ...ual standpoints. A classification of the different ...aches to romanticism will be illuminating here. ...Watts-Dunton and others would insist upon ...element of wonder and strangeness being its ...ence. Another group of critics—Herford, for ...ple—would look upon romanticism as "an extra-...ary development of imaginative sensibility." A ...group of critics would represent romanticism as ...spirit of revolt, Grierson, for example. The sur-...ists—of whom Herbert Read seems to be an ...ent—would go further than that and identify ...ticism with the "principles of life, of creation, ...liberation," and classicism with the "principle of ..., control and repression." Classicism in their ...is the intellectual counterpart of political ...y, and romanticism, of liberation. Yet another ..., represented by Wyndham Lewis, would view ...ism as denoting something solid, permanent, ...upon sound common sense, and romanticism as ...ing, "dishevelled, ethereal, misty," and change-...Again, another opinion insists that romanticism is ...to medievalism which is a collective name for ...y things.

These definitions or rather descriptions of ...ticism—and such an abstraction as romanticism ...more amenable to description than definition—are ...or less satisfactory but do not reach any finality. ...identify romanticism with medievalism is only to ...its fringes where it contains some elements ...are probably accidental accretions rather than ...ingredients. Wonder is, of course, an element ...but wonder, for the matter of that, is an element ...to all poetry. When a modern poet writes ...ently on a sky-scraper or a pylon or a railway ...it is the same wonder that is radiated into his ...Similarly, this ancient wonder was stirring ...the magnificent choruses of 'Prometheus Vinc-...' What Sophocles heard on the Aegean long ago ...the eternal rhythm of the same mystery, and ...destiny, sitting in Sphinx-like silence, moved him with inscrutable wonder to eloquent outbursts. Mere wonder therefore can not explain romanticism. Wonder only kindles emotion. But the aesthetic shape it assumes in the process of being expressed, depends upon the pattern of mind that moulds it and gives it either romantic or classic character.

Mr. Lewis approaches romanticism in a spirit which recognises the peculiar modes of romantic expression. Going deeper into the core of it, one comes across various factors, aesthetic and historical, which go to explain its peculiar character. From the foregoing accounts of romanticism, it will appear that it has got, broadly speaking, two aspects, an imagination-aspect and a revolt-aspect. Imagination, however, is not absent in the revolt. But the extraordinary development of imaginative sensibility, a total enfranchisement of imagination, lends it aesthetic value and helps in a newer co-ordination and synthesis. Imagination is a common element. But in some cases, imagination creates beauty for the sake of beauty, but in other cases, it encourages revolt and inspires a passion for the future.

In its revolt-aspect, it is more sociological than artistic. All values, as we know, originate from the individual and poetry is woven out of the individual's reaction to the world. Historically speaking, ages of romantic movements have also been ages of political and social upheavals. In such ages it is seen that time goes out of joint, the individual mind becomes disintegrated, revolts against accepted values and turns upon itself, and finally becomes an isolated point in society. It is here that romanticism begins. It begins in the individual artist's de-socialised solitary soul, stormy and seething with discontent, or at times, reaching out for a new social equilibrium. A value thus originating from the tempestuous seat of an individual's feeling and volition goes out new-born and alone, but charged with a new spiritual and intellectual electricity, to create out of the shattered present a new heaven and a new earth, which it often fails to do, and then to reach out into the glorious dawn of the unborn future for fulfilment, harmony and synthesis. Here do the poets become unacknowledged legislators of the world. When these personal values bursting out of the shells of the individual's mind become de-personalised and socialised, when ashes and sparks have actually not only quickened but consolidated a new birth, the storm ceases, there is calm of belief and acceptance, and impersonal and universal standards of judgment afford moorings to the wandering soul; romanticism ceases and emerges classicism which means pattern, order, normalcy and

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standardisation. Romanticism and classicism are thus two stages in the socialisation of personal values, from their inception to their social acclimatisation.

Again, it will be seen that romanticism manifests itself in two aspects, each representing distinct social epochs or social trends. When the disintegration of the individuals from the world begins, it takes one particular form,—generally, a form of intense individualism, a desperate inward search, a feeding upon one's own inner mind. This is one aspect. Then as a result of this stagnated emotional existence within the limits of one's own brains and sensations, a healthy and natural outflow is irrigated out into the world, into the present and into the future, in search of normal living space, normal world-communion. It is here that attempts at synthesis begin. The Ivory Tower shakes. The magic mirror cracks. The morbid individualist dies and is resurrected into a prophetic vision of the future.

The English poetry of the war, post-war and between two-wars-period is intensely romantic. Romantic expression has changed, but romantic feeling stirs stubbornly at the centre of the creative impulse. Among the poets of the post-war generation, Eliot alone presents some difficulty. His apparently unromantic gesture, his dry, matter-of-fact manner of looking at things, the deep current of satire and irony that waters the course of his poetry, would naturally lead an unsuspecting critic into thinking that he is an un-romantic reaction against the decadent romanticism of Georgian poetry. But the post-war period was one of stark disillusionment and tragic indecision. Preparedness for a break-down of poetic tradition as this age witnessed, had already begun, the war only hastening its consummation. Of this period Eliot was a typical poet, with his heritage of anarchy full upon his shoulders and he exposed the modern Waste Land peopled by its hollowmen in its nakedness. A chronicler of this sterile and decadent life in verse, Eliot remains, not an un-romantic poet, but a dissatisfied romanticist, a superb example of what may be called negative romanticism.

Pound before the war and after it, specially, for his *Cantos* are post-war products, and Eliot after the war, represent the strong discontent consequent upon dis-orientation and confusion of values. The discoveries of new scientific laws and new advances in philosophic thought which characterise the twentieth century had come into conflict with accepted creeds and cherished dogmas, and had immense possibility for creating a re-valuation of values and sending man on an inward errand into his own unfathomed soul. Then came war and a storm swept away the beliefs of the war-torn generation, involving the poets, the most sensitive points in the society, into a complete moral and spiritual cataclysm. With a bleak and sordid objective world to communicate with, they preferred to jump headlong into the unplumbed depths of their own soul and explored the twilight regions of their own subconscious. This is what we find in Eliot and Pound. Eliot's poems are highly introspective, the result of an inward turning of the eye, revealing the inner process of consciousness. The same thing is found in Pound also, specially, in *Cantos*, where, as a result of too exclusive individualism, pursued with occult seclusion, a stagnation, and finally, an anarchy, rule over all sense of poetry and art (in spite of the eloquent title the *Cantos* earned as 'the divine comedy of the twentieth century'). But both Pound and Eliot are romantic. Pound's pre-war poems were fairly sane but not his *Cantos*. The pressure of the swelling, seething subconscious was already too great, and the war deepened and intensified it to the flood-level, until it engulfed him completely in the *Cantos*. Pound is romantic because in him there is an extraordinary development of imaginative sensibility which has helped him not only to adventure into the wide wide world which all poets do, but also to explore the depths of his own un-rational and instinctive mind. So also is Eliot. Changeful, elusive, allusive, Eliot appears at the first instance to be the very antithesis of romanticism. But all through his poems there is a deep undertone of sensibility, and elusive interplay of imagination, that would admit no convention of form and expression, but embody the emotional moods in highly intellectualised and unconventional patterns. "What the Thunder Says" in *Waste Land* may well illustrate his imaginative sensibility. Surrealism may also be said to represent this kind of romanticism, in which the solid material reality outside evaporates and the process of consciousness comes out naked.

But romanticism has taken another shape, a more reassuring one. Here also imagination which is the basis of all poetry has passed through a highly stimulating process, so that it is no longer content to remain confined within the charted limits of the previous ages, but passes daringly out into the unknown in search of new synthesis of life. Elements of modern life have passed into the chemistry of poetry making it very rich. To pluck poetry out of steel and stone, out of darkness and despair, out of wars and destruction, is no easy affair. But poetry is wedded to *zeitgeist*. Imagination flies freer than before and beauty takes a new, if rude and contorted, shape. The steel and steel have their poetry no less than pansies and pinks. How do the poets describe the pylons? They are the symbols of the future:

The statement of their steel
Contradicts nature's softer architechture.
* * *
Yet they are the outposts of the trekking future.
Into the thatch-hung consciousness of hamlets
They blaze new thoughts, new habits.
Traditions
Are being trod down like flowers droppen by children.
Already that farm boy striding and throwing seed
* * *
Looks grey with antiquity as his dead forebears,
A half-familiar figure out of the Georgics,

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Bedecked by these new-world, rational towers.
(Pylons, Stanley Snaith).

To Spender also pylons stand as similar symbols and their beauty stirs the poet's imagination to its depths :

Pylons, those pillars
Bare like nude, giant girls that have no secret.
* * * *
But far above and far as sight endures
Like whips of anger
With lightning's danger
There runs the quick perspective of the future.

It is interesting to note how the poet describes the beauty of the machine with romantic fervour :

What nudity as beautiful as this
Resident monster purring at its toil ;
Those naked muscles dripping oil,
And the sure-fingered rods that never miss ?
(Portrait of a Machine, L. Untermeyer).

In describing an aeroplane Spender's imagination is inspired with a new conception of beauty :

More beautiful and soft than any moth
With burring furred antennae feeling its huge path
Through dusk, the air-liner with shut-off engines
Glides over suburbs and the sleeves set trailing tall
To point the wind. Gently, broadly, she falls
Scarcely disturbing the charted currents of air.

C. Day Lewis, even when he does not glorify machine-age, can not get away from machine-image which has entered into the pith and marrow of his poetry, intensifying his romanticism. Poems 3 and 5 of his *Magnetic Mountain* are allegories based upon machine-image :

Iron in the soul,
Spirit steeled in fire,
Needle trembling on the truth
These shall draw me there.—(Poem 3).

Similarly his vision of the new world is clothed in machine-images :

Bore
Through the tough crust. Oh learn to feel
A way in darkness to good ore.
You are the magnet and the steel.
Out of the dark a new world flowers.
There in the womb, in the rich veins
Are tools, dynamos, bridges, towers,
Your tractors and your travelling-cranes.
(*The Magnetic Mountain*, 28)

This is one attitude. Another attitude is that of a romantic longing for the future. Socio-political questions have been uppermost in the minds of the younger generation of poets of the post-war period, such as Day Lewis, Auden and Spender. Auden diagnoses the inner disease of the society dramatically and poetically and then wants to cure it.

Give us power and light, a sovereign touch
To extirpate weaning, the liar's quinsy, etc.
(Poem 30)

Day Lewis and Spender dream of the future. The post-war age, with its disintegration and social evils, created a deep unrest in the minds of the above poets, but the impact of socialistic ideas saved them from sinking into pure individualism. What we find in these poets is an attempt at a social synthesis, what has already been termed a stage in the socialisation of personal values. In their passion for a reformed world, they utter, with the zeal and fervour of Shelley, prophetic words about a healthier world. They do not escape into the Ivory Tower. They stand on the solid earth, sow the seeds and look up to the brilliant harvest of the future. In short, they synthesise themselves with the world, the present with the future. When Day Lewis speaks of the regenerated world, his voice is like Shelley's asking West Wind to scatter his words among mankind :

Make us a wind
To shake the world out of this sleepy sickness
Where flesh has dwindled and brightness waned.
* * * *
Make us the wind
From a new world that springs and gathers force,
Cleaning the air, cleaning the wound.
(*The Magnetic Mountain*, 31)

On his *Magnetic Mountain* there is a beacon signalling to a new age :

On our magnetic mountain a beacon burning
Shall sign the peace we hoped for, soon or late,
Clear over a clean earth, and all men turning
Like infant's eyes like sunflowers to the light.
(No. 36)

Similar prophetic passion is also evident in Spender's poems, *e.g.*, "After They Have Tired."

Where lies romanticism ? It lies in the imaginative venture into the unplumbed depths of the soul, in the almost idealistic disregard for external reality as such and concentration on the inner reality of the mind. It lies in the new imaginative mapping up and charting of the modern age of mechanism, with its tractors, dynamos and air-liners, throbbing with a new quivering intensity ; in the holding of the mirror up to science, so to say ; in the gathering of ever richer ingredients for poetry. It lies in the imaginative exploration of the rough and rugged mountain pass that will take us to the new world whose glowing outline looms alluringly in the perspective. In the overthrow of values, there is romanticism, because it involves a certain imaginative venture. In the recreation of values too there is romanticism, because there imagination is called upon to a more difficult task, a far richer and more complicated process of synthesis. In modern poetry, we witness both.

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BACKGROUND OF THE SECOND SINO-JAPANESE WAR (1937-45)

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

The catastrophe that has been again and again overtaking human culture and civilisation for many years past will in the long run involve our species and all that it has built up through centuries of tedious labour unless the existing social and political set-up are radically changed. And the sooner this change comes, the better.

In the year 1930, the Nanking National Government had just established its authority, albeit superficial, over China. The Second Chinese Revolution (1926-27) had ended and the Nanking National Government had just come into being. Northern China and Manchuria acknowledged the authority of Nanking. It should not be supposed however that China was out of the woods as yet. Nor she is today. Nor will she be unless her internal differences are composed the essential pre-condition of which is the cessation of foreign intervention in China.

In the opening years of the fourth decade of the 20th century, the Chinese Communists were building up their strength in Kiangsi on the southern bank of the Yangtse. In 1931, they established the Chinese Soviet Government and organised the Chinese Red Army. The expedition sent by the Nanking Government against the Communists ended in a failure which considerably undermined the prestige of the National Government.

The Communist-Kuomingtang conflict was in itself a stumbling-block in the path of the unification of China. To make confusion worse confounded, there were bitter rivalries amongst the Kuomingtang party-bosses themselves. The prestige, popularity and power of Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Nationalist Government, were an eyesore to not a few. Of these Wang Ching-wei deserves special mention. It was Wang who in 1927 had set up the Wuhan Government in collaboration with the Communists and the Left-wing of the Kuomintang. He subsequently went over to the Japanese in 1939 and after the fall of Nanking, capital of Nationalist China, became the head of the Japanese-sponsored Government there. Wang set an agitation on foot against Chiang in 1931. Two of the principal Northern Chinese Generals made common cause with him and stirred up a violent revolution in the north. Chiang Kai-shek, however, crushed this revolt with comparative ease. Differences between the Kwungsi war-lords and the Kuomingtang created new complications in the south.

Japan had in the meanwhile kept a vigilant eye on the trend, tempo and temper of China's internal bickerings. She had long cherished the desire of swooping down upon China at the first opportunity. She was very eager to annex the three northern provinces, namely, Heilung-kiang, Liaoning and Chilin or Kirin, which together are better known to foreigners as Manchuria. It was with this end in view that she had been for many years past extending her influence and consolidating her position in this region. This forward Japanese policy was one of the main causes of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. Every student of history knows how the Russian Titan was brought to his knees by the Japanese pigmy. By the Treaty of Portsmouth signed in 1905, Russia surrendered her railway rights over Manchuria to Japan and withdrew from Manchuria, reluctantly though. Japan at once set herself to the task of consoliditing her newly acquired gains. Under the provisions of the Treaty of Portsmouth referred to above the South Manchurian Railway was strongly guarded by the Japanese army. A large number of Japanese were appointed to various Government services in Manchuria. Fortune-hunters in not inconsiderable members settled down in the country. It might be noted in passing that colonisation of Manchuria was never a very popular proposition in Japan.

Manchuria, rich in natural resources, has a very fertile soil. During years of famine and of failure of crops the Chinese in their thousands from Northern China in general and from Hopei, Shantung and Honan in particular would migrate to Manchuria beyond the Great Walls in quest of food and shelter. In this way the population of Manchuria had nearly doubled during the years 1905-31.

While Japan was tightening her stranglehold on Manchuria, "prostitutes, criminals, bandits, tramps, and general good-for-nothings, scum that the great Japanese Empire cast off from its stores, poured into Manchuria to make their fortunes."* Goods, the entry of which was banned, were smuggled into the country. The sale of opium and other narcotics increased manifold. Venereal diseases became very common in the Japanese-occupied areas. Some of the Japanese immigrants were appointed 'advisers' to the Japanese army of occupation in Manchuria. They could, by virtue of their office, go everywhere without any late or hindrance. They utilised this opportunity to collect data useful from the military point of view and despatched the same to Japan. As luck would have it, these informers, quite unconsciously, did more disservice than service to their motherland. By instigating Japan against China in various ways they stood in the way of a peaceful solution of the Sino-Japanese differences. The wrong information supplied by them led Tokyo to believe that China would collapse like a house of cards at the very first impact. These 'China experts' however failed to discern the new national awakening in China and to gauge its magnitude and intensity.

The verdict of history is that Japan committed a very grave and costly blunder by invading China. The offensive nevertheless was assumed at a very opportune moment. We have to go back to the opening years of the thirties. The Kuomintang army was pre-occupied with the Communists in Central China. The National Government had neither the time nor the inclination

* *A Short History of Chinese Civilisation* by Tsui Chi, p. 305

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to pay attention to anything else. The inundation of the Hoang Ho and the Yangtsekiang—the most destructive floods of these two rivers in recorded history had devastated a vast area of the country. Hundreds of thousands of families were drowned while many times more than this were confronted with starvation in the following winter for the consequent failure of crops. The Japanese invasion, which began in autumn when distress was acute and discontent at its highest, was thus very well-timed.

An explosion blew off a railway bridge on the South Manchurian Railway in the immediate vicinity of Mukden, the capital of Liaoning, at 10 in the evening on September 18, 1931. Japan laid the responsibility at the door of the Chinese army under General Chang Hsueh-liang of Manchuria. The Japanese army attacked the sleeping Chinese army in the barracks and exterminated it. Mukden was at once occupied.

All these were pre-arranged. Ameletto Vespa, an Italian, says in his book *Secret Agents of Japan* :

"The Japanese troops stationed at Liaoyang, Yingkow and Fenghuangchen had, the day before the incident, received their orders to advance on Mukden at 3 p.m. on September 18th. Seven hours before the alleged explosion they had already started towards their destination. By 4 a.m. of the 19th, only six hours after the alleged explosion, thousands of printed posters had already been posted on the walls of Mukden and in these it was said that the Manchurian Government was discredited, since it had ordered an attack on the Japanese railway."

Simultaneously with the occupation of Mukden the Chinese air-base in its suburbs together with 500 aeroplanes fell in the hands of Japan. China did not find time to offer any opposition at all. On the following day, that is, on September 19, Japan occupied 18 Manchurian towns. Within less than a fortnight more than half the towns of Liaoning and Chilin had passed into the hands of Japan.

This crisis in the Far East created confusion and uncertainties among the nations, which had economic, political and strategic interests in that theatre. The situation was forced upon all concerned that something must be done. But there were wide divergences of opinion as to what was to be done and how it was to be done. For a century and more the Western powers had acted upon the theory that China lacked the intellect and ability to set her own house in order by solving her internal problems. They believed that the things which really mattered were the things done to China, or in China or about China by the great powers." This trend of thought influenced the China policy of the powers. They did not do what they ought to have done. The great powers held the view that any attempt to save China from the clutches of Japan was purely altruistic. None believed that in the sphere of international politics China might be helped against Japan with as much profit as Japan against Russia.

Two arguments were advanced by some of the Western nations in support of Japan's China policy. For one thing, China fully freed from foreign control "would be an unruly country" and this would irrevocably disturb and finally destroy the international balance of power in the Far East. So, if Japan assumes responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in China, none should oppose or be alarmed. For the other, what really matters in Far Eastern politics is not the Sino-Japanese relations, "the real issue was not between Japan and China at all, but between Japan and Russia." The supporters of this view argued that the Japanese invasion of Manchuria was definitely a move against Russia. Japan, they believed, would surely utilise Manchuria as a base of operations against Russia. If Japan won an easy victory, then for many years to come she would be pre-occupied with the arrangements for the fullest exploitation of the undeveloped regions of Eastern Siberia. She would have to approach England and France with a beggar's bowl for the capital necessary for the industrialisation of these regions. Hence she would have to maintain cordial relations with these powers perforce. If, on the other hand, the conquest of Siberia proved a tough proposition, the Western Democracies had nothing to lose. On the pretext of helping Japan against Russia they would recover their lost prestige in the Far East.

The Chinese people and their Government, placed as they were between the strong Japanese determination to grab Manchuria on the one hand and the indifference of the powers on the other, were puzzled and confused. China realised that the new Japanese menace was not a mere 20th century version of the 19th century Japanese imperialism. She could not be prevailed upon to abandon her policy this time by the cession of new treaty ports, lease of some new province or greater economic concessions. It was clear that Japan aimed at annexing not merely the vast and immensely rich north-eastern regions of China. The realisation dawned upon China's countless millions that the future of the Celestial Kingdom hinged on the outcome of the struggle that had just begun. If China went down, her independence, nay, her very existence as a nation would be relegated to the limbo of the past.

To take up the thread again. The Chinese Government remained inactive in the face of Japanese aggression. The Chinese army in Manchuria was ordered to retreat. Directives were issued to avoid collisions with the Japanese at all costs. The Government placed the matter before the League of Nations which was then in session at Geneva. China as well as Japan were members of the League. The Japanese spokesman assured the assembled League delegates that Japan had no intention of annexing Manchuria. All the while the Japanese army was advancing in Manchuria, China sat scrupulously inactive in expectation of intervention by the League of Nations.

England and France, the two leaders of the League, were frankly reluctant to go to war with Japan over the Manchurian issue. The U.S.A., which, by the way, was not a member, proposed to send warships to the

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Pacific. She insisted at the same time that England must do the same. On the latter's failure to agree nothing came out of this proposal. Talks of removing Japanese troops from the railway zone and of creating an international zone in Manchuria were also heard. While all these talks were going on, the Japanese army was steadily continuing its advance in Manchuria. At last a commission of enquiry was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Lytton. The commission reached Harbin in May, 1932, more than six months after the Japanese war machine had been set in motion against Manchuria. Japan had fully exploited the time she had gained to subdue Manchuria and to set up puppet Governments in all its three provinces.

Japanese authorities did everything in their power to prevent the Lytton Commission from getting at the truth. Special detectives were engaged to keep watch over the hotels in which the members of the Commission were accommodated. Only such attendants were engaged in three hotels as would not accept bribes or divulge the truth even at the cost of their lives. Quite a large number of Chinese were clapped behind the prison bars on suspicion of being in correspondence with the members of the Commission. Unlawful correspondence with the Commission, that is, correspondence which had not received the imprimatur of the Japanese authorities, was declared a capital offence.

Needless to say, the report of the Commission could not but be one-sided. Japan resigned her membership of the League of Nations shortly afterwards. The Manchurian incident exposed the inherent weakness of the League and the utter hollowness of its tall talks which had roused high hopes among the disinherited humanity all the world over.

Japan, however, got frightened at the Chinese reaction to the rape of Manchuria and to the inactivity of the Nanking Government. An anti-Japanese boycott movement had already come into existence. The agitation was now intensified. Chinese shopkeepers refused to serve Japanese customers. Chinese banks refused to have any monetary transaction with Japanese commercial establishments. A bitter discontent pervaded the entire student community and student demonstrations were organised in various places. The anti-Japanese sentiment was at its strongest in Shanghai.

Following a minor skirmish between some Chinese and Japanese citizens in a street of Shanghai an infuriated Japanese mob raided and practically destroyed the Three Friends Industry Association, a well-known commercial establishment of Shanghai. This was followed by what was to all intents and purposes a Sino-Japanese war in Shanghai. Japanese navy in the harbour shelled the city and reduced the Commercial Press and the Eastern Library to ruins. The former was the largest book-selling organisation in China while in the latter was to be found the largest collection of ancient Chinese works. A large number of very valuable manuscripts of the 9th to the 13th centuries were also preserved here. The Japanese Admiral made no secret of his resolve to save at all costs his nationals in Shanghai. The English and the U. S. A. legations were informed that the city would be captured within the following four hours.

In the face of all these grave provocations, the Nanking Government remained as inactive as ever. It fondly awaited the decision of the League of Nations over Manchuria. The Nineteenth Army of the Chinese Government posted in Shanghai at the time however refused to retreat before the onrushing Japanese army. The former was backed by progressive public opinion. Three Japanese Commanders were replaced in quick succession. Re-inforcements from Japan were rushed. The conflict assumed serious proportions in Chapei on the Nanking-Shanghai Railway. A detachment of the Japanese army disembarked at Liuho on the southern bank of the Yangtse to the north of Shanghai. The Nineteenth Army had to fall back. A Sino-Japanese peace-pact signed at this stage through the intervention of England put an end to the hostilities. Japanese troops were then withdrawn from Shanghai and its suburbs under the supervision of an impartial commission.

While the fight in Shanghai was in progress, Japan had captured Jehol to the west of Liaoning and just outside the Great Walls. The next step of Japan was to create a new state named Manchukuo, which included Jehol and the whole of Manchuria. Mr. Henry Pu Yi, the ci-devant Manchu Emperor, who had abdicated in 1912 and had since embraced Christianity, was declared the Emperor of Manchukuo. But he was only a puppet in the hands of Japan. It should be noted that the Nanking Government did not recognise Manchukuo as an independent state nor Mr. Pu Yi as its ruler.

In her attempt to capture Hopei to the east of Peiping in January, 1933, Japan encountered a tough resistance at the hands of the local Chinese garrison—the Twenty-ninth Army. Nanking still clung—piteously rather—to the view that the Sino-Japanese conflict could be resolved peacefully and a Sino-Japanese armistice was signed on May 13, 1933. Japan extended her power to Hopei after this.

The National Government seeks to justify its policy of appeasement on the following grounds. In the first place, General Chiang Kai-shek, who was and still is the Dictator of China, believed that the League of Nations was sincere in its desire of protecting the weaker nations from the tyranny and exploitation of the stronger ones and that it did not lack the necessary power. Secondly, for a long time even after the League bubble had burst Chiang was under the influence of the traitor Wang Shing-wai, an arch-protagonist of the pro-Japanese policy. Thirdly, the Communist-Kuomintang conflict in Central China had assumed such formidable proportions about this time that it was quite impossible for Chiang to send re-inforcements to Nanking China to stem the tide of Japanese invasion. Not be-

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frequently would he be heard to say, "To resist foreign aggression, China must first be united." Not a few agreed with him.

Disappointed and disgusted with the pro-Japanese Government policy a considerable proportion of the young intelligentsia rallied under the banner of the Chinese Communist Party. The number of such recruits was ever on the increase. The Government was in consequence confronted with a major crisis from within. There were other factors besides, which undermined the prestige and popularity of the Nanking Government.

It has been seen already how Japan had expanded itself to the east of Peiping. Annexation of large parts of China had only whetted her greed. She now hit upon the idea of creating another puppet state, namely, the North China Autonomous State, which was to comprise the five northern provinces of Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Chahar and Suiyuan. For the attainment of her object without war she offered the headship of the projected State to Sung Che-yuan, a North Chinese General. The offer, however, was conditional on Sung cutting off all connections with Nanking. If he was agreeable, the Japanese army would defend his 'home' against all attacks. Sung having rejected the offer with the contempt it merited, Japan's aims were frustrated for the time being.

The year 1935 afforded an admirable opportunity to Japan. The floods of the Hoang Ho and the Yangtse devastated a very wide area of China. The people were reduced to desperate straits. Food, clothes and shelter monopolised the time and energy of all. None had any ability nor the morale to fight the foreign foe. The Italo-Abyssinian war having broken out in the meantime, international attention diverted from the Far East was focussed in the Middle East. Japan did not let this opportunity slip. With little opposition from China she created a so-called kingdom to the East of Peiping. East Hopei was the name given to this "State" and Yin Ju-keng, a Chinese fifth columnist, was placed at the helm of affairs.

East Hopei under Yin Ju-keng was declared a free-trade country. Japanese silk and cotton textiles, drugs, medicines and alcoholic preparations in huge quantities were dumped in Eastern Hopei. There being no regular and well-defined boundary line between Japanese-controlled East Hopei and the rest of the country, which owed allegiance to Nanking, Japanese goods made their way duty-free into the very heart of China. A colossal pecuniary loss was inflicted on the National Government. During the eleven months from January to December, 1936, Nanking's loss of customs duties totalled to £15,000,000. The European and American merchants too were subjected to a heavy boycott. Anti-Japanese sentiments which were already very strong in China, now struck deeper roots than before and were intensified a hundredfold.

In 1936, Japan initiated a series of abortive talks with China to come to terms with her on condition of outright collaboration and extermination of the 'Communist bandits.' The conditions were unacceptable to Chiang Kai-shek and hence nothing came out of these talks. Japan now demanded the resignation of Chiang Kai-shek. This helped to restore the rapidly waning popularity of Chiang. In June two Kuomintang Generals—Chen Chih-tung and Li Tsung-jen—one posted in Kwantung and the other in Kwangsi unfurled the standard of revolt aganst Nanking at the instance of Japan and with her help. The revolution of the latter was however motivated by the desire of lashing the Nationalist Government into activity against the Japanese aggressor. Nanking put down the revolt with little difficulty.

Japan next directed her attention to the creation of a puppet Mongolian Empire in North-Western China. She hoped that if the project materialised, it would not be very difficult for her to advance towards the South and the West and to found a Japanese-controlled Muslim empire comprising Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu—all constituent units of the Chinese Republic. In this way Central China would be encircled, the north alone remaining open. This would facilitate Japanese penetration into the vast hinterland of Asia.

Japan approached Prince Teh, a Mongolian nobleman, who had some grievances against the Nationalist Government. So when Japan offered him the throne of the contemplated Mongol Empire, he readily agreed. In May, 1936, his tiny army was despatched to North China at Japan's instance. The army was made up of Teh's own followers and a large number of treacherous Chinese bandits. This army was equipped by Japan. The Mongol Military State was established in North China. Japan now made ready to annex Suiyuan and Ningsha.

While the Japanese army was forging ahead in Suiyuan, the Japanese Ambassador in Nanking was carrying on negotiations with the National Government. Lest the attempt at compromise should fail, the Government gave directions that even in the face of Japanese offensive, the Kuomintang army must not do anything more than defend itself and must by no means launch any counter-attack. Japan too wanted this. Towards the end of 1936 the Chinese army in Suiyuan disobeyed the orders of the Government, chased the vanquished Japanese army and recaptured two important military bases. Till the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Japan made no further attempt to advance in Suiyuan.

In December, 1936, there was a rapprochement between the Communists and the Kuomintang following the capture of Chiang Kai-shek at Sian by the troops of General Chang Hsueh-liang and his subsequent release through the intervention of the Communists, among others. The reconciliation placed China in a stronger position than before. Japan took fright.

The Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) was by no means of China's seeking. It was, on the contrary, thrust upon her. For two years or thereabouts before its outbreak

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reports would appear from time to time in the Japanese press of the disappearance of one or more Japanese citizens in China. Such reports were followed by Sino-Japanese skirmishes on many occasions. Japan was on the look-out for an opportunity to use any one of these 'disappearances' as a *casus belli*. The story narrated below clearly proves that these reports of disappearance were sometimes, if not always, concocted. Mr. Muramoto, the Japanese Vice-Consul at Nanking was once missing. It was officially announced from Tokyo that Muramoto had been murdered by the Chinese and that the murder would be avenged. Muramoto was subsequently found on the Purple and Golden Hills in the suburbs of Nanking. Questioned by the police why he had thus concealed himself. Muramoto confessed that he had been secretly ordered by his Government to commit suicide. He had heard that the Purple and Golden Hills were infested with wild beasts and that he had been to the Hills to be devoured by the denizens thereof.

Japan had forcibly concentrated troops in Hopei in North China without any semblance of justice or legality. The Chinese 29th Army was encamped close to the Japanese barracks. The latter, by the way, was the same army, which in 1933 under General Sung Cheh-yuan had stoutly resisted the Japanese occupation of East Hopei. The close proximity of the enemy was galling and without doubt painful to the patriotic 29th Army. The Japanese army in Hopei treated the Chinese in a manner as if they were a defeated people. In consequence of the policy of Jap-appeasement pursued by Nanking the Chinese people and the 29th Army had to put up with the pin-pricks and indignities heaped upon them by Japan. Their discontent having been denied all outlets was driven underground.

On July 6, 1937, the Japanese army in Hopei organised a demonstration manoeuvre at Wanping near Peiping. The Japanese army returned to the barracks at sundown. It was discovered at the time of roll-call that a soldier had not come back. The Japanese complained that the missing soldier had been kidnapped by the Chinese. The soldier in question however came back and reported himself to the appropriate authorities within a few hours. Japan nevertheless insisted that a joint Sino-Japanese committee must be formed "to settle the permanent disturbances between the two armies." China yielded and a joint committee was formed accordingly. The Japanese members of the committee demanded the withdrawal of the Chinese army from Wanping. China was perfectly within her rights to reject the demand. Japanese troops now fired on the Marco Polo Bridge on the road leading from Peiping to Wanping. Chinese troops promptly took up the challenge and replied fire with fire. The long-apprehended Sino-Japanese war broke out with consequences that are now matter of history.

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FEMINISM AS A SOCIAL FORCE

By HARIDAS MUKHERJEE,
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Ours is an age of revolution. Its temper pervades the entire social atmosphere. One of the greatest factors in this rapidly changing *milieu* is the scientific technique which is daily undermining the bottom of the old social system. It has shaken man's faith in what age has sanctified. Under its pressure the old order is crumbling. Man is developing a new temper, a new psychology. This new mood has also invaded the psychology of our country. Even in the heart of the Indian women a spirit of revolution is throbbing today. Our Bengali women too have been profoundly moved by the passion peculiar to the age. Subjected so long to the tyranny of man, the Bengali women are to-day rising to their feet and growing impatient to break off all social chains. Their faith in the traditional measures of values has been undermined and they are stoutly refusing to be bound by a code of conduct different from men's. Thus their psychology is rapidly changing. They have grown today impatient in their cry for emancipation and their once chaotic cry has been for years past increasingly assuming the status of a conscious, creative movement. This feature is growingly setting its stamp on the social pattern. The present paper is an attempt at an objective analysis of the socio-economic forces leading to the birth and growth of "Feminism" as a new cultural category.

Historically considered, Feminism as a type of socio-economic movement is startlingly modern, and more so in Bengal. Nowhere in the patriarchal world,—ancient, medieval and modern,—there was any ideology of Feminism before the nineteenth century. Feminism symbolises a cry for female emancipation— emancipation from masculine sway and from the tyranny of patriarchal culture. Its first and foremost item is her economic independence and along with it, her emancipation on other fronts of life. Such ideas and ideals as embodied in Feminism are strikingly modern from the historical point of view.

Many scholars and historians are used to believing that the Western women always enjoyed "social freedom," whereas their Indian sisters were ever subjected to masculine tyranny. Such an attitude is awfully defective and has hardly any basis in the world of reality. When we peep into the medieval history of Europe and study it critically, we are at once convinced of the degrading lot of Western women. Their condition was as pitiful as that of their Eastern sisters. Socially they lived a secluded life, far away "from the madding crowd." Everywhere they were treated as just toys of masculine pleasure and their economic dependence resulted in their subjection to the husband. The law did not recognise them as

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separate units because of their economic subjection. With economic subjection came social and political subjection too. This deplorable plight persisted all through the Middle Ages (5th-14th century A.D.). Then came the age of the Renaissance in the fifteenth century. It was a period of strife and turmoil. It marked a transition in the Western life. Medieval ideas and forces collapsed; new theories and forces sprang up out of the ashes of the old. The feudal philosophy yielded place to a "Liberal Ideology."[1] But even in that new ideology women were not accorded an independent status of their own. They were still fettered by man-made laws and conventions. Three centuries later came the French Revolution (1789-1799), shaking the very foundations of the "Ancien Regime." The revolutionary ideal was embodied in the historic doctrine of "liberty, equality and fraternity." In itself the doctrine sounds quite well, but in that particular context its social implications were exclusively meant for men. "The French Revolution apart from its stress on lofty abstractions, liberty and equality," rightly says Prof. Riker, "did nothing for the advancement of women."[2]

Next we pass on to the 'dynamic era' of the Industrial Revolution. In its origin it was earlier than the "Ideas of 1789,"[3] but its revolutionary impact upon the old economic structure hardly began prior to the nineteenth century. It is since the dawn of the nineteenth century, especially after 1815, that the unconscious and chaotic forces released by the Industrial Revolution, became consciously organised and under that vigorous pressure the old order rapidly changed, yielding place to new.[4] The new system of production opened up before women certain avenues of independent earning. More and more women workers were drawn away from domestic services to fields of gainful employment. Their economic independence and the resulting social interchange led the remarking of their personality. The changed and changing conditions fostered in them a new consciousness which enabled them to visualise a stage where men and women would be equal and free. Out of that vision into the new life gradually sprang up the demand for equality with men. It would be not merely a legal and political equality, but also an equality in the economic and social spheres. These ideas and pious wishes were symbolised in the category of "Feminism." It was only the 'sixties of the last century that the ideology of Feminism was effectively drawn up as England was concerned. It received an authoritative recognition in John Stuart Mill's *Subjection of Women*. It was published in 1869 and it did it with passion for the emancipation of women. It well to remember in this connection that as yet Feminism was hardly anything more than a pious wish. It was transformed into a concrete movement in the West only in the closing years of the nineteenth century. During the early decades of the twentieth century that movement rapidly gained mentionable dimensions in the West, bringing larger and larger doses of freedom to an increasing number of women. And today except in the Soviet Russia everywhere the Feministic movement is still far from the goal. Thus it is quite obvious that Feminism is an entirely novel experiment in history.* This is true as much of the East as of the West.

Let us now turn our attention to the history of our country, especially Bengal. It is from the termination of the World War I (1914-18) that we can reasonably trace the origin of Feminism in Bengal, nay, in India. Prior to the era of 1914-18 there was hardly any trace of Feminism in the Bengali social pattern.[5] In the *milieu* of the glorious Bengali Revolution (1905-14), the voice of Feminism was entirely inaudible. The Swadeshi Revolution was an intense outburst of our nationalistic sentiments and its architects were males and males alone. It does not follow that women workers were wholly unknown to the annals of that Revolutionary Epoch (1905-14). Certainly there were active female workers, but their number was not very great. Besides, even those few female workers had no clear vision of Feminism.[6] Its birth was registered only in the post-war era and it has assumed appreciable proportions only in recent years. Let us follow that process of development historically.

It has been already stated that Feminism as a type of social aspiration in Bengal is a post-war (1914-18) phenomenon. It was born not of individual yearning or revolutionary urge of a particular woman. Its emergence was inspired by the pressure of historical forces generated by a mal-adjusted economic pattern. The post-war life of Bengal, as elsewhere, was marked by utter economic mal-adjustment. Economic mal-adjustment and disharmony resulted in limitless restlessness and dissatisfaction in the minds of our women. Moved by discontent and pressed by poverty, the Bengali women began to abandon their old ways of living. So long they had been living in splendid isolation, fettered by domestic chains, but in the post-war era they began increasingly to break away from the icy chains and sought to be profitably employed in the diverse fields of social life. Economic dependence was in very many instances replaced by economic independence. Economic independence coupled with the revolutionary discontent resulting from their sex-repression caused by the male-dominated social pattern, urged them to challenge the validity of the existing system. Traditional ideas and values that so long gave significance to their actions

1. Harold Laski: *The Rise of European Liberalism* (London, 1936), p. 146.
2. T. W. Riker: *A Short History of Modern Europe* (New York, 1945), p. 146.
3. Frederic Harrison: *The Meaning of History* (London, 1906), p. 146.
4. G. M. Trevelyan: *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After* (London, 1945).

* Shib Dutt: *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta, 1934), pp. 89-90.

5. B. K. Sarkar: *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (Calcutta, 1941), pp. 136-140, and *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 552-54.

6. Haridas Mukherjee: *Biplaver Pathe Bangali Nari* (Calcutta, 1945).

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increasingly lost their hold on female psychology. In them was born a passionate yearning for a better order of things and out of that mental yearning emerged their claim for equality with the males. This moral claim was fed and encouraged by the changed and changing economic pattern of Bengal. It also drew strength and vitality from the general forces of democracy of the age and from the feministic ideologies of the West. Besides, the spread of scientific knowledge and the general enlightenment of the century lent force to Feminism which soon bade fair to be translated into a permanent reality in the Bengali social pattern.

No sooner the World War I had ended (1919) than impatient India rose up against obstinate British imperialism under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Civil Disobedience Movement was launched on a country-wide scale. The entire nation responded to the clarion call of non-co-operation. Men and women alike stregnthened that movement by their quota of contribution. In the midst of this general awakening and response, the Bengali women too were not lacking in patriotic zeal and revolutionary ardour. They also made valuable contributions to the cause of Civil Disobedience Movement (1920-22). Along with men, women also endured sufferings and courted imprisonments. Numerically they were certainly smaller than men, but qualitatively speaking, they exhibited as brilliant specimens of joyful sacrifices for the chosen ideal as their masculine comrades. Their sufferings and sacrifices for the cause of political revolution did not go unrewarded. Morally, the women gained much in self-respect and social prestige and by that fact alone their claim for equality with men was strengthened. Besides, there came to their lot material gains too. In 1926, the Bengal Provincial Government, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, partially extended to the women of the province the right to vote. It was based on "property qualifications." The Government of India Act of 1935 changed that basis of franchise, replacing it by "wifehood qualification and a lower educational qualification." Consequently the number of female voters largely increased. The new Act was put in practice in 1937. It opened up before women prospects of holding important offices in the Government, even ministerial jobs.[7] This enactment marked a significant triumph from the standpoint of Indian Feminism. Since 1937 the activities of women workers increased in volume and value. Their thoughts and aspirations found expression in literary works and social philosophies of the time. This organised cry for Feminism in works of art and culture gave in its turn a new impetus to that movement.[8]

Then came the World War II (1939-45). It gave a revolutionary push to the slowly growing Feminism in this country. With the outbreak of the war, the process of mobilisation started. There was sudden inflation of production and transportation and, consequently, there was inflation of employment too. The impact of this process was powerfully felt on the Indian life also. Prospects of earning were opened up in a startlingly rapid manner. Women workers also were drawn away more and more from domestic services. Due to the war, there was, on the one hand, [illegible] poverty at home and on the other, bright prospects of earning abroad. The Bengali women, placed in the same situation, felt more strongly ever than before the need for earning. They flocked in tens of thousands to factories, industries, offices and other civil and military departments. It was an unprecedented event in the history of Bengal. Innumerable women were gainfully employed in the war-situation. This organised economic independence and the resulting inter-human and intermental contacts developed in those women a new psychology consistent with the already growing Feminism in the country. In their soul was born a new restlessness and dissatisfaction with the old domestic pattern of living. They grew increasingly conscious of their social disabilities and were eager to break up the ancient basis of our patriarchal society. Even those who still remained in splendid domestic isolation were invaded by this new passion of the age. They also felt in their heart the throbbing of a new life. Thus in the "dynamic situation" caused by the war there was everywhere utter restlessness and discontent which began to transform the foundations of our society.

Today the war is over, but the new forces generated by it, are still struggling for self-assertion. There is still present everywhere an immense urge and drive for the post-war reconstruction. The Bengali women also are impatient to recreate the world they live in by their conscious endeavour and they are eager to crystallise their feministic demands into concrete realities. Though it is true that this novel surge of life is very limited to the middle-class women, nevertheless the significance of its revolutionary impact is not to be lost sight of by social scientists and philosophers. Besides, it is also a fact that in very many instances the urge of dissatisfaction in modern women is only blind and chaotic, yet even this blind passion is not destitute of revolutionary significance. It is also in a negative manner challenging the basis of our old social system and thereby unconsciously paving the path for its reconstruction. Lastly, there are also in the movement certain conscious and creative elements. And because they are conscious and creative, they constitute the strongest factors in the rising tide of challenge to the old pattern. Their role also has got to be properly evaluated in any scientific analysis of Feminism movement in our country.

7. Mrs. Lakshmi Menon : *The Position of Women* (India, Oxford Pamphlet, 1944).

8. Prof. Santi Sudha Ghose : *Nari* (Cal., 1940). It is a Bengali work dealing as it does with the revolutionary psychology of modern Bengali women. Another significant document to this effect is furnished by M. N. Roy : *Ideal of Indian Womanhood*, (Cal., 1941).

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FERTILISER MANUFACTURE FOR BENGAL

By T. R. DE, B.E., C.E., M.R.San.I. (Lond.)

Bengal is the poorest of all the provinces in India. She has the maximum density of population but the fertility of her lands is fast declining with the net result that Bengal which was once a surplus province from the point of view of food production has become a deficit province all round. The position has become extremely alarming and only irrigation is not at all sufficient to meet the situation. The lands need fertilisers very badly. The cultivators have practically no knowledge and inclination to improve the condition and the production of their lands with the help of fertilisers. Not to speak of artificial fertilisers—they do not even care to use the little farmyard manure that they have ready at their disposal. So they must be trained to the use of fertilisers and if necessary their hands must be forced for applying fertilisers to their lands. But at the same time it must be remembered that these fertilisers must be sold to them at quite a low price and to keep the price low it should, if necessary, be subsidised.

Now the question of the kind of fertiliser suitable for the land and its procurement comes in. The compost or the farmyard manure does not come in the review of the present article, of course. The ingredients that are required most by the soil are nitrogen, phosphate, potash and sometimes lime. The popular fertilisers are ammonium sulphate, ammonium phosphate, super-phosphate, etc., and in Bengal the most popular seems to be ammonium sulphate, mostly due to propaganda by the manufacturers of ammonium sulphate. It is also reported that a big plant is being installed with the help of the Government, in the coal-fields of Bengal for the manufacture of ammonium sulphate.

But before taking up such a costly scheme into hand, I think, the Government would do better to see ammonium sulphate is quite suitable for the soil of Bengal and if it will be proper to consume an imported material like sulphur for its manufacture and thus be dependent on an uncertain factor like shipping) and if it will be proper to use gypsum when we have to rail it all the way from the Punjab and Haryana and if such a good quality coal like the anthracite coal which is so badly needed for the industries should be consumed for the purpose, when there are tons of coal which might answer quite well for the manufacture of a fertiliser but is unsuitable for fuel purpose.

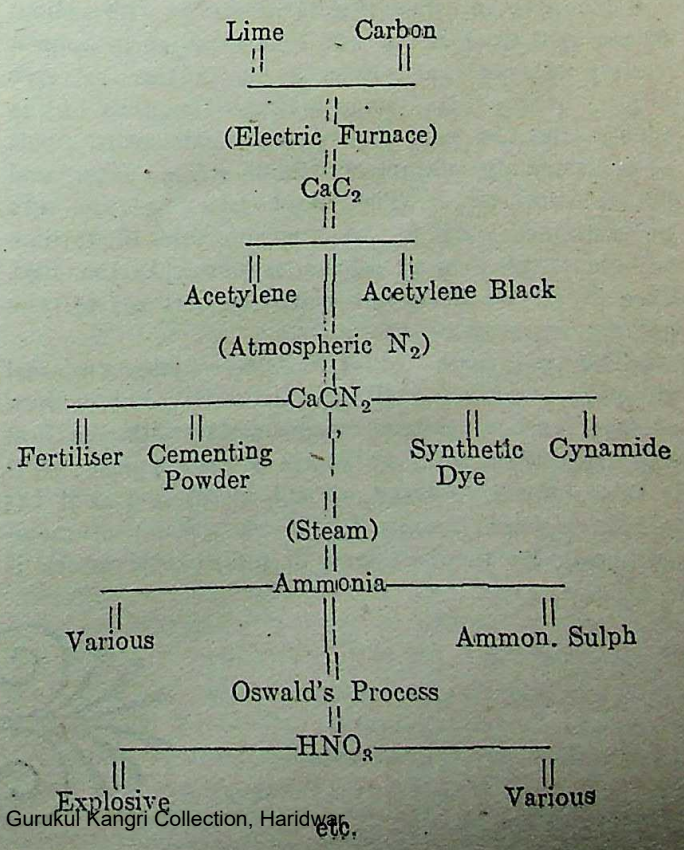
Now let the question of the use of ammonium sulphate be considered. The soil of Bengal, specially the more fertile part of it, *is more or less acidic*. And it should be more acidic with the use of ammonium sulphate. This is the general sad experience of the cultivators of Bengal who after using this fertiliser for a few terms find the soil gradually dying in respect of crop-producing capacity. And to cope with it an extra heavy dose of lime is automatically needed, thus increasing the cost of production of crops.

Last but not the least of all is that the otherwise precious part of the fertiliser, the sulphur portion of it, is lost and lost for nothing.

So we must look for some other fertiliser which will in no case be detrimental to the soil and preferably be not wasteful as well (unlike ammonium sulphate which wastes the sulphur component of it for nothing) and must be cheap and whose raw materials would be easily available.

With the above points in view calcium cyanamide ($CaCN_2$) deserves attention. This is a fertiliser the raw materials for the manufacture of which seem to be available in plenty in Bengal and round about. It needs no drawing of the precious fuel-coal of Raneeganj and Barakar fields. The installation of plants for the manufacture of calcium of cyanamide or nitrolime will also work as a starting point of a group of industries like the manufacture of nitric acid and explosives, which are all so very important for independent India.

The following is the group that is commanded by lime-carbon industry (Pring) :



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Now, at present let us deal only with $CaCN_2$. Both the components in $CaCN_2$, the calcium and the nitrogen, are useful for soil.

At Richhai (C. P.) experiments conducted for five years (1930-35) to compare ammonium sulphate and calcium cyanide as fertilisers for paddy applied at the rate of 100 lbs. per acre on light sandy loam indicated that calcium cyanide was better than ammonium sulphate irrespective of time of application. So definitely the manufacture of nitrolime deserves attention all the more.

The manufacture of nitrolime starts from the manufacture of calcium carbide (CaC_2), a thing which is not at present manufactured in India and which in itself is a very important item for industrial India, as the source of acetylene gas.

Manufacture of CaC_2 starts from coal (carbon) and lime (calcium). These two are fused in electric furnace giving calcium carbide popularly known as carbide only. According to some authority, coal should be of anthracite variety with the maximum of fixed carbon (in the region of 90 per cent) and minimum of ash (max. 5 per cent) and lime stone should also be of the purest variety containing nearly 97 per cent of $CaCo_3$.

Unfortunately anthracite is not available in India though the purest variety of lime stone is more or less available.

But it has been found that coal with a fixed carbon content of about 57 per cent and lime stone containing about 96 per cent $CaCo_3$ can give CaC_2 of 83 per cent purity and the market standard of CaC_2 is only 80 per cent pure.

We have in the Himalayas coal with about 60 per cent fixed carbon and lime stone of the purest variety (95 per cent). Even if the existence of such a pure quality lime stone is not found to be in plenty—the less pure variety can be depended upon, as it is mainly calcium cyanamide we are after, and not calcium carbide. The purest variety of lime can be consumed only for the manufacture of calcium carbide to be used as calcium carbide. (As the TVA have done, we have to make the best use of the existing resources).

The coal stock of Himalayas deserves special attention because though it is from the point of view of fixed carbon content, comparable with the best coal from Raneegunj or Jharia a good portion of it is very difficult to transport and use as fuel as it has in many places become friable on account of metamorphosis. So the best way of utilising this stock is to use it as raw material in chemical manufacture, thus utilising the carbon content. This will also relieve the coal fields of Raneegunj and Jharia from being drawn for purposes other than fuel. The Himalayan coal is also low in phosphorus content which is important in the manufacture of CaC_2.

Next comes nitrogen. Calcium after being produced in the electric furnace is to be heated in an atmosphere of nitrogen at about 1100 deg. to produce $CaCN_2$.

This nitrogen can, as it seems, be had most cheaply by way of producer gas. The plant should not be very costly and the raw materials are available in plenty in the hills of the Himalayas.

The production of electrical power is one of the most important items in the scheme. Whether hydro-electric power or thermal power is to be used will depend on the cost of production from each source. The cost of power should be in the region of Rs. 6 per K. W. year or nearly one anna per K.W.H. (on the basis of pre-war figures).

This power question is a matter of thorough investigation, as hydro-electric power, popularly thought as cheap power, can not usually compete with thermal power if the power station for the latter is situated on coal-bed and if hydro-electric is installed for this industry alone. But if some of the big rivers of Himalayas are harnessed by the Government for power for industries in general and if on account of very high load factor and utilisation of seasonal or secondary power the cyanamide industry is given a special concession rate hydro-electricity may be used with profit.

It should be remembered that it is cheap hydro-electric power that has made Norway the pioneer in carbide and cyanamide industries.

The problem of procuring carbon electrodes for the furnace is also an important one. There is another industry—the aluminium industry—which consumes plenty of these electrodes and in collaboration with this industry arrangements may be made to manufacture these electrodes in India instead of their being imported as is mostly done now. This will naturally reduce cost.

It is, I think, worthwhile taking this matter up for investigation to see if these manufactures would prove to be beneficial for Bengal and for other provinces as well, from the point of view of conserving good coal and manufacturing a good fertiliser at the same time.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Gandhian Constitution"

By Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal

I have read with interest Mr. Khagendra Chandra Pal's article on "Principles of a Gandhian Constitution for Free India" in the April issue of *The Modern Review*. It is indeed gratifying to note that Mr. Pal is in general agreement with the fundamental principles underlying the "Gandhian Constitution."* I have no manner of doubt that Mahatma Gandhi's ideal of decentralised democracy is not a 'fad'; it is based on sound principles of modern political science. No constitution based on democracy could succeed unless political power is devolved on more or less self-sufficient and self-governing republics. This type of constitutional structure was in vogue in ancient India. It was not a relic of tribalism and medievalism. On the contrary the ancient rural republics were the product of mature political thought of our ancestors. It is, therefore, very unfortunate that the Draft Constitution for Free India does not incorporate these basic principles of ancient Indian polity. The Constituent Assembly has framed a Constitution which is a mere imitation and a mixture of British and American models; it is not founded on our past culture and traditions. Constitutions are in the nature of organic developments. They can not be transplanted from one country to another.

As regards the point raised in the above-mentioned article, I have no desire to be dogmatic relating to the details of what may be called Gandhian Democracy. I can realise that it will be difficult for one person to be the President or member of the lower and higher Panchayats or the higher Panchayats. The principle may be devised for securing representation of the lower Panchayats on the higher Panchayats. The principle that need be emphasised is that the system of election in a Gandhian type of Constitution should be direct only for the village-panchayats and indirect for all the higher taluqua, district, provincial and all-India Panchayats. I had discussed this point in detail with Gandhiji and he was very keen on having indirect systems of elections in the future Constitution of India. If the elections are indirect, the highest constitutional leader of the land will have his feet firm on the soil of his own small constituency. The system of indirect elections would also eschew the evils of electioneering campaigns in vast constituencies.

I would also take the opportunity of drawing the attention of the readers to another special feature of the Gandhian Constitution. Gandhiji favoured the idea of introducing the elections by lot in as many spheres as possible. Given a panel of three or four names of persons almost equally competent for a position of responsibility, the din and dust of elections can be conveniently avoided by asking an innocent child to draw a lot in front of the Panchayat representatives as was done in ancient times in India. This feature of elections, even in a limited sphere, would remove tons of bitterness and life-long jealousy.

The Draft Constitution contains hardly anything that is Swadeshi. To my mind it is a great insult to the ancient Indian nation which had experimented with almost all types of constitutions, thousands of years ago. India should have evolved a constitution of her own, based on her past culture and genius. A certain amount of centralisation may be necessary during the period of transition. But the ultimate goal must be clear and definite. This ultimate goal must be the creation of more or less self-governing Panchayats throughout the land, co-ordinated with one another into a Federal Co-operative Commonwealth. The Constitution must be built up from the bottom to the top and not *vice versa*. There seems to be hardly any chance of incorporating these Gandhian ideals in the present Draft Constitution of our country. Yet I earnestly hope that the ideals for which Gandhiji lived and died would not be forgotten by India and the world, and a time would come when the Constitutions of not only India but of all other countries would be based mainly on the sound principles of decentralised democracy.

Wardha

* *Gandhian Constitution for Free India* by Principal S. N. Agarwal ('Kitabistan,' Allahabad), with Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi.

Our Constitution in Indian Languages

The Constitution of India, which has been drafted in English and which may be passed by the Constituent Assembly in this English form, must be made available in all the Indian languages. If a translation is made from English, there is no possibility of any uniformity in the renderings into the various languages, in the matter of terminology and presentation. If such translations are to be made from a Hindi version, the difficulty will be that at present the writers and other literary men in the various languages may not have the needed command of Hindi. The most practicable plan would be to make an authorised version into Sanskrit, from which renderings can be made into all the languages. All Sanskrit scholars are also highly proficient in their respective languages; and there are no writers or other literary men in any Indian language who are not also proficient in Sanskrit. On account of the vast literature available in Sanskrit in jurisprudence, law and politics, there is a wealth of vocabulary in Sanskrit, even in the matter of the necessary technical terms. Further, the terms in Sanskrit have been properly defined and there is complete precision and freedom from ambiguity in the case of such Sanskrit terms. So it is suggested that an authorised version be first made into Sanskrit from which authentic renderings can be made into the various languages of India, in a uniform way. In all the Indian languages the vocabulary is essentially, at least predominantly Sanskritic, which makes such uniformity quite possible.

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BRAHMOISM AND HINDUISM

By Dr. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)

It is most surprising that even today, even at this late hour when the general tendency is to strive for the gradual obliteration of even all communal differences and thereby pave the way for the ultimate emergence of One Indian Nation, there should still lurk in the minds of some Brahmos a deplorable tendency to rake up old quarrels among the different sections of the very same community by insisting that the "Brahmos" as a *community* are quite distinct from, nay, even opposed to the "Hindus". A few years ago, in a Brahmo-Palli-Sabha, we were astounded to find it quite openly and vehemently declared by a prominent Brahmo that the Brahmos should in future do well to associate both socially and politically, more with the monotheist Muslims and Christians than with the polytheist Hindus. Not a few Brahmos shudder, even today, at such supposedly idolatrous words, as *Vidya-Mandira, Paurohitya* and so on. Even very recently, after the deplorable "Great Calcutta Killing," the Secretary of the Calcutta Congregation of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj thought it fit to plead publicly in the newspapers that the Brahmos in the Park Circus area should have been spared by the Muslim "hooligans," as the Brahmos were the direct descendants of the "Zabardast Moulavi" (Raja Ram Mohun Roy), as "they hold the most advanced theistic religious ideas resembling Islam in many particulars," and as "the Brahmo Samaj in India was trying best to obliterate all artificial communal divisions." The implication is quite clear here, *viz.*, that the Brahmos are not Hindus, but are akin to the Moslems alone, and that it is the Brahmos alone, as distinct from the Hindus, who are striving for communal peace and goodwill,—that is why, they should have been left in peace in a Hindu-Muslim communal riot. Examples may be indefinitely multiplied to show this deep-rooted bias that most unfortunately still persists in vitiating the mental outlook of many Brahmos, in the face of all reasoning and good sense. But do not these over-enthusiastic protagonists of a purely monotheistic, non-idolatrous religion, realise that such unwise views and irresponsible utterances are only harming the cause of Brahmoism itself, and reducing the Brahmos to the laughable position of "neither fish, flesh nor good red herring"? Has not the time come as yet to consider the question dispassionately and rationally, and give up the century-old prejudice that brings no good to any one?

The question here is: Are the Brahmos Hindus, or do they form a separate community of their own, quite distinct from the Hindu Community? This, again, calls forth an answer to the vital question: What exactly is the ground of a communal difference? What really justifies the division of people into separate communities? Now, differences may be of many kinds—philosophical, religious (*i.e.*, spiritual and ritualistic, corresponding to the inner and outer sides of religion), cultural, legal, political. Of these main kinds of differences, religious differences alone are ordinarily taken to be the ground of communal differences. Now let us see, whether the Brahmos can claim any real differences from the Hindus and a greater affinity with the Muslims.

First and foremost, every great religion possesses a separate Scripture of its own, especially revealed to or discovered by its inspired founder or founders, and revealed by him or them to the world at large. When we use the word "separate" here, we do not mean that all these great scriptures or theological treatises of the world are absolutely different from and fundamentally antagonistic to one another. On the contrary, we firmly believe that all real religions are essentially and fundamentally the same. But still as the same truth is revealed to and by different individuals at different times in different manners, we are fortunate to possess different Scriptures which are but so many different ways of looking at the very same Truth, as illuminating and as fascinating as the variegated colours emanating from the same sun. And, from the worldly point of view, these different Scriptures are taken to be the foundations of different religions, and religions, generally, of different communities. But what is the foundation of the Brahmo Religion? Is it not based on the Hindu Scriptures, the Upanishads, pure and simple? Right from the very *Vija-Mantra*, the very essence, the very core of Brahmoism, *viz.*, *Ekamevadvitiyam* (Chandogya-Upanishad 6. 2. 1) "One only, without a second", down to all the *mantras* used in Brahmo prayers, viz., *Satyam Jnanam Anantam Brahma* (Taittiriya Upanishad 2.1.1.) "Brahman is Truth, Knowledge, Infinite," *Anandarupam Amritam Yad Vibhati* (Mundaka Upanishad 2.2.7) "He who shines as blissful and immortal," *Santam Sivam Advaitam* (Mandukya Upanishad) "Calm, auspicious, non-dual," *Suddham-Apapa-Vidham* (Isa Upanishad 8), "Pure, untouched by sin," and *Asato Ma Sad Gamaya* (Brihadaranyaka Upanishad 1. 3. 28) "From untruth lead me unto Truth"—have been culled from those incomparable Hindu Scriptures, *viz.*, the Upanishads. The so-called founders of Brahmoism never themselves claimed to have revealed a separate Scripture of their own. So far as we know, they never claimed to be "founders" of anything, but were content to call themselves mere re-propounders of an ancient Truth, lost sight of, according to them, temporarily in the haze of ignorance and superstition. That the Upanishads form the Scripture of Brahmoism is too well-known a fact to need further labouring. But it is surprising that even in the face of these facts, a single Brahmo should have any inclination to call himself a non-Hindu. So, though seemingly unnecessary, it is well to go on reminding such Brahmos that for the very life-blood of their religion they owe an eternal debt to the Hindu Scriptures.

It may be urged that Brahmoism is a Synthesis

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Religion, *i.e.*, it is the only religion in the world which accepts what is great and good in every religion, rejecting what is bad. Hence, though Brahmoism has no Scripture of its own yet it should be taken as a separate religion. It is true that the great Raja Ram Mohun Roy, with a commendable spirit of a broad-minded-man, took special pains to study not only the Hindu Scriptures, but also other religious treatises like the Bible and the Quran. But if we consider the fundamental principles of Brahmoism—philosophical, religious and ethical—we find that every one of them is found in Hinduism alone by itself, so that it is not at all necessary for Brahmoism to look to other religions like Christianity and Islam for many of its cardinal principles.

We may here refer briefly to the stock arguments of orthodox Brahmos that although Brahmoism is based on the Upanishads, yet it is fundamentally different from Hinduism in the following main points:—(a) Hinduism is polytheistic and idolatrous; Brahmoism, purely and strictly monotheistic and non-idolatrous. (b) Hinduism accepts *Guru-vada,* and priestcraft; Brahmoism is definitely against it. (c) Hinduism accepts *Avatara-vada* or Incarnation also; Brahmoism is equally and as strongly opposed to it. (d) The cardinal principle of Hinduism is *Janmantara-vada* on the basis of *Karma-phala-vada,* i.e., a belief in births and rebirths in accordance with man's past *karmas* or actions. But Brahmoism does not accept this too. Hence Brahmoism is not only totally different from, but also essentially opposed to, Hinduism as a religion.

It is true that *certain sects* of Hinduism do subscribe to the above doctrines of polytheism, image-worship, priestcraft, incarnation, transmigration, etc. But it would be making a very great mistake indeed to identify Hinduism in toto with these. As well known, Hinduism is the only religion in the world that allows *Adhikari-bheda,* i.e. different forms of worship to suit different individuals. Hence, Hinduism recognizes no known forms of religion, high or low, but embraces all in its broad bosom. For this reason, it is so very difficult to define what Hinduism exactly stands for; and that is why many unjust criticisms have been hurled at its hoary head on the assumption that it is only one or other of these forms. The fact that, from the highest Monism of the *Advaitavadins* down to the crudest form of ghost-worship, etc., of primitive races, all possible forms of religion have place in Hinduism, to suit the different capacities, aspirations and opportunities of different individuals. The monist who through the sheer glory of his intellect proclaims: "I am Brahman", the monotheist who bows down to the one Formless Being in love and reverence, the polytheist who sees the embodied form of God in various images and incarnations, the ghost-worshipper who plays on the drum to scare away the evil spirit,—are all recognized as "Hindus", because each, in his own way, according to his own tendency and power, trying to grasp an Unknown Being beyond his everyday surroundings. This striving for something Beyond is the first beginning of religion, and Hinduism as the most catholic of all religions recognises this real core of religion, however crude and revolting its outer expression may be. So instead of summarily rejecting these so-called lower forms as mere blasphemies and condemning those so-called heretics to eternal hell, Hinduism is not ashamed to open its arms to all equally. Of course, the lower forms of religion must develop and perfect itself progressively in higher and higher forms, but each must be given an official recognition first as a form of religion itself, however primitive and imperfect it may be. If one is to traverse a flight of stairs, he has to be first admitted into the house and given a place to stand on the landing. It is neither wise nor charitable to insist that either he must instal himself on the topmost stair all at once from the very beginning, or he will not even be allowed entrance at all. Hinduism is the only Universal Religion of the world that recognises this progressive realisation of the soul,—in the fold of religion itself,—from the very lowest to the supremely highest state. This is the most unique message of Hinduism to the world at large: Recognize the different calibres and inclinations of different individuals, do not try to mould every one through the same way to the same ideal and do not shut the door to one who fails to live up to that highest ideal; for, reformation must be a guidance from within, not chastisement from without; not a *change* from one religion to another quite different, but *progress* in the fold of the very same religion; not repentance for so-called sins, but realisation of new truths. No other great religion of the world manifests this commendable spirit of universal accommodation and adjustment. In them, there is absolutely no place for any unbelievers, for those who are unable to realise their great ideals. So to these, conversion or reformation means making a man change his religion, or bringing one from non-religion and heresy to religion and truth, from eternal sin and hell to salvation and heaven. But to Hinduism, even the ghost-worshipper is not committing any sin and is not condemned to eternal damnation,—if that is what he can best do. This message of hope for every one from the lowest to the highest is the greatest message of Hinduism to the millions of dumb, drudging human beings who are denied admission into any other religion. It is absolutely necessary to bear in mind this unique character of Hinduism as a Universal Religion before trying to label it with one or other of the known "isms" of religion. So, it is entirely wrong to characterise Hinduism summarily as only a form of polytheistic, idolatrous religion. On the contrary, the highest ideal of Hinduism is Monotheism, nay, even Monism, for not a few. Even in the very first dawn of human civilisation, a Vedic Seer asks: "To whom shall we offer oblations besides

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the Universal Spirit who is the cause of life and strength? (Rig-Veda 10. 121). Another Vedic Seer announces ecstatically: "Reality is only One, the wise call it differently as Agni, Yama, etc." (Rig-Veda 1.164.46). Image-worship was absolutely unknown during the Vedic Age. In the Upanishads and the Vedanta systems, later on, these high ideals of Monotheism and Monism soar to such heights as neither reached, nor surpassed by any one else. One who cares to turn the pages of even one or two of the Upanishads will be convinced of the truth of this contention. Still, those who cannot at once realise these highest ideals must not be driven out for good as sinners, but must be allowed to work out their salvation in the fold of religion itself. That is why Hinduism allows monistic realisation of oneness with the absolute and monotheistic worship of one Formless Being, equally with the polytheistic devotion to the different idols as the different embodied forms of the same God. Thus, a Brahmo who on the basis of the Upanishads, worships one God and abhors polytheistic image-worship is not doing something different from and contrary to the Hindu religion as such, but is simply following the fundamental creeds of one of its sects.

It might be further urged that while Hinduism, at best, recommends Monotheism *through* Polytheism and thus supports Monotheism *plus* Polytheism, Brahmoism recommends Monotheism from the very beginning, and allows only pure Monotheism without the slightest vestige of Polytheism in it. Thus, Brahmoism does have a special message of its own, not found in Hinduism as such. But this, too, is entirely a misconception regarding Hindu Monotheism. It is wrong to assert that Hinduism necessarily recommends Monotheism *through* Polytheism for all. It is never insisted that everyone must be a polytheist first and then, if possible, rise to be a monotheist, and that a pure monotheist is not a Hindu at all. On the contrary, as pointed out above, Hinduism is the only religion that allows perfect freedom of worship and opinion to all. If one likes and can, he is at perfect liberty to be a pure monotheist, worshipping one Formless God from the very beginning, and it is not at all compulsory or obligatory for him to have recourse to image-worship. Although Hinduism allows polytheism and image-worship, still, according to the basic principles of Hinduism, one may scorn and denounce these practices, yet remain a Hindu, as his monotheistic worship of one Formless God is fully supported by the Hindu Scriptures. So, here too Brahmoism has no special message to deliver, but is only one of the sects of Hinduism.

The same remarks apply to the *Guru-vada* and *Avatara-vada* and *Janma-janmantara-vada* of Hinduism. It is by no means essential for a Hindu to approach Truth or God through a spiritual preceptor by taking him to be god incarnate. Those who are confident of reaching the goal by their unaided efforts are at perfect liberty to do so. In the same manner a Hindu may not tolerate the intervention of an *Avatara* between himself and God. But this reluctance to admit a *via media* between himself and God in the form of a *Guru* or an *Avatara* by no means disqualifies him as a Hindu,—for belief in these is only a permissible and not at all an essential part of Hinduism as a religion. Neither image-worship nor *Avatara-vada* is found in the Vedas at all. Belief in rebirths due to the force of past acts, too, is not necessary on the part of a Hindu. Even some Mimamsakas, such as Bhartrimitra and Badari hold that *karmas* do not afford a satisfactory explanation of the facts of life, so that rebirths cannot be explained by *karmas*.

Thus, if the Brahmos think themselves high enough to love and worship one Formless God without the help of any symbols or images, clever enough to dispense with the solicitation of a *Guru* or an *Avatara*, it is perfectly well and good, but these are no grounds at all for his claims to a separate religion and a separate community as such. Is it not as absurd for a Saiva or a Vaishnava, *e.g.*, as for a Brahmo to claim to be a non-Hindu. Thus, Brahmoism can by no means be regarded as a separate religion, but is only a particular sect, a progressive and rationalistic sect of Hinduism itself. So, Brahmos are and will for ever remain Hindus, unless and until they repudiate the Hindu Scriptures, the Upanishads, and owe allegiance to some other Scripture, new or old.

From the purely philosophical standpoints, too, Brahmoism has contributed nothing new. It accepts the ordinary monotheistic philosophy, *viz.*, the idea of One God, both transcendent and immanent, both Lord and Friend, both different and non-different from man. Yamunacharya and Ramanuja of the Visistadvaita School of the Vedanta, even their predecessors interpreted the Upanishads in exactly the same manner, so that Brahmoism cannot claim to have supplied a new interpretation of the Upanishads.

From the social and cultural standpoints, too, it is absurd for the Brahmos to claim separate existence as a community. When in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Brahmoism arose as a living force, there was really a great necessity for it as a social reformative and corrective movement of vital importance. In those days, due to various factors, Hinduism had become degraded to a very low depth, and social customs had assumed heinous forms. Then, very fortunately Brahmoism arose as a great check to further degradation, and produced the double benefit of putting an end to many social evils in Hinduism on the one hand, and preventing mass conversion to Christianity, on the other. But, while in no way undermining the monumental service of Brahmo social workers of those days, we cannot subscribe to the view that Brahmoism was a *reformation*, i.e., purification and development, of Hinduism, from outside. For, what those selfless Brahmos toiled and laid down their lives for was no *new reform*, absolutely

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shown to Hindu society, but only the re-introduction of certain ancient social laws and customs. It is true that in those days the Brahmo Samaj was the pioneer among those social movements that aimed at saving Hindu society from such evil customs as widow-burning, Kulin Pratha or polygamy, child-marriage, etc. But these and other equally heinous customs have never been sanctioned and supported by Hindu Scriptures, *viz.*, the Vedas and the Upanishads. Unfortunately, taking advantage of the prevailing chaotic condition of society, some Smritis have misrepresented scriptural injunctions to the contrary and as a result, all sorts of highly degenerate and deplorable customs came into vogue in the name of religion, and became so very deep-rooted in course of time that we are still today reaping the baneful consequences thereof. But really, as well-known, the Vedas speak of an equal right for men and women in education, in law and in society in every sphere of life. Widow-burning and child-marriage, etc., were absolutely unknown in the Vedic Age ; and polygamy, though tolerated, was never encouraged in the name of religion. Even the abolition of caste-system had been undertaken by the Vaishnava School of Hinduism, and by the great religious reformer Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, long before the Brahmos came into the field. So the Brahmo reformers should not have claimed any originality for their "reforms," as many of them did in those days, and are even now doing. There is no doubt that they would have met with a far greater success if instead of assuming a superior attitude towards the "idolatrous" masses and their "idolatrous" practices, and trying to reform and save them, from outside, in the name of a new superior Church and Religion, they represented themselves as merely striving for the regeneration of the real spirit of Hinduism, for the re-establishment of ancient scriptural culture and customs, so long entirely lost sight of in the haze of ignorance and superstition. Thus, from the social and cultural standpoints, too, Brahmoism cannot have a separate existence from Hinduism. The so-called Brahmo culture is nothing but the purest and highest form of Vedic and Upanishadic culture. The austere form of Ethics for which the Brahmos rightly became famous in those days of loose profligate days, too, has been propounded by all the systems of Indian Philosophy (except, perhaps, the Charvaka Materialists).

From the legal and political standpoints, the Brahmos have, at present, no separate existence from the Hindus. Some Brahmos, even today, desire to have a separate legal and political status, as one of the so-called "minority communities." But such a policy would be absolutely suicidal, and we are sure that the enlightened section of the Brahmos would never countenance such an absurd proposal. It is high time to learn the lesson of history and discourage these divisions of our Hindu society which in the past led to so very disastrous consequences. When Hinduism is trying to absorb in itself all India-born religions, when even the Buddhists and the Jainas, though technically lebelled as *Nastikas* or heterodox for not directly accepting the authority of the Vedas, do not feel ashamed to call themselves "Hindus," as nourished and brought up in the lap of the great age-old Hindu culture and civilisation, what a sorry sight would these handful of Brahmos, drawing as they do their spiritual and cultural inspirations solely from that eternal fountain-head of Truth, Beauty and Goodness, *viz.*, the Hindu Scripture Upanishad, present in disclaiming themselves as "Hindus," and insisting on a separate religious, cultural, social, legal and political status! Let them not claim special prerogatives legally and politically, and ignore the greater interest of the country for a few loaves and fishes. But, on the contrary, let them work out for a greater improvement of the legal (for women specially) and political status of all Hindus, and in that alone lies their real salvation. For, how can a part flourish apart from the whole ? Now-a-days, at least, there is absolutely no difference between Hindus and Brahmos from the cultural and social standpoints, not even so very much from the standpoint of religion itself. For, now-a-days, religion has become more a matter of inner conviction than of external ritualism. That is why these external religious rites and rituals are assuming a more and more universal, national and as such, non-religious character, so that whatever be our special inner convictions we do not feel any hesitation in taking part in these external ceremonials. That is why, not a few Brahmos join, with a clear conscience, the Durga Puja, the great national festival of the Hindus, though they do not support image-worship. It is rather regrettable that even today, some Brahmos seem to suffer from a superiority complex and think themselves to be somewhat higher than the idolatrous, polytheistic Hindus, riddled with numerous social malpractices. That is why, not a few Brahmos assume a rather condescending attitude towards their Hindu brethren, as if they have been specially chosen by God to lead these poor, misguided sinners from darkness to light, from eternal hell to salvation. The time has come to change this altogether unwarrantable, pompous attitude which is sure to bring down ruin to Brahmoism itself. Why should we Brahmos be ashamed to declare ourselves unequivocally, as "Hindus," if we like, as *Monotheistic Hindus*, worshipping One God, who, to us, is not embodied in anything, neither in images, nor in *Gurus*, nor in *Avataras* ? Why should we claim to be spared from the attention of Moslem hooligans on the ground that we are non-Hindus and have a far greater religious, cultural and social affinity to the Moslems ? Undoubtedly, we claim fundamental affinities with Islam, Christianity and all great religions of the world ; but we claim these not as non-Hindus, but as true Hindus, striving to live up to the glorious ideal of the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. We claim exemption from all communal

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riots, not as non-Hindus, but as Hindus, as the humble torch-bearers of a very ancient civilisation and culture, the ground-stones of which are the twin pillars of equality and fraternity, universal love and service. It is as Hindus that we extend our hands of friendship to Moslems, Christians and to all alike, for a true Hindu sees the same Universal Spirit in every one and does not, therefire, hate any one (Isa Upanishad 6). It is as Hindus that we are inspired by that immortal message delivered by a Vedic Seer right at the first dawn of human civilisation—a message that has a special value for us all today :

सं गच्छध्वं सं वदध्वं सं वो मनांसि जानतां ।
समानो मन्त्रः समितिः समानी समानं मनः सहचित्तमेषाम् ॥
समानो व आकूतिः, समाना हृदयानि वः ।
समानमस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति ॥

"May you meet together, talk together, know the minds of one another. May your *mantra* be the same, may your achievement be the same, may your mind be the same, may your desire be the same. May your striving be the same, may your heart be the same, may your minds be the same, so that there be a perfect and thorough union among you all." (Rig-Veda, 10. 191, 2, 3, 4.)

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

MUNSHI : HIS ART AND WORK : *Published by Shri Kanaialal Munshi. Diamond Jubilee Committee, January, 1947. Price Rs. 15.*

On the *Shasti-purti divasa* or the sixtieth birthday celebration of Shri Kanaialal Munshi his friends and admirers have collected the appraisals of men that should know on the contributions made by Munshiji to the various aspects of present-day cultural life through Gujarat to India. Munshiji's has indeed been a dynamic life; he has drunk deep at the fountains of literary and cultural inspiration, both eastern and western. A man of lively imagination, warm sympathies and keen sensitiveness to sensuous appeals, he has been a colourful novelist, dramatist, historian and essayist, and moulded the mind of his contemporaries to a considerable extent. Four social novels, nine historical romances, eight Pauranic dramas, eight social plays, one volume short stories and other works —even if Kanhaialal M. Munshi had done nothing else—were a substantial claim to the homage of his people. Historical romanticism has distinguished his writings and stimulated his readers.

But Shri K. M. Munshi has not been a mere writer. His interest in politics led him in his adolescence to Shri Aurobinda who asked him to see India as a living mother and who advised him to read Swami Vivekananda's works. From Aurobinda he learnt that "nationalism is the realization of the Mother in the country; the contemplation, adoration and service of the Motherland as Divinity". Contact with Mrs. Besant's personality and the trend of events in the country quickened the zest for a political life, but the time was not yet for him to follow the Mahatma as he began to do by eventually championing the cause of Bardoli against the powers that ruled. Gandhiji was the great alchemist of life, and in June 1928 a change was beginning in the career of K. M. Munshi, a change which was the beginning of a new life. The C. D. movement, the Congress Ministry, the *Akhand Hindusthan* movement, the Constituent Assembly—who can dispute Munshi's claim to be included among the makers of modern India?

But these should not make us blind to his great gifts as a lawyer and to his zeal for constructive work. An organiser of educational institutions he seems yet to widen the bound of his creative activity.

The volume is not only a spontaneous homage but is also an appreciation of contemporary life—of which Shri K. M. Munshi has been a successful exponent. It is a picture of contemporary Indian history.

Where will Shri Munshi's place be, when the attempt is made to take the whole of India and her cultural life for a critical appraisement? Is it not reasonable to believe that he will be hailed in times to come as a true representative of modern Indian culture at its best, responsive to the deep forces at work both in the East and the West, not a provincial at all, but an Indian first and foremost? The Editors have done wisely to put a comprehensive account of his life before the public, not only for information but also for guidance.

P. R. Sen

WAR AND CIVIL LIBERTIES : *By M. C. Setalvad. Published through the Indian Council of World Affairs by the Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. 50. Price Rs. 3.*

A total war of the type which shook the world recently involves incursion of the state into every sphere of the life of the individual even in democracies where the liberty of the individual is in normal times greatly valued. In such countries guarantees are provided through one device or another for the protection of what are called "the fundamental rights" of citizens which are viewed as the basic conditions for the free and fullest development of human personality of the citizens. But when the very existence of the state

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...ed the protection of even these basic liberties ...the individual naturally takes a secondary place by ...side of the safety of the state to which everything ...is subordinated. Yet even in the midst of war or ...national emergency liberty of the individual cannot ...rather be thrown overboard; because after all at ...to the believers in democracy and the liberal ...of political thinkers state is not an end in itself ...the means to the fullest realisation of personality ...the citizens. As the author of the monograph under ...review has aptly quoted the words of Lord Atkin, ...the clash of arms the laws are not silent. They ...are changed, but they speak the same language in ...war as in peace." The great problem is to fix the point ...at which to delimit the scope of state encroachment ...on the domain of individual liberty, and to strike a ...proper balance between the needs of the state in such ...an emergency for extraordinary powers and the pre-...servation of such liberties as the individual may be ...allowed without jeopardising the safety of the state. ...This problem has been discussed in the book thoroughly ...and exhaustively with particular reference to the ...situation created in India during the last war by arming ...the legislature and the executive with emergency ...powers. A comparative study has been made between ...the position in England and India in this respect which ...is at once instructive and useful. To what extent ...personal freedom suffered a set-back by reason of ...emergency legislation passed during the war and the ...extraordinary power with which the Executive was ...armed under such legislation both in the United King-...dom and the Dominions which are democratically ...governed and also in India which was not so governed ...at the time has been ably discussed by the author with ...numerous illustrations from cases brought before and ...decided by the Courts in all these countries in the ...light of which the author has suggested valuable safe-...guards for the protection of civil liberties even in such ...national emergencies consistently with the preservation ...of the safety and interests of the state. Should a third ...world war which seems to be in the offing unfortunately ...actually break out, these suggestions would prove very ...useful to statesmen and leaders who may be called ...upon to pilot their countries through war and who ...are at the same time to be genuine lovers of human ...freedom. Of course, as the author rightly points out the ...real safeguard of freedom lies not so much in paper ...guarantees but only in "a perpetual and vigilant aware-...ness in the citizen of his rights and a passionate desire ...to exercise them that can keep alive the individual ...liberties of the citizen in a world seething with forces ...having a tendency to encroach upon and engulf their ...rights" (P. 86).

A. K. Ghosal

ARCHAEOLOGY IN BARODA (1934-1947): *A ...review by A. S. Garde. Baroda State Press. 1947. ...map and thirty-six plates. Pp. 39. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The Government of Baroda have been carrying on ...many years past the work of archaeological ex-...ploration and excavation within the State. Baroda is ...rich in such materials. There are numerous old temples, ...monuments, inscriptions which have yielded interesting ...and important material with regard to the history of ...a portion of India, as well as its connection with the ...outside world in pre-historic and historic times. A very ...interesting site or two have also been discovered and ...in which where stone tools displaying a technique and ...associated with the Paleolithic period of Europe ...in Africa have been recovered *in situ*.

The present book gives a general account of the ...work done so far by the Department of Archaeology ...in the State.

ELEMENTARY CARPENTRY AND JOINERY: *By Arthur S. Emery, F.B.I.C.C. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London. 1946. Price Rs. 4.*

A well-illustrated and instructive book which will prove helpful for beginners in their practical work.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

NON-VIOLENCE—THE INVINCIBLE POWER: *By Arun Chandra Das Gupta. Published by Khadi Pratisthan, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 130. Price Re. 1-8.*

The passing away of Gandhiji adds a new meaning and significance to the truth and way of life to which he bore testimony and over which he trod all through his life. The author of this book brought up in the atmosphere of the Khadi Pratisthan under the spacious eyes of his parents, founders and builders of this centre of Constructive Nationalism in Bengal, has tried to live up to the vision of the man whom the world has hailed as the Architect of India's freedom. He is happy in the fact that he has known no other loyalty than that to Truth and Non-violence. Therefore, has he been able to bring a single-pointed mind to the discussion of a problem that has attained a new urgency in this age of Atomic War, its destructive cruelty demonstrated at Nagasaki and Hiroshima in Japan in August, 1945.

But this end of the second World War of the twentieth century has not settled anything of the conditions that are the breeding-ground of wars between nations and violence in individual conduct. This futility recalls us to the philosophy preached by Gandhiji—his appeal to and trust in "man's superior nature," in his ultimate goodness. The attempt of radical reform should, therefore, be addressed to this divine element in us patient with the evil-doer, trying to rouse in him the consciousness of his heavenly heritage. This teaching of Gandhiji has been elaborated in this book.

Duty thus becomes the pivot of all morality; duty fulfilled will bring rights that will equalize conditions for all in the scheme of social relations. The author deduces therefrom his arguments in support of "decentralized economy." The "constructive programme" that Gandhiji laid down for the peculiar conditions of India has a world reference where exploitation of man's labour and of his human weaknesses has distorted natural human relations out of recognition. Modern capitalism has heightened this discord, and a way out of it through Socialism, through the Totalitarian State, adds to the complexity of the problem. Pages 59-84 are devoted to elucidating this argument.

The book whose first edition was exhausted in 1946, has re-emphasized in its revised form the points raised therein. In the year 1948 we are still in the midst of this world-wide controversy, and after Gandhiji's exit from the field of his mundane activities, it has developed on men and women of good will all the world over to re-valuate all the elements of modern life in the light of his life and in response to the challenge of the brute and the greed in human beings. It is no easy task to reverse a historic development, to recall the world to sanity, a world that modern science has created with its unending vista of material progress.

Books like the present one constitute an attempt at this re-valuation. We cannot say that we accept all the simplicity of analysis that is evident in the book. Human nature in the twentieth century has grown too complex for that.

A word of criticism may be made of the arrangement adopted in the book. Chapters and headings would have facilitated the understanding of the lines of argument followed here. As it is, it is one long-drawn controversy. Readers will find it a great handicap.

S. K. Deb

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STUDIES IN INDO-BRITISH ECONOMY HUNDRED YEARS AGO: *By Nirmal Chandra Sinha, M.A. Published by A. Mukherji & Co., Calcutta. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a timely publication, being an assessment of the British contribution towards India's political and economic slavery through the administrative machinery which the East India Company set up in the country for maintaining law and order. In the name of free trade, the British destroyed the industries and as a result millions of citizens were thrown into agriculture which was already overcrowded and unprofitable. With the advent of British trade Indian capitalists were thrown out and the world-renowned house of Jagat Seth became a thing of the past. British educational system set up a machinery for the manufacture of clerks for governmental and mercantile offices in the Company's domain. Landless agricultural labourers were compelled by economic pressure to go abroad to work as coolies at a wage which lowered their standard of life and morality. Thus the Indians were compelled to take the place of the liberated Negro slaves. Indian labour in South Africa, Madagascar, Trinidad, Fiji, Malay, Mauritius, British Guiana tells the same story of woe and misery. Thus India's misery and degradation contributed towards British supremacy and wealth. Now that Britain relinquishes her hold on India, it is not unlikely that the British Isles will again occupy a position of comparative insignificance.

The author has taken considerable pains to collect materials from untapped sources and as such he has been able to throw new light on the subject. The book under review is rather a skeleton work. We shall be glad to welcome a fuller treatise by the author, which will add new chapters to the dark history of India's foreign domination.

A. B. DUTTA

RANDOM SELECTIONS: *Compiled and published by the National Information & Publications, Ltd., 74 Laxmi Building, Sir P. M. Road, Fort Bombay. 1947. Pp. 138. Price paper-bound Rs. 2-8, cloth-bound Rs. 4.*

This little volume contains eleven articles on different subjects published at various times in the Indian press, all written by eminent writers including Srimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, Mulk Raj Anand, C. E. M. Joad and others.

Random selections provide fascinating reading for all both for the distinction of their authors and the interest of the topics they discuss. The publishers are to be thanked for their supplying the general readers in a small dish so varied food for thought—some sweet and delicious, some pungent and bitter, while others sombre and thought-provoking.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

BENGALI

MANTRI MISSION O PARABARTI ADHAYA: *Compiled by Mr. Amiyakumar Banerjee. Published by J. Chowdhury Bros., 60/1/A Wellington Street, Calcutta. Pages 156. Price Rs. 2.*

Although there are several publications in English on Cabinet Mission in India, the book under review is perhaps the only publication for the Bengali-knowing readers. The book contains translations of all important documents and letters of the Cabinet Mission and also important letters of the Congress and Muslim League leaders and gives all relevant information up to the elections of the members of the Constituent Assembly.

The book will serve as a handbook of records of current politics and as such will be useful to general readers.

SWADHINATAR ABHIJAN YUGE YUGE: *By Bamaprosonna Sen Gupta, M.A., B.L. Published by Enakkhi Grantha Mandir, 159 Lansdowne Road, Calcutta. Pages 114. Price Rs. 2.*

March of freedom through ages is the theme of this book written in chaste Bengali by one who not only knows his subject but presents it in a readable manner suitable to young readers. In the first few pages he makes a short survey of the freedom movement in countries outside India but the bulk of the book contains descriptions of struggles for independence since the first fight for Independence in 1857. The author brings down his treatment of the subject down to the British Government announcement on 3rd June, 1947. A chronological table of important events at the end of this book has made it more useful to general readers. Young men will find this book not only instructive and interesting but inspiring as well.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

TRIPURI KA ITIHAS: *By Vyohar Rajendra Sinha and Vijayabahadur Shrivastava. Manas Mandir, Jubbulpore. Pp. 222. Price Re. 1-8.*

Tevar is a small village near Jubbulpore. It is Tripuri of old which once, for several centuries, flourished as a great capital town of a succession of ruling dynasties—Maurya, Sunga, Kanva, Kushan, Gupta, Hun, Kalchuri and others. The book, under review, which is illustrated is an overall account—geographical, historical and cultural—of it up to the time of the Marhattas, that is, till about the sixteenth century. The authors have brought their painstaking labours and results of research to bear upon their work which is sure to serve as a model to others engaged in the same field. One wishes the number of these latter were large, for if it were so, the history of many an important city, now in ruins, would be resuscitated and thereby ample and adequate material for the writing of a proper history of India discovered.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SU-MAN SARATHI: *By Mrs. Jayavati Pranlal. Published by N. M. Thakkar and Co., Bombay. 1948. Cloth-bound with an illustrated jacket depicting Krishna as the driver of Arjuna's battle-chariot. Illustrated. Pp. 194. Price Rs. 25.*

This sumptuously got-up volume of nearly 200 pages is a collection of Mrs. Jayavati's writings on various subjects, social, religious and educational. She is well-known in Bombay society as a worker for the betterment of children's interests, both boys and girls. She is married into a rich and cultured family and helps all social causes generously. For instance, the income of this book, highly priced at Rs. 25, is a gift by her to the Suman Balmandir in which she is greatly interested. She expects her rich sisters to buy up the whole issue in no time. The subjects handled are mostly religious and mythological and presented in such a manner as can be acted. She is conservative by family up-bringing and views, but fully recognises the tendency of modern times and has given it due weight. Her object is to act for her readers the part of a guide or driver (Sarathi) leading them to a happy frame of mind (Suman), and she has done it well.

K. M. J.

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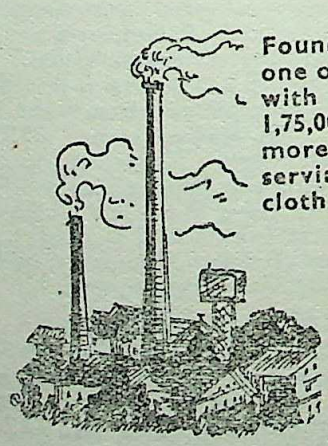

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Ramakrishna and Vivekananda Through Western Eyes

Hallam Tennyson writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

For those of us who come from the West our first contact with Sri Ramakrishna Paramhamsa is as likely to be not through the life of him written by Romain Rolland. If, after reading this life, we go on to study the Gospel prepared by "M" on the basis of Ramakrishna's teachings we find ourselves affected by a slight feeling of bewilderment, even of disappointment. In the life Ramakrishna is made out to be a religious leader of the greatest importance, with all the social implications of such a title. In the Gospel, on the other hand, he appears as a religious mystic and devotee and in no sense a religious leader.

Through the immense charm of his personality and the enchanting metaphors and parables with which he favoured his teaching, he gathered round him a group of disciples of exceptionally fine calibre. One of these, Vivekananda, was so wholly fascinated by the Master that although of quite different temperament and outlook he dedicated himself completely to him and was in a strange way singled out to "carry on his work." This Vivekananda did—but, and here is where our typical Western minds are likely to be bewildered—along totally different lines. It was Vivekananda who turned into a great religious leader. The disciples were totally removed from their search for Samadhi and personal salvation. Ramakrishna had preached the abnegation of social responsibilities and had laughingly laughed against those who tried to build hospitals and to alleviate the ineluctable suffering of man. Under the guidance of Vivekananda, however, every kind of social service was undertaken.

There are of course several explanations of this. The orthodox one is that Ramakrishna, preaching as he did in the dark and troubled age of the Kali Yuga, had, before everything else, to bring back the souls of men from their attachment to wordly values. Once his disciples had become intoxicated with the love of God, then they could abandon themselves to worldly action without fear." It is certainly true that in whatever work it has undertaken the Ramakrishna Mission has never lost sight of the essentially spiritual roots from which the sense of service must spring. The maths, where the monks are trained, remain to this day quiet, withdrawn and austerely disciplined. Nevertheless, without Vivekananda and without the dynamic message of social service which he brought, one cannot help feeling that the Ramakrishna movement would have remained as it had started, another of those spiritual orders somewhat fitfully built round the personality of a *guru*, which keep religious life throughout the ages.

Given the teaching of the Master contained little that was new. It was in the nature of reaffirmation, rather than revelation. The equal validity of all the approaches to God; the belief that ont only Bhakti, Jnana and Karma Yoga, but also the paths laid down by Christianity and Islam, lead to the same end—had not this been implied several millennia before in the Gita as well as the Upanishads. More recently too the Unitarian movement of the Brahmo Samaj had made it the pivotal point of its creed, though its subsequent repudiation of idolatry seemed to narrow its message, since Ramakrishna claimed that idols were essential to the Bhakti approach. Yet although one may be able to analyse the various ideas that went to make up the main elements of Ramakrishna's teaching and prove that in themselves they were not original there remains something beyond, something difficult to define and something of vast significance and importance

> The charm of Ramakrishna's personality was really very great. This "personality" was an expression of his vision of God, and Ramakrishna's vision of God was one of the most intense and joyful that the world has ever seen.

This joy of Ramakrishna's fits well, of course, into the tradition of Chaitanya and the Vaishnava poets, but it was less sentimental than theirs. It was full of a new element of virility and self-confidence. "Bondage is of the mind. Freedom is also of the mind. I am a free soul, be it in the world or in the forest, I am not bound. I am the son of God, the son of the King of Kings. Who is there to bind me? . . . The fool who says continually 'I am in bondage, I am in bondage', does indeed bring bondage on himself." One could of course point out that this virile joy was something that was far from unknown in the Vedanta. Was not the Self called "the Enjoyer" in the Upanishads? Was not the attainment of consciousness, knowledge, bliss the aim of all mysticism in the Vedanta? But these clear springs had become overgrown with exotic, choking weeds of pessimism and apathy.

Everything was the Self, evil could not be fought since it was essential to the scheme of things, the only course of action for the enlightened man was to raise himself beyond good and evil and to free himself from the illusory bondage of creation.

To the separated soul the only means of approaching the Self is through Maya, through the phenomena of existence in which Brahman displays himself in creation. This aspect of the Self is Kali. Now the first thing that overwhelms one on withdrawing oneself a little distance from one's own personal life and looking at the world around one (and in India it has to be only a very little distance) is the terror of creation. To the separated soul the universe must seem a vast charnek house ever preying upon itself in purposeless activity. "The terror of Brahman is like a drawn sword" as the Kathopanishad says. This is when the destructive aspect of Kali is propitiated and her devotees fix their eyes in fearful fascination on the severed head that she holds in her left hand. But later when the separation of the individual soul has been overcome and one is living from within oneself as a part of the vast cosmic plan in which one is born, the

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universe is no longer terrible. Then Kali's garland of skulls and her drawn sword are forgotten. The eyes of the devotee turn only to her right arm raised in benediction. This is what Ramakrishna meant when he said: "Outside my mother is terrible, but in her heart she is full of mercy." How he loved to quote the famous prayer: "Oh, thou Terrible One. Evermore protect us from ignorance with thy sweet compassionate face."

It was precisely this attitude towards the Mother to which Vivekananda at first objected and it was precisely it, which, in the end, became the deepest and most mysterious link between him and his master.—"Learn to recognise the Mother as instinctively in evil, terror, sorrow and annihilation as in that which makes for sweetness and joy. Fools put a garland of flowers round thy neck, Oh Mother, and then start back in terror and call thee the Merciful . . . Meditate on death, worship the terrible. Only by the worship of the terrible can the terrible itself be overcome and immortality gained. There should be bliss in torture too—the Mother herself is Brahman. Even her curse is blessing. The heart must become a cremation ground—pride, selfishness, desire all burnt to ashes." "If necessary seek death, not life. Hurl your self on the point of the sword and become one with the terrible for evermore." It was in such words that Vivekananda developed the hints dropped by his Master and perhaps it is not until one has understood them that one can realise the full robustness and vitality of the optimism that he was to bring into Hindu life.

The terror of life must be fought against, even embraced, nor masked or denied as the Christians might do, nor timidly shrunk away from in the devout Hindu fashion.

On the fly-leaf of Rolland's Life and Gospel of Vivekananda the following words of the Swami's are quoted: "Never forget the glory of human nature. We are the greatest God—Christs and Buddhas are but waves on the boundless ocean of I AM." This indeed is the key-note of the whole of Vivekananda's teaching. It crystallises the virility, the exuberant power, the faith in wordly activity, the magnificent humanism and the exaggerated truimphant phraseology that he used to rouse India from her spiritual lethargy. Those marvellous words how they burn with passion and feeling. Such a character as Vivekananda's was of course above all fitted to start the process of reformation and recreation so urgently necessary if India was to keep her own traditions and avoid uncritical dependence on the feverish energy of the West.

In one of his last essays Vivekananda wrote: "Material science is nothing but the finding of Unity in the physical field." Is not this really the point that Bertrand Russell has reached in his philosophy of Neutral Monism, Smuts in his Holism and Planck and Einstein in their philosophical explanations of Relativity and the Quantum Theory of light? I believe that we owe it partly to Ramakrishna and Vivekananda that at least in one part of the world this conclusion has been reached within the framework of an old but still living religious tradition.

Industrial Planning

The New Review observes:

The Government of India have at last made up their mind about the national development of industry; we shall have no plan, we will have a policy. Policy commands planning. The Government want an evolution rather than a revolution; too much wealth has already been wasted in communal riots and cross-migrations, and too many resources have been reduced, disjointed or paralysed by Partition. Nobody but a child would dream of making a brutal sweep of the present industrial structure and of starting with a 'clean slate'; even communists should acknowledge that it is futile to talk of redistributing the national income until something comes in. Nor will the Government let its money be swallowed up in buying up private concerns, since a change of ownership does not imply increased wealth.

State-money will rather be devoted to new productive undertakings. Naturally the gigantic schemes of irrigation, some of which had been prepared under the previous regime, will have priority over all others. The leading problem of India is food-production, and the key to food-production is found in water, manure and seeds. Irrigation plans could hardly be delayed for the satisfaction of buying up tramway or bus companies here and there, and for the pride of having nationalised the transport industry.

According to Dr. S. P. Mukerjee, industries would be divided into three classes: state-monopolies (railways, posts and telegraphs, defence and atomic energy); industries owned and controlled by the state but preferably corporation-managed (coal, iron, steel, aircraft, shipbuilding, mineral oils, etc.) though the existing establishments would not be absorbed for the present; free enterprises, individual or co-operative, in which, however, the Government explicitly threatens interference in case of necessity.

The implementation of this general policy will lead to repeated criticism, but at the present stage only one caution is needed. Officials and politicians, as is natural, with them, have a propensity to overdo their economic foresight and talent; they readily fancy that they normally know best and manage best. Pandit Nehru showed his keen insight when he frankly admitted the narrow limits to the actual possibilities of his present government. The evils of partition, the refugee problem, the uncertainties of the international situation should tone down the economic ambitions of officials and politicians. Moreover, in democratic countries which have pushed state-enterprise to the maximum, a new tendency is developing. In their present occupation to save as much as possible of personal liberty, more and more people are converted to what is called the principle of *subsidiarity*; in other words, the role of the state is to be considered as subsidiary to private enterprise and personal initiative. The Government should address itself to those tasks that are beyond private reach. The intervention in economic life should with advantage be directed to general planning and supervision, and the power of the political group which makes the ministry should not be turned into a camouflaged dictatorship. Pride and greed mislead politicians as well as capitalists.

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and there is little to choose between the factory-owner who captures parliament by the back-door and the parliamentarian who confiscates the factory by the front-gate.

Internal and International Life

The country is settling down to peaceful conditions. Communalism and communism are abating under the constant pressure of the Government and of the summer heat. Refugees sleep in their precarious tents, problems and plans are pigeon-holed, and the voting of the Constitution is made to wait for the first monsoon showers. The Inter-Dominion Conference at Calcutta benefited by the seasonal appeasement. Representatives of India and Pakistan, of East and West Bengal discussed with air-conditioned pacifism. Resolutions as generous as they were general were passed unanimously: migrations which were a nuisance to both governments should cease; the authorities would not authorize unauthorized persons to make unauthorized searches at the customs-houses, etc., etc., a glorious bunch of resolutions which the authorities are keen on implementing, but which unauthorized subjects of theirs (smugglers and gangsters) might wither away.

There remains the Kashmir imbroglio. From the scanty information available, the political and military situation is obscure. More than half the populated area of Kashmir and Jammu is till occupied by the raiders and the Azad Kashmiris: Gilgit, Kashmir North, Muzaffarabad, large sectors of Mirpur, Poonch, and Ladakh. No large-scale advance has been made since November last and spring operations were unexpectedly restricted to local gains. The allegiance of the people is uncertain; the non-Muslim minority is solidly behind Sheikh Abdulla, the Azad Kashmiris against him, and the vast majority have had little opportunity of voicing their feelings. Whatever be the results of a plebiscite, some districts contiguous to India or others along the Pakistan border will certainly make a bid for partition.

The U. N. O. Security Council has proved of little assistance, and its third resolution was as unacceptable as the first two. The declaration of India's representative was blunt: 'Pakistan has helped and is helping the raiders, and should be checked. When the raiders have withdrawn, Indian troops will occupy the whole country and maintain order. Kashmir's accession to India stands and must stand until it be reserved by an impartial plebiscite. Pakistan should not interfere in such a plebiscite.' Pakistan's delegate answered: 'A plebiscite must decide everything; hence Kashmir's accession is disputed. Indian troops must withdraw, and Kashmir there will maintain order. The Security Council has set forth the resolution; let the Council see that it be carried out.' The resolution was passed but did not resolve the antagonism, and the Plebiscite Commission was condemned to hard labour.

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Alternative of Joint Family System

In the course of his article in the *Insurance World* on an alternative of the joint family system J. M. Datta observes :

Whatever the causes, conscious or unconscious, the joint-family system has fallen into disfavour and decay. The decisions of our High Courts, manned by Europeans and English-educated Hindus, have hastened the decay by introducing changes in the law unsuited to the spirit of the Hindu race. A rough and ready idea of the progress of decay of the joint-family system may be gathered from the average number of persons per census house at the different censuses, although the figures are not strictly comparable with each other on account of the presence of non-Hindus and the changes from time to time in the census definition of a house. The figures are :

Year of Census	*No. of persons per house*
1881	5·8
1891	5·4
1901	5·2
1911	4·9
1921	4·9
1931	5·0
1941	5·1

As a rough estimate we may say that if all Hindu families were joint-families in 1881, about half of them are now no longer joint. In another 50 or 60 years, probably much earlier having regard to the increase in the age of marriage and certain other tendencies, there will scarcely be any joint Hindu families in the old sense.

With the decay of the joint-family system, we are losing its advantages. Along with this decay, there has been a rapid growth of pernicious individualism and its consequent selfishness. Maternal-uncles and nephews scarcely lived together under the same roof ; and were not 'ex hypothesi' members of the same joint family. Formerly it was a common social phenomenon to find maternal-uncles helping and pushing their nephews; but now such a sight is rare. Even well-placed paternal-uncles do not help their brilliant nephews with college-fees, etc., thus stopping their further education, although they visit cinemas with friends and members of their own families almost daily. In the seventies and eighties of the last century, college professors with incomes round about an average of Rs. 100 used to spend about one-sixth of their incomes in helping poorer relations and destitutes. Now-a-days such help is very rare. The father's sister of a professor drawing about Rs. 400 is serving us as a cook ; the mother's sister of another with an income of over Rs 700 came to a charitable institution for clothes and blankets in winter.

How to replace the co-operative spirit is the problem. That Life Insurance, Old-age Pensions, Sickness and Accident Insurance, etc., are the proper substitutes —there cannot be two opinions. Without the State it is not possible to have old-age pensions or sickness insurance. Life Insurance is the practical substitute at present for the joint-family system. Even with the phenomenal increase in new life insurance business in recent years, the progress of Life Insurance in India has been decidedly slow. It has been calculated by Mr. P. V. Krishnamurty, Assistant Superintendent of Insurance, that per capita value of insurance was Rs 3 in 1930 . Rs. 6 in 1940 ; and Rs. 12 in 1945. The progress may at first sight seem to be rapid. But the following table, which is self-explanatory, tells its own tale.

	Per Capita Income Rs.	Insurance Rs.
U. S. A.	1,406	2,300
Canada	1,038	1,573
Britain	980	973
Australia	972	960
Germany	603	240
India	65	12

Even allowing for the differences in National Wealth, the discrepancy is too great. The number of life policies in force at the end of the year 1945 is 25,92,000. In 1941, the population of India was 38 millions ; by the end of 1945 it is estimated to be at least 410 millions. Thus less than 0·6 persons per 100 has insured.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

America and the Partition of Palestine

John Earle Uhler observes in *The Catholic* ...y, March, 1948:

The partition of Palestine, as decided by the United ...s on a feverish Saturday session at Lake Success, ...mber 29, 1947, was accomplished largely by American ...s. In many quarters, therefore, America is thought ... responsible for implementing the decision. She may ... through the United Nations but it will probably be ...ary to provide through her own treasury or privately ...h various agencies, for the successful inauguration ...development of the new Zionist state. She is con...ed liable for its defense against all enemies. In brief, ...r attempt to wrest a large part of Palestine from ... for the sake of Zionism, America appears to have ...taken what Christian Europe attempted during the ...le Ages through the Crusades—and failed to accom... after several hundred years of bloodshed.

That America is the force behind the parti...n of the Holy Land cannot be disputed.

...me it is that England gave the movement its first ...ss with the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, ...h viewed "with favour the establishment in Palestine ... National Home for the Jewish people." This declara... was made to win Jewish support for England's wrest... of Palestine from Turkey in World War I. After ...land drove Turkey out, however, and assumed control ... Holy Land through a "Mandate," she was con... with an Arab protest against Zionism. At that time ... than thirty years ago—Palestine was overwhelmingly ...d of Arabs, just as Mexico is a land of Mexicans. ... Arab population was more than ten times as large as ...wish. Alarmed at the influx of foreigners, this Arab ...ity rose against both the Jews and the British. The ... Mohammedan world was anxious about its Holy ... and made threats on behalf of the Palestine Arabs. ... the dangers involved in this hostility, that spread ... Gibralter to the Philippines, Winston Churchill, in ... gave a reinterpretation to the Balfour paper and ...ly repudiated the original promise to the Jews.

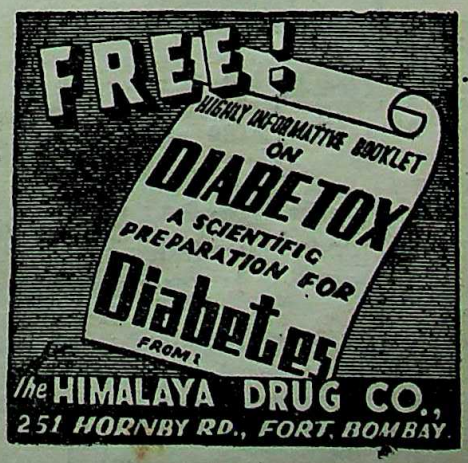
Since that time England has resisted any ... progress of Zionism.

The Jews, however, were not to be denied. Year after ... waves of Zionists swept into the Holy Land. In ...ne, ten thousand moved in. In 1933, thirty ... thousand. In 1934, forty thousand. In 1935 more than ... including the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. ...ered the recognition of Hebrew as an official ... in association with the heretofore official tongues, ...h and English. They organized the Palestine Electric ...ation and constructed a great power plant. They ... built and populated all the city of Tel Aviv on ...Mediterranean coast, adjoining the Arab city of Jaffa. ...gan to buy up the cultivable land. And steadily ... were aroused into greater violence against them. ...land, on her part, could already foresee the coming ...d War II. She had the Suez Canal to protect. ...ously now than ever, she realized that she must not antagonize the Moslem world—250,000,000 strong—that lay athwart her life line from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean to the Pacific. To win this vast world, England turned her back completely on the comparative handful of Zionists, published in unequivocal terms (May 17, 1937) that her policy was not for the establishment of a Jewish state, and began restriction of immigrants into Palestine with a view to curtailing immigration severely after March 31, 1944.

At this point, the Zionists turned the full force of their propaganda on America. They appealed to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and, according to Senator Wagner, who has a large Jewish constituency in New York, were assured that the American government would do everything in its power "to prevent the curtailment of Jewish immigration into Palestine." In the spring of 1941, the American Palestine Committee was organized, with Senator Wagner as chairman and Senator McNary as co-chairman. Its membership included Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes and Secretary of Agriculture Claude A. Wickard. Their avowed purpose was to prepare Palestine for "large scale" Jewish immigration.

The machinery turned fast. Many rabbis and other Jewish speakers, together with Christian clergymen, championed the Zionist cause from the platform and directed their audiences to write to their congressmen. Newspaper editorials favoured the proposed Jewish state. Full-page advertisements appeared. Appeals for financial aid filled the mails.

As a result, on December 4, 1942, about two-thirds of the members in the United States Senate and almost one-half of those in the House expressed themselves in favor of America's "declared and traditional policy" of promoting a Jewish nation in Palestine. They included both the majority and minority leaders of both the Senate and the House. Their expressions turned into official action in February, 1944, less than two months before the date when England was to ban immigration into Palestine. Resolutions were introduced by both Democrats and Republicans in the House (in which Representatives Wright and Compton were co-sponsors) and in the Senate (in which Senators Wagner and Taft were co-sponsors). The resolution was to the effect "that the doors of Palestine be



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opened for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." This resolution, said Representative Compton, would be "notice to the British government."

This "notice" to England from the United States Congress was reinforced by a letter from President Truman, August 31, 1945, to Prime Minister Attlee, in which the President intervened on behalf of the Zionists. This attitude on the part of America evoked a question from the British Foreign Office as to the extent America was willing to go in order to effect the suggestions, which were now equivalent to demands, that she had made. The two countries then agreed on a joint committee to investigate and make recommendations. It was England's opportunity to slip the burden to the shoulders of the nation that was constantly interfering.

Negotiations lagged during the formation of the United Nations. Once it was organized, the new British-American Committee on Palestine, unable to come to any agreement, turned its problem over to that organization. At once America took the initiative. Although an 11-nation Commission of the United Nations by a vote of seven to three (one not voting) decided on the partition of Palestine, and the 57-nation Palestine committee, by a vote of twenty-five to thirteen (nineteen not voting) supplemented the voice of the Commission, it was the American State Department that inspired most of the details of the plan and gave it the final imprimatur. It was Herschel V. Johnson, furthermore, American delegate to the United Nations, who helped largely to steer its passage. At the time when the measure was to be presented in the General Assembly, all the Americans there were as busy with their politics as schoolboys at a class election. They lacked a few votes necessary for the adoption of their plan. They had depended on Haiti, Greece, and the Philippines, which at the last moment announced themselves against it. The delegates of some other nations were instructed to abstain from voting, which was almost tantamount to negation. The British, on their part, refused to vote on any question whatsoever that pertained to Palestine. They declared that their country wished to withdraw from the Holy Land completely and would not take part in the enforcement of any measure that mas not agreeable to Arabs and Jews alike.

The situation was desperate. To gain time for electioneering, Herschel Johnson, Warren Austin, and other Americans won a postponement of the question. Johnson made two speeches in one day pleading for a larger majority and asking the abstaining nations to vote. He and his collaborators worked in corridor corners and on the backstairs. They rejoiced when Siam was disqualified because of a change of government in that country. They persuaded Haiti and the Philippines to return to their side. They brought Belgium, the Netherlands, and New Zealand into the fold. They courted France, which remained doubtful to the very end. At last they were ready for the question, and the measure passed, by the necessary two-thirds vote, 33 to 13, with 10 nations abstaining. On paper, a new nation had come into being. Without America, it would have died in early embryo.

This new Zionist state, which is supposed to take its place among the nations of the world on July 1, 1948, covers the larger and better part of Palestine.

It is shaped somewhat like a hunchback, the upper spine lying on the Mediterranean, the face and throat turned east against Syria and northern Trans-Jordan, the leg, with a bulge at the knee against southern Trans-Jordan. Just above the hump in the back lies a section of what will be left to the Arabs. In the chest and abdomen lies another Arab area, with the exception of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which will be international. In the seat lies the third Arab territory, a narrow strip, less than a hundred miles long, on the Mediterranean. The Zionist state will comprise 5,600 square miles, or almost fifty-five per cent of Palestine; the Arab state will comprise 4,700 square miles, or about forty-five per cent. In the area assigned to the Zionists there are at present about 498,000 Jews and 327,000 Arabs; the ratio of Jews to Arabs is therefore about one and a half to one. In the area assigned to the Arab state are 10,000 Jews and 805,000 Arabs, the ratio being one to eighty. The ratio of Jews to Arabs in all Palestine is less than one to two.

An examination of the Zionist state reveals that the partitioners had Jewish interests foremost in their consideration. The Jewish state is better consolidated—more in one piece. It includes most of the railroads—in fact, virtually all except a strip toward Egypt. It embraces the richest lands in Palestine, extending inland from Haifa to Jaffa, as well as those north and south of the sea of Galilee, with their grain fields, olive groves, and vineyards. It has an outlet to the Mediterranean trade through the best seaport in Palestine, Haifa, and another outlet, Akaba, to the Red Sea. Although the southern part of the new state is largely desert, it is capable of irrigation; there are numerous fertile places at the present time. The chief advantage lies in the fact that it borders one-half of the western shores of the Dead Sea, which not only invites the establishment of winter health resorts but promises a wealth of minerals, the largest salt deposits around the Sea being in this area.

The Arab state, on the other hand, is cut into three separate sections, or rather four, because the Arab city of Jaffa on the coast is isolated as the fourth section. For the northern and southern areas, little can be said except

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Nazareth, of inspiration to Christians as well as is in the northern territory, as is the seacoast of Acre, with its malarial swamps. In the southern is Gaza, and a portion of the railroad that runs to Egypt. Both the northern and southern areas entirely Arab, the farmers in the north, the shepherds the south.

The middle territory is also overwhelmingly Arab. It dotted with mosques, some of which were constructed a thousand years ago, when there were virtually no in all of Palestine. In the north lies Nablus ient Shechem), toward which the Biblical Jews were ally because it was populated by the Samaritans, people of mixed Jewish and non-Jewish blood, descen- of whom still live in the south-western part of the Except for the eight large mosques in Nablus, the is poor and shabby. So is Er Ramle, at the western of this middle part of the Arab state. Here native has little left to him except the ruined Tower the White Mosque, from which he may view, on the west, the fertile plains that have been given to the state.

At the extreme south-west of the central Arab territory Beersheba, which is nothing but a tiny trading post Bedouins; it serves chiefly as a boundary mark between two states. Different is Hebron, three thousand feet sea level, busy with the manufacture of glass and goods, as well as of water-skins from goats' hides. surrounded by vineyards and almond groves and orchards. The remainder of the Arab state of barren hills cut by tillable valleys. In its heart the area that includes Jerusalem and Bethlehem. are holy cities for the Moslem as well as for Christ- and Jews. They will be governed by an international All in all, the Arabs got the skimmed milk; yet are American congressmen who have expressed that they got as much as they did get. Among for example, is Representative F. Edward Herbert New Orleans, who made a speech to that effect in the of Representatives.

The principles that guided those who partitioned the Land were largely echoes of the past war. To be these statesmen must have felt, to a greater or less the hands of antiquity and tradition. People of Western World have been taught to regard Palestine fountain spring of the Jewish race. It is an attitude has been stressed by Christianity. But the fact that even in Biblical times the Jews had only a hold on Palestine. Again and again they were out, into Egypt, for example, or into Babylonia. significant still, they made a final exit in A.D. 70—almost two thousand years ago—when the Romans scattered them over the earth and burned their temple. In the course of centuries they returned slowly; but in 1918 there were only about 50,000 Jews as compared to 600,000 Arabs.

A more immediate motive in the partition was the sentiment engendered for the Jews by their persecution in Europe. Furthermore, they were Hitler's enemies, and so they were our friends. We are told that they cannot remain in Europe, because—as Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, the former adviser in Germany to the United States Governor, warned—they will be subject to pogroms. He even reported increasing friction between American soldiers and the Jews. And so American congressmen spoke up; Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce said that we should find refuge for the Jews in the "place they prefer, Palestine, and guarantee this by force of arms if necessary."

The Zionists turn this sentiment to their purpose. They point out that the Arabs opposed the Allies during the war and favoured the Germans. They name, as the chief example, Hag Amin El Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, who, after being driven from Palestine by the British, because of his resistance to Zionism, fled to Italy and then to Germany, whence he radioed pleas to the Moslem world on behalf of the Axis. But it should be emphasized that first, as an exile in French territory—so says the *Survey of International Affairs*—the Grand Mufti declared: "Palestine Arabs will always be grateful to the French Government and will refain from any activity likely to affect its interests, in the hope that it will be successful in maintaining peace, justice, and integrity . . . and the freedom of nations, which is the aim of us all."

It was only after France fell to the Germans and America went openly to war in 1941 that the Mufti turned to Germany for help against the Zionists. By that time the American Palestine Committee had been formed, and many political leaders, including Franklin D. Roosevelt, had expressed themselves in favor of a Jewish state in Palestine. It was then that the Mufti felt it his sacred duty to Islam to do all in his power to prevent what he considered the desecration of the Moslem Holy Land. America was an enemy to his cause: the Axis seemed to be his only salvation.

Throughout the entire controversy leading to the partition of Palestine by the United Nations, the stand of Russia has been puzzling and ominous. Although she did not campaign for the Jewish state as did America, she voted for it. Through her delegate Semen K. Tsarapkin, she has insisted on an interim period between the withdrawal of British troops and the establishment of the two new nations. During this period, Tsarapkin

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proposed, Palestine should be under the supervision of the Security Council (the United States, Russia, Britain, France, China, Syria, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Colombia, and Poland). In these proposals of Russia, many skilful observers scent ulterior motives. In the first place, if the Security Council should take charge of the partition, Russia will be in control, for already she has exercised twenty-two vetoes on this Council. Furthermore, she will be dealing with associates that are indifferent to the partition. Britain, China, and Colombia abstained from voting for the new Jewish state. France, always strong among the Arabs, was uncertain. Syria, recently a French mandate, voted no. And Poland is completely under Russian dominance. Under these circumstances, Russia could easily take the control away from America, while America kept the responsibility.

Another motive may lie in the very fact of partition. If America, through the U. N., can split up a territory so that foreigners, to whom she feels sympathetic, may emigrate to that territory and make homes there, why cannot Russia do the same? If Russia should encourage a migration of Rumanians—perhaps Rumanian Jews of Communist leanings—to northern Greece, for the sake of splitting Greece and establishing a new nation there, could America protest in view of what she herself has done in Palestine?

There is apparently still more behind the Russian stand. Moscow has many agents in the Jewish Stern Gang in Palestine, reported to be largely Communistic. She is also supporting the emigration, from the countries that she controls in Eastern Europe, of thousands of Jews who are Communists or Communist sympathizers. It is said that she has distributed arms among them preparatory to their move to Palestine. They are to form the nucleus of a Communist movement in the new state.

Russia foresees, moreover, that an army will have to be sent to Palestine to protect the new Jewish commonwealth from the enmity of the surrounding Arab state. As one of the Big Five in the United Nations, she naturally expects to make up a part of this army. She will thereby accomplish what she has been attempting since the war—the movement of her troops into Asia Minor near the oil fields here, which will be vital in the event of another war.

It need not be explained that the Arabs are resisting the whole movement. Fearful over the possible loss of Palestine they organized the Pan-Arab League in 1943, uniting Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Trans-Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. Although for more than a thousand years they have practised tolerance toward both Jews and Christians and have a record far better than most European countries, they have now declared a Holy War and are concentrating troops against the Zionists. They warn that 70,000,000 Arabs will rise for the fight and that all Islam is behind them. The war has already started, and more than a thousand Arabs and Jews have so far died in the struggle.

—

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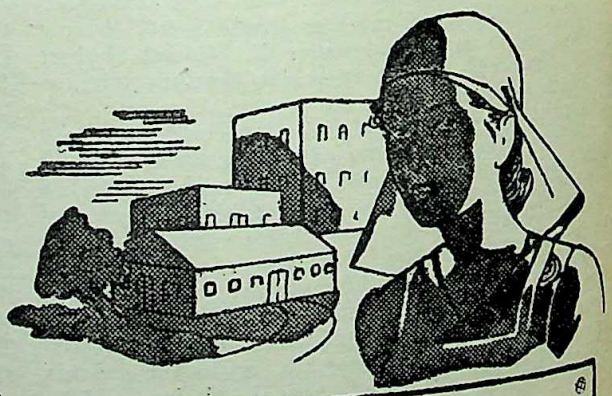

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Emancipator of India

Leo Hirsch had written this article in *Unity* before Gandhiji was assassinated :

The Indian ideal of sainthood comes from the *Bhagavad-Gita* meaning the Song of the Lord. "To those who are detached from desire and from anger, who practise self-control and are restrained in mind, knowing the true self—to them is salvation nigh."

It is in the blending of this idealism of India with that of Christianity that Mahatma Gandhi is to be understood. Mahatma means "great soul" and the title is India's recognition that in him her ideal of sainthood is realized. This distinction came to him unsought; and when he was asked by members of the English Parliament what the title meant, he replied: "It means a very unimportant person." Such humility is of the essence of sainthood, and it is by identifying himself with the poor that he has won his great eminence in India. A saint is one who makes the spiritual world visible to us; and this will help to explain the vast multitudes who come to gaze at the homely and humble figure of the Mahatma as a religious exercise. Here is a man without wealth or earthly possessions, rather sickly and emaciated, yet possessing a spiritual grandeur, whose influence has affected 400 million human beings.

Like Dr. Kagawa in Japan, Gandhi is a fighting pacifist, and his long and heroic career has been spent in a great attack upon race prejudice and the exploitation of the poor. The conviction was burning into his soul that India had been and still is being killed, body and soul, by exploitation from abroad.

Some of Gandhi's sayings upon the central principles of his life have become classical. They are: "If untouchability and caste are convertible terms, the sooner caste perishes, the better for all concerned." "If blood must be shed, let it be our blood." "Passive resistance is always infinitely superior to physical violence." "There is no God higher than Truth." "Truth is the first thing to be sought for, and beauty and goodness will then be added unto you; that is really what Christ taught in the Sermon on the Mount."

He profoundly believes in non-violent resistance which came to him from that great American, David Henry Thoreau, who expressed it over one hundred years ago. Non-violence does not mean weak submission to the will of the evil-doer but rather the putting of our whole soul against the will of the tyrant. It is in fact another name for love—opposing itself with courage to physical violence and opposing truth to untruth.

Gandhi also believes in fasting. This is a discipline of soul and body and has rarely been understood in the Western world. When he enters upon a long fast, it is because he believes that his followers need to be lifted to new moral heights and that, in their failure, he himself has failed. His genius as a leader comes from the fact that he leads such opposing forces as the Mohammedans and Hindus, as well as the Untouchables. These conflicting forces continue those riots which seriously disturb the peace of India and make progress difficult. Whenever these riots became serious, Gandhi would fast and in each case he won a temporary victory by first winning a victory in his own soul. On the other hand, when he fasted as a prisoner of the British, he unquestionably used a form of non-violent resistance.

He often confessed during these riots that his followers were not yet ready for the full exercise of soul force. Despite such failures, he has worked miracles in the reshaping of the soul of India. His amazing success has been that he has changed India from a slave mentality of acquiescence to a fearless expression of revolt and, at the same time, he has harnessed the fury of the mob. He has kindled the flame of freedom and independence and yet prevented a conflagration. He has won an immense victory without force, without war, and without money, in so far as he has compelled the British Empire, after two hundred years of occupation, to withdraw her troops and restore the independence of India. He won the Declaration of Independence for India. Gandhi also declared the Emancipation of the Untouchables, liberating 60 million human beings from actual persecution and slavery. This is the greatest deliverance in human history. (The other emancipations were the freeing of 23 million Russian serfs by the Russian Czar, Alexander II, March 2, 1861, and the freeing of the Negro slaves by Abraham Lincoln.)

Gandhi has also brought about the emancipation of women, and that, too, was a miracle of social reformation when it is remembered that for many centuries women had no real place in Indian life apart from domestic duties.

Gandhi believes that the machine with its mass production has brought to man neither freedom nor happiness. He insists that only partnership, brotherhood, and love can win for us the release of our spiritual forces. Einstein confirms this universal truth when he says: "There is partnership between time and space," and biology recognizes that the successful insects and animals are the co-operative ones. Gandhi's attitude is the spirit which recognizes the supreme value of personality and of freedom. In the industrial world, we are witnessing the result of placing the machine above man, and we will yet learn through bitter experience that the human values are the real values. We will yet learn the lesson that it is impossible to keep our machines in full operation, and their product in constant consumption, unless the profits of industry are shared in ever-increasing ratio with the men who operate the machines and who are the mass consumers. Partnership is the only principle that justifies the machine. Workers the world over are demanding not charity but partnership, not patronage but justice. America became great because here, for the first time in human history, the common man became the measure of all values. This religious ideal is at the heart of Dr. Kagawa in Japan, Gandhiji in India, and it motivated our American saint, Abraham Lincoln.

We of the Western world, trying to recover our sanity and stability after the most destructive war in history, wounded, weary and confused, yearning for permanent peace and yet divided and incapable of achieving it, look wistfluly and hopefully to Gandhi as the incarnation of a moral and spiritual power and as the embodiment of principles which offer to the race moral substitutes for war and a challenge to luxury, selfishness, and greed.

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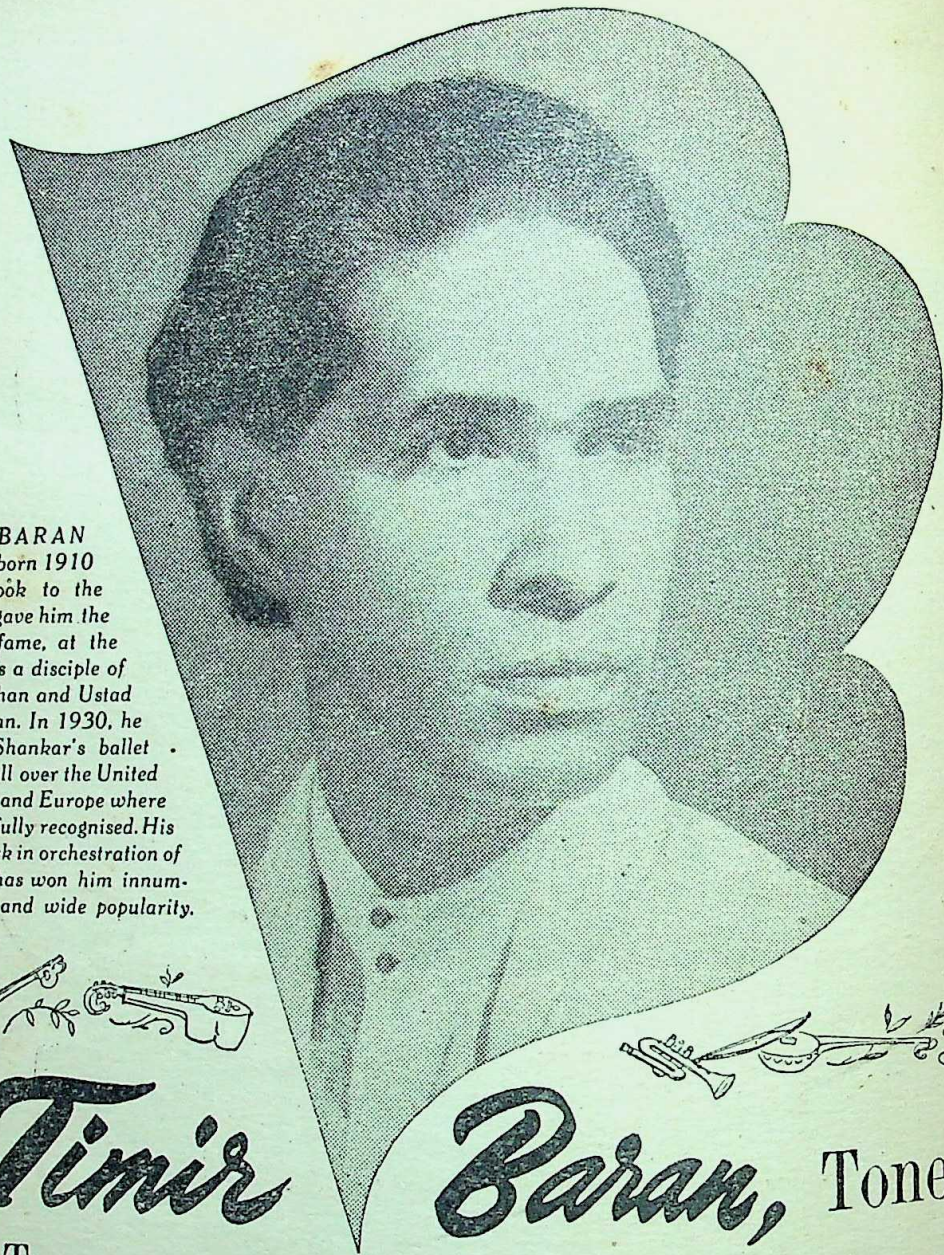

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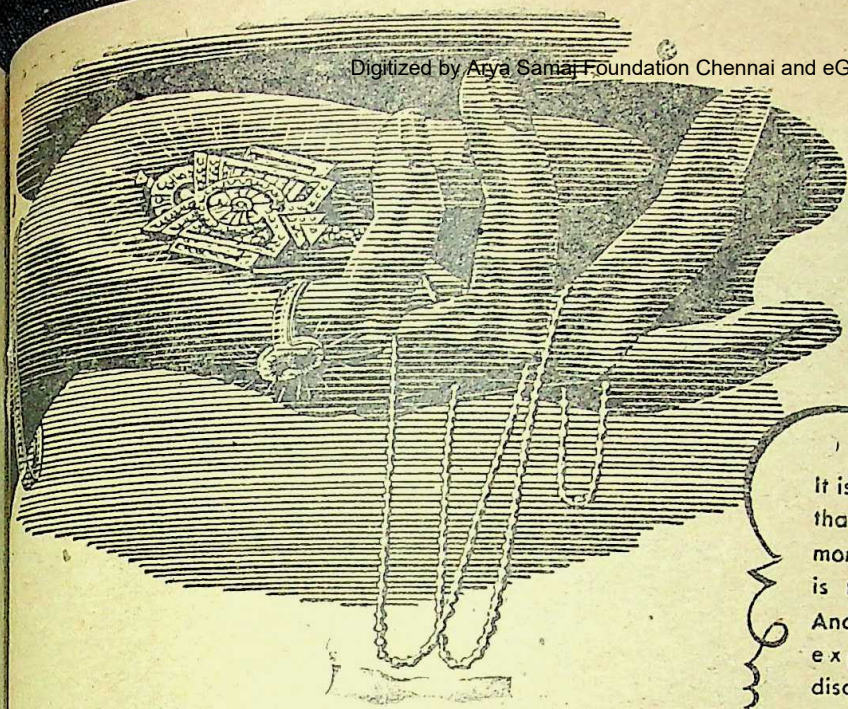

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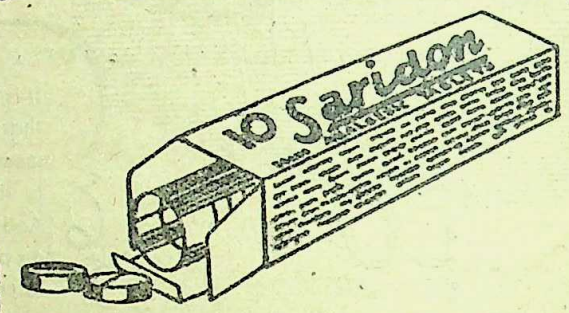

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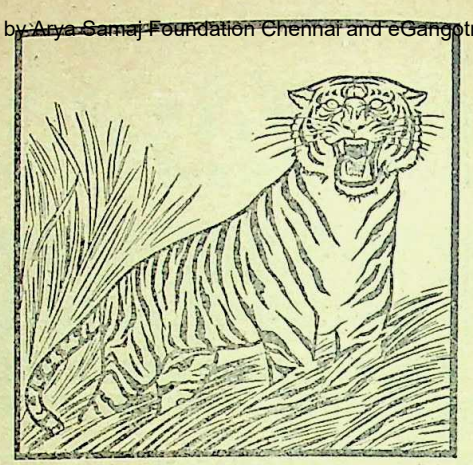
TIGER  BRAND

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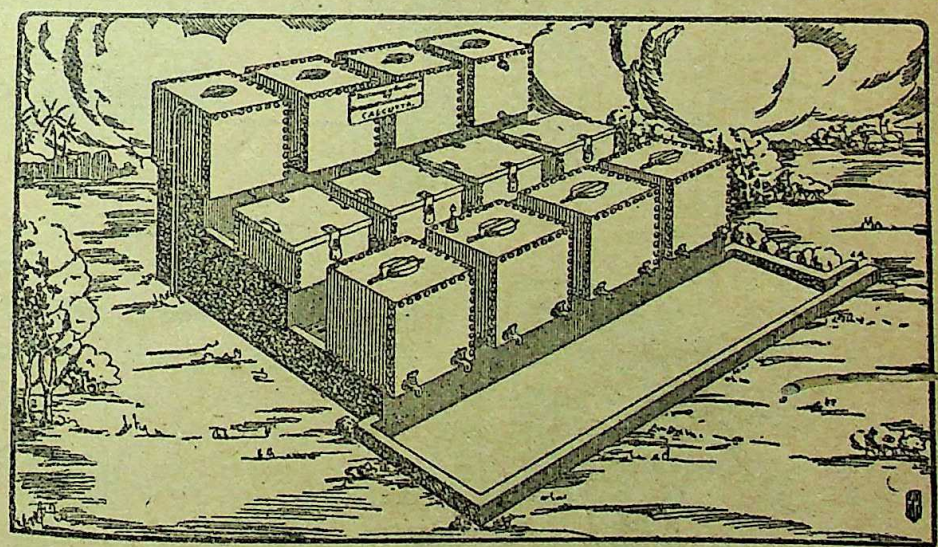

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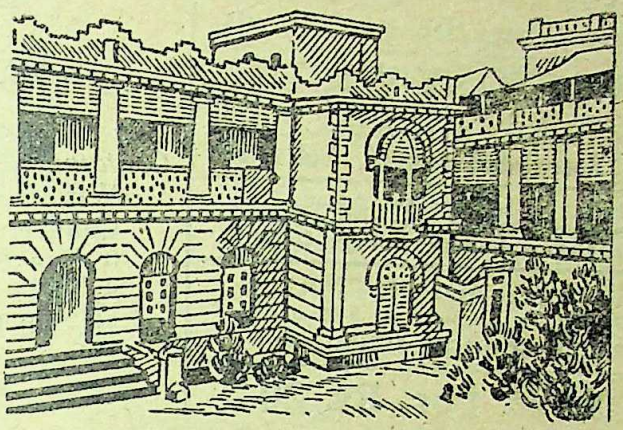

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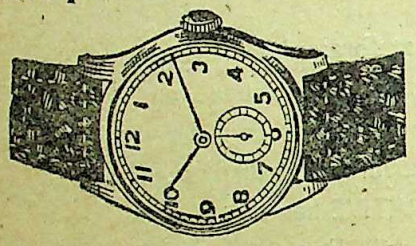

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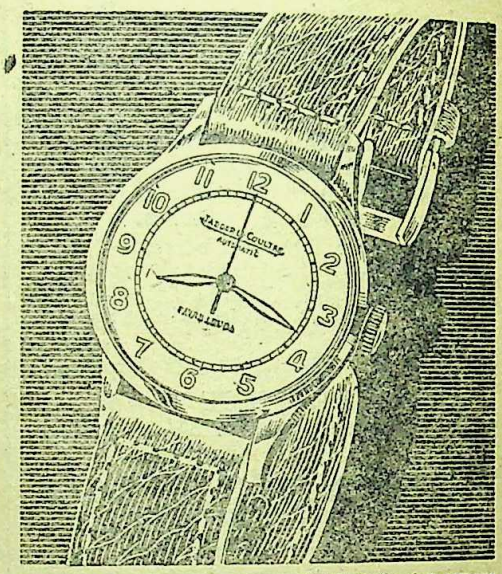

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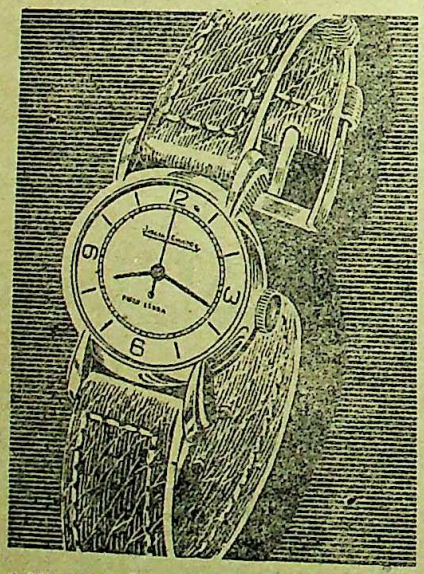

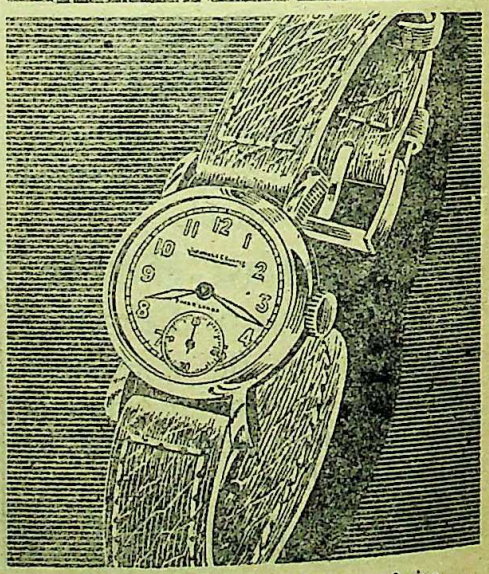

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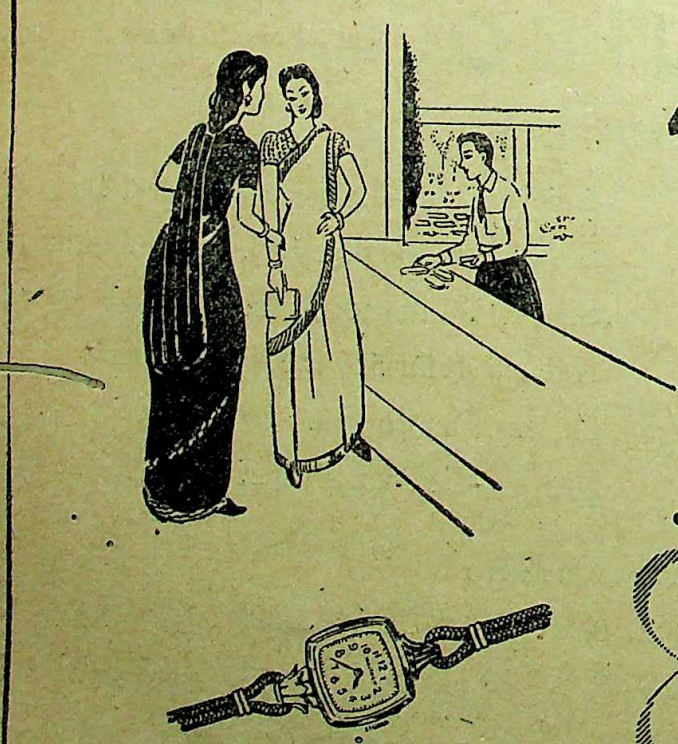

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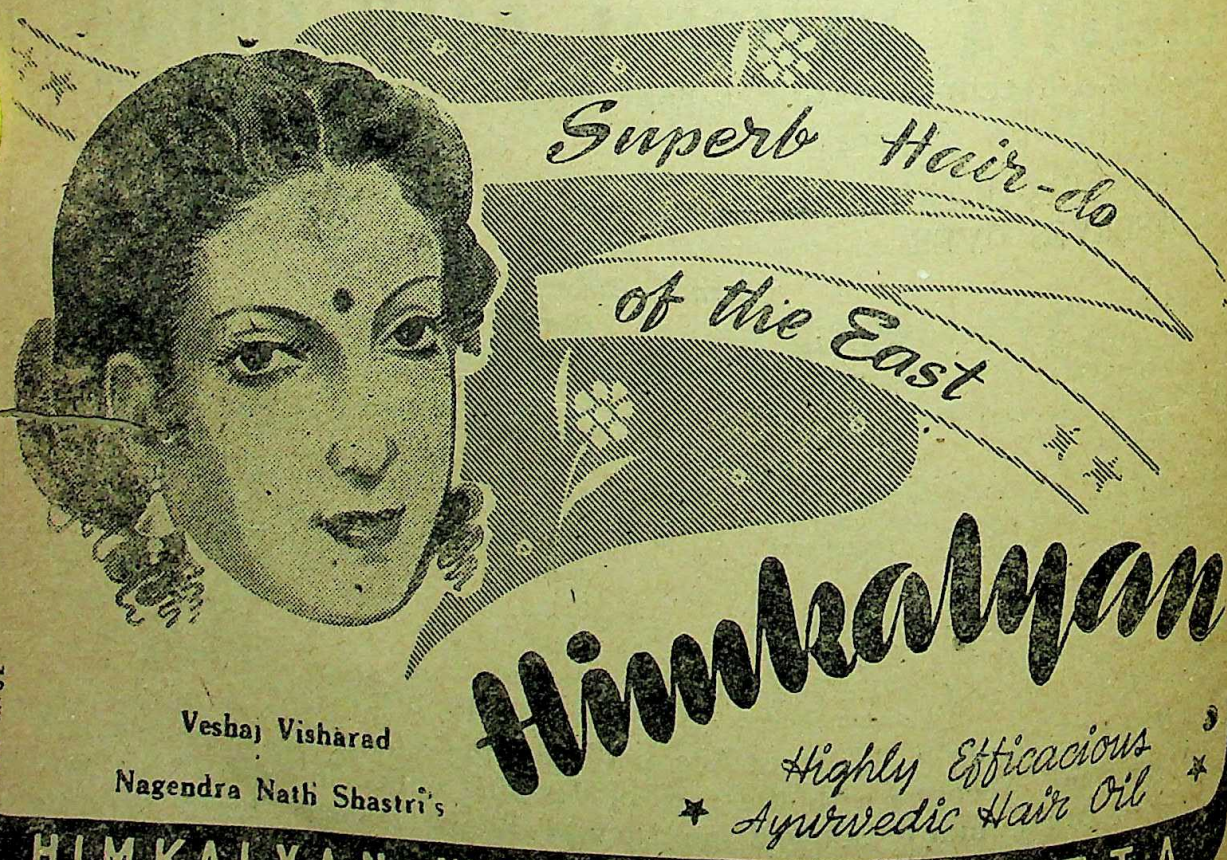

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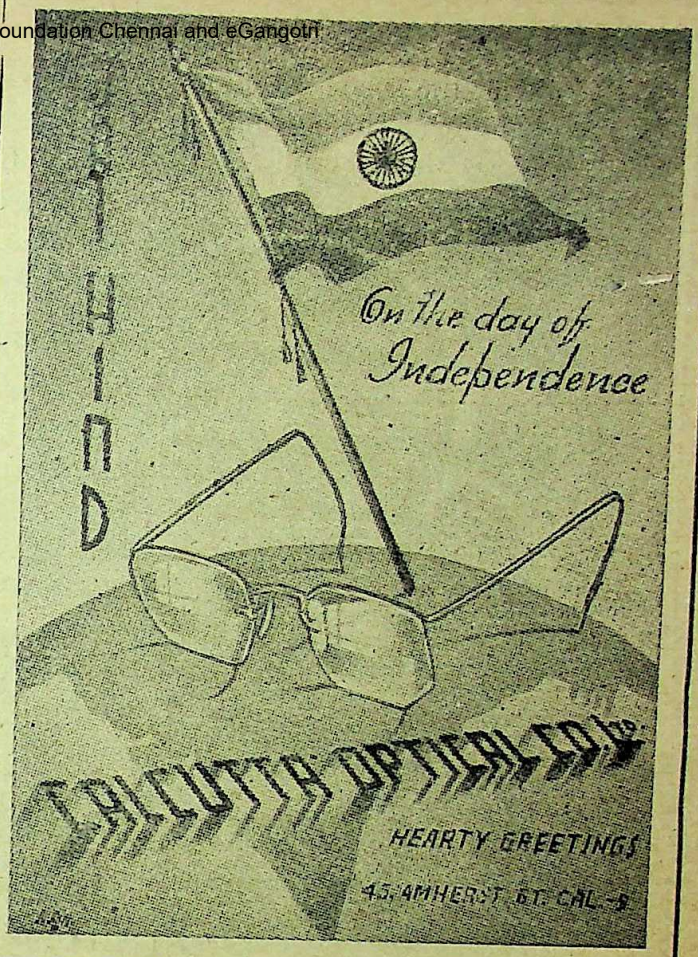

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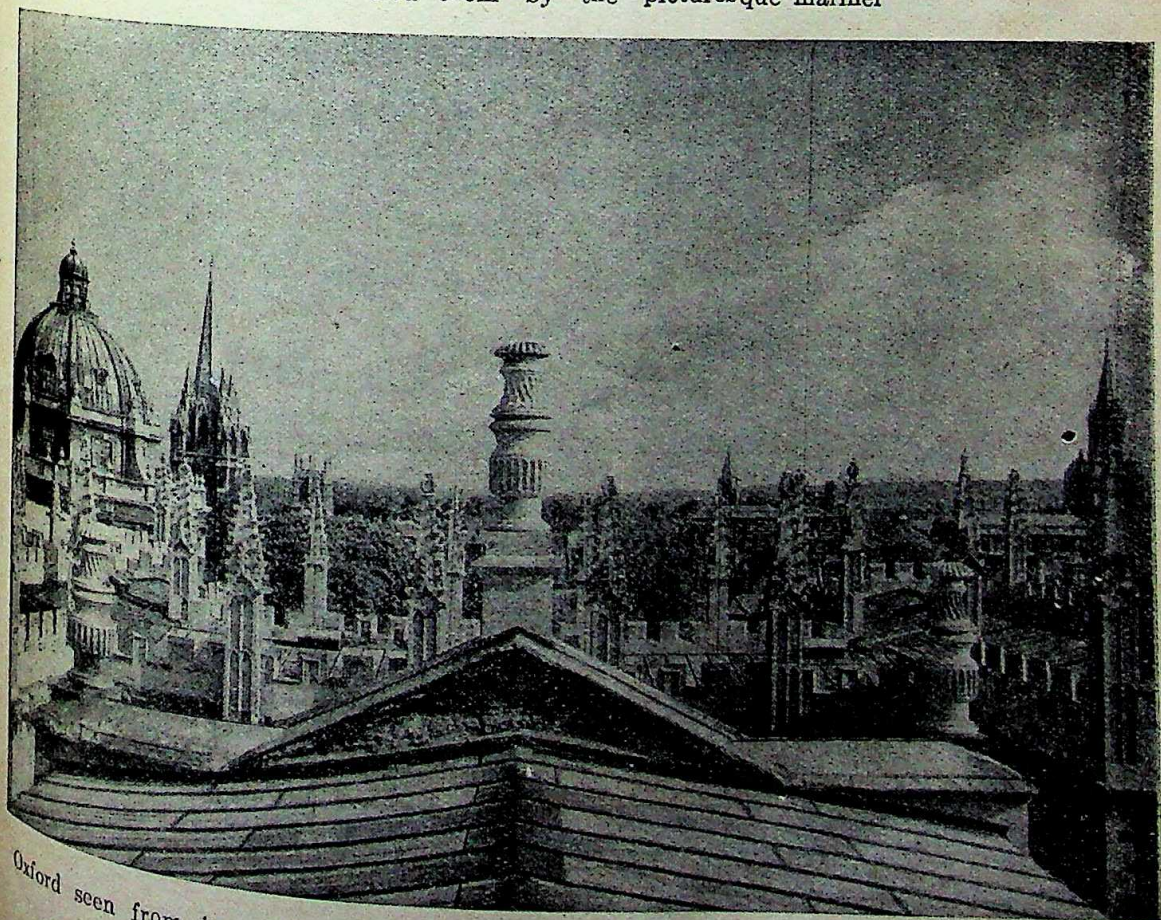

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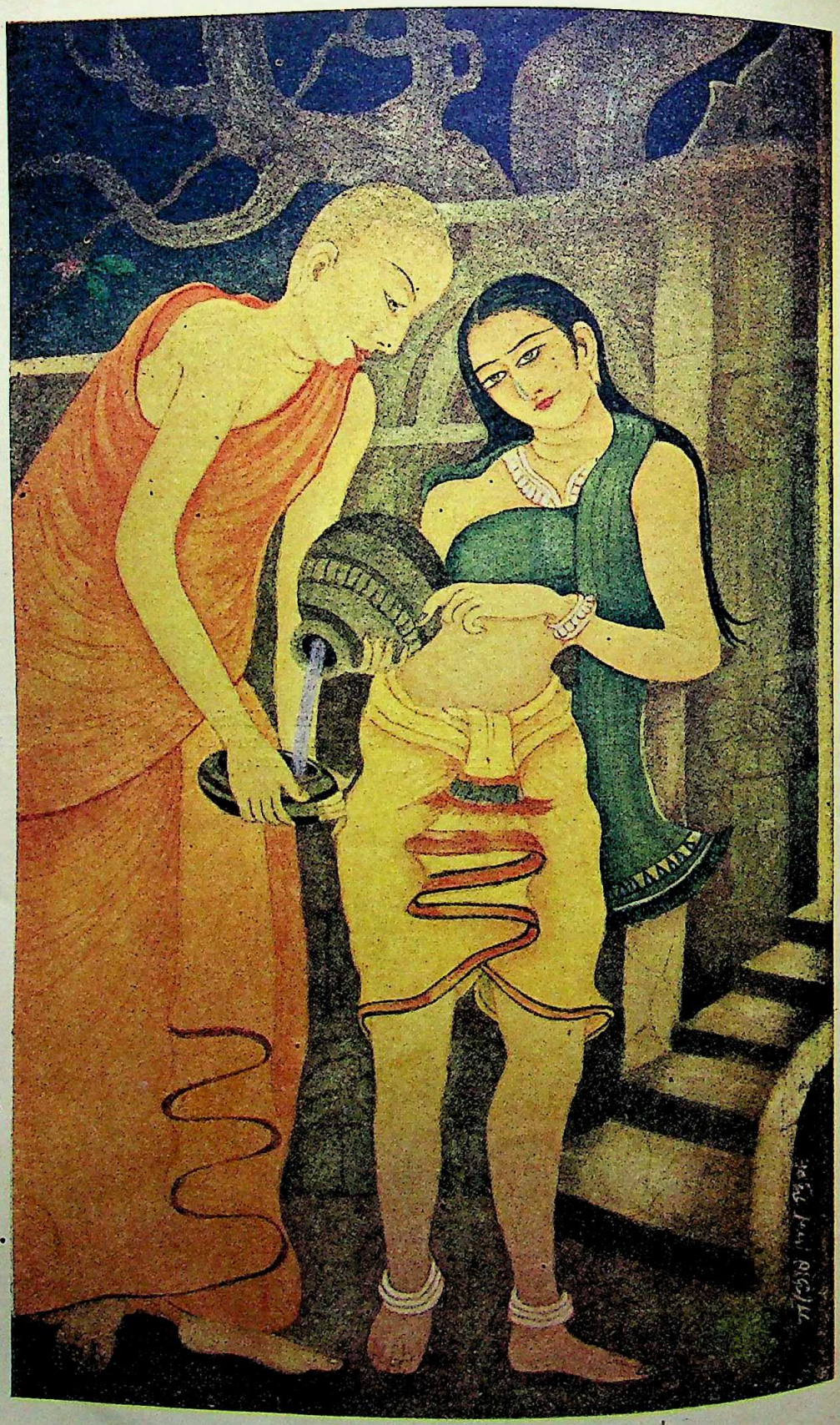

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THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST 1948

VOL. LXXXIV, No. 2 WHOLE No. 500

NOTES

...tion at Last ?

Pandit Nehru has to be congratulated on his fighting speeches in Madras. The reaction to these speeches has not been long in coming. Loud and prolonged cries of protest are coming from all the enemies of India, not the least remarkable being that from the arch-enemy of all Asiatics, Mr. Winston Churchill. In a debate on Hyderabad in the House of Commons, this senile antidiluvian, who handed Burma on a plate to the Japanese through his rebuff to the Burmese nationalists in the U Saw Mission—thereby causing death and suffering to hundreds of thousands—was quite justifiably rebuked by Mr. Attlee for "selecting his facts from only one side." Mr. Attlee was absolutely correct when he emphatically stated that "Mr. Churchill generally starts with the pre-conceived opinion that everything Hindus do is wrong," and further he was quite right in stating that "it is the view generally held in India" about Mr. Winston Churchill.

We hope Pandit Nehru's speeches indicate the awakening of the Dreamer to realities. It is late in the day and the complications are myriad due to the policy of laissez faire adopted so far. The country is wide awake to the difficulties of the situation and the Government may be sure about the full weight of the people's sanction being thrown in its favour, if once action replaces hesitation and stern measures replace mushy speeches and abstract platitudes. The Nation's economic life has been jeopardised by the treacherous activities of some despicable gangs of Big Business, who have been brazenly looting the people behind the shield of ministerial amity and executive complicity, both at the Centre and in the provinces.

Labour has been led into intransigence through the nefarious activities of the Communist Party of India and their stooges of the A.I.T.U.C. It is now apparent to all that the sole object of these fifth columnists of Foreign Powers was to sabotage the plans for the Industrialisation of India, so that the Indian Union remain for ever at the mercy of those Western States whose economy is far more advanced along those lines. The Government must be alert about the activities of all these disruptive elements and we think a stringent enquiry is called for, regarding the actions and speeches of certain A.I.T.U.C. leaders, who are willing tools at the hands of their communist masters. There have been howls about civil liberties from these people, who have had no compunction whatsoever in causing endless suffering to hundreds of millions in order that a few hundred thousand of their dupes might get advantages over the vast majority of the nationals of this country. It is about time the people were told that an unscrupulous "labour-leader" was as much a source of danger to the country as an unscrupulous capitalist, and much more so when he was acting as an agent of a hidden foreign enemy.

Hyderabad and Kashmir are major indicators of the trends of foreign diplomacy regarding the Indian Union. Mr. Attlee has done well by his country by clarifying the stand of his government *vis-a-vis* the Indian Union's policy. But it is no use hiding the fact that there is a growing sense of resentment in this country regarding the anti-Indian activities of a large number of British nationals whose sole aim seems to be to embarrass and injure the Indian Union. These blind fools seem to have forgotten the lessons of the last decade and a half, after the rise of Hitler. Malice is the ruling passion in their life, together with the hope of illicit gain. They are the avowed enemies of all Hindus because it was the Hindu who fought them and their predecessors with all the resources of mind and might. Sydney Cotton is not an isolated figure, nor is he the most important of his kind.

We dealt with the beginnings of Hyderabad in these columns last month. In this issue we append at the end of editorial columns the presentation of historical evidence by Sir Jadunath Sircar, the *doyen* of Indian historians, regarding the same. But evidence or no evidence the fact remains that eighty-five per cent of the people of Hyderabad are inalienable, by all tenets of race, caste or creed, from their neighbours and relatives in the surrounding areas, and as such their destiny must march with that of the nationals of the Indian Union.

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Pandit Nehru's Address to Workers

Addressing a mass rally of workers at the Corporation Stadium of Madras on the 26th of July, Pandit Nehru said that a country's well-being depended upon its production and its productive capacity from the land and from industry. "If we have to remove the poverty of India, if we have to increase the standards and well-being of our people, we must produce more and then, secondly, we must see that what our workers produce is properly distributed and that it does not stick in a few pockets.

"These two things have to be borne in mind, and the first of this is production. Now there has been a good deal of stress laid on production, and rightly so, and unfortunately there have been trouble and strikes and lock-outs and the like which have come in the way of production. I am not going into these questions now except to tell you that any Government, any national Government, that we may have in the Province or in the Centre cannot subsist unless it has the largest amount of popular approval."

Referring to Communist activities, Pandit Nehru said: "I find today people talking in terms of Socialism and more especially of Communism. Excellent gospels. So far as I am concerned, I accept their fundamental principles, but I do not and will not accept the manner and methods of those who call themselves Communists, because I find that, in the name of economic doctrine, they are at the present moment trying both to coerce and sometimes commit all manner of atrocities in the provinces.

"They want us, in the name of civil liberty, to allow them to carry on these atrocities. No country is worth the name which can put up with this. No Government can put up with this. If any group or people want to declare war against the State, then the State is at war with them.

"I want to make this perfectly clear to the workers of this country and all those who want not only to better their (workers') lot but to change the social structure of society. The only way for them is to proceed peacefully and co-operatively by influencing the Government or by changing the Government and putting in their own Government.

"But, if they go about in this new State of ours, this free India of ours—before it is fully stabilized, before it has completely adjusted itself after these very terrible changes that we have faced as a result of partition and other consequences that followed—trying to upset its structure, then they are no friends of freedom and no friends of India, no friends of the working class. They are only friends of chaos and anarchy out of which they hope to get something to their advantage."

Declaring that no Government could tolerate the misuse of civil liberties, Pandit Nehru said: "You know that I have stood for civil liberties. I have stood for the freedom of the individual and the group, and nothing else has pained me so much as that conditions should arise in this country when perforce civil liberties should be limited in the case of a number of individuals. It really pains me so much that the very thing I have condemned in the past should to some extent be indulged in by our Governments whether at the Centre or in the Provinces.

"I want to tell those Governments—my Government in the Centre and those in the provinces—that, if the state of affairs and if the compulsion of events sometimes induce them and compel them to take action, they must take action, because we cannot endanger the security of the State. We cannot leave large numbers of people unprotected against this kind of attack.

"At the same time, each Government—Provincial or Central—must think hard and deep whenever there is the slightest inroad on civil liberty, whenever any single individual's right is to be taken away. It is dangerous to fall into a complacent mood, giving large powers to the executive or to the police, large powers to everybody to exercise authority as he wills.

"I see these dangerous things at work in India, and I dislike them thoroughly, but one has to balance between the two. One cannot allow the State to be in danger. When there is a danger to the State, normal standards do not apply. Then the first primary duty of any Government worth its name is to protect the community at large, and the people at large, even though that protection means certain limitations of liberty for some groups or individuals."

Proceeding, the Prime Minister said: "We are facing a situation, political, economic, external and internal, which creates more or less the same dangers, taking as a whole, as a war situation creates. Therefore, our duty should be to meet this situation with a war outlook, to see that we win through and overcome all these dangers.

"You know, the Congress has always been committed not only to people's *raj*, but essentially to workers' and peasants' dominance in that *raj* because workers and peasants are predominant in this country, and obviously any truly democratic Government must reflect their will. It may take time to establish it fully, but even so it will take less time if we do not reduce this country to chaos and anarchy by trying to get something done sooner than later."

Expressing surprise at the attitude of certain Communists who went to people like the feudal authorities of Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said: "This is an extraordinary thing for you to consider. What is there in common between the Communists and the Razakar leaders in Hyderabad? There is nothing in common, except one thing—that is the desire in the present context to create trouble and chaos. There is nothing else in common. How are we to meet this evil except combat it?"

Proceeding, Pandit Nehru said: "Have you ever looked at the map of India? Look at it again. Look at that magnificent chain of Himalayan mountains from the north to the north-east. There is no other area in the world which has more potential power than that locked in the Himalayas. All that power has to be tapped by human resources for the public good. We want to do that. We have begun to do that.

"We have every potential resource in India. What we lack for the present is the proper co-ordination of those resources with human power on a co-operative spirit and

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...ts of discipline, so that all of us together may serve ...ation and serve the people.

"If we do so together, then, very rapidly, we can build ...this great nation—it is not building up of people at the ...but building from the bottom upwards. We have to ...the level of the common people, and we are going to ... But you will waste your time if, instead of setting ...that work, you simply fight and struggle and quarrel ...ourselves. We should not fritter away our time ...energy in wasteful strife as some of our misguided ...are doing today.

"I, therefore, beg of you, whether you are in the field ...industry or railways or elsewhere, to give thought to ...present state of affairs in India.

"The first thing before us is to get this country going, ...it properly stabilized and to increase its production, ...aim in view—that is, raising the standards of the ...of the common people and making them freer and ...by putting an end to poverty and unemployment.

"We have, therefore, to combat these anti-social forces ...are at work, and I call upon you, comrades, to fight ...forces.

"I hope you will realize that the primary need of the ...is to work for peace and order in this country and ...for a strong and peaceful trade union movement which ...your lot and fights for you when your rights are ...and which protects you when you are in any ...victimized and which, at the same time, thinks always ...the nation first and the individual and group interests ...wards."

...erabad Pot Boiling Over

The manner of Sydney Cotton's direct flight from ...bai to Hyderabad exposes the ugly hand of Paki... and its supporters amongst British imperialist ...represented by Mr. Winston Churchill and his ...ers in British politics. It reveals what has long ...suspected that a class of international adventurers ...become busy fishing in the troubled waters of ...Pakistani relations. Sydney Cotton is an Austra... adventurer; the 'Lancaster' in which he flew to ...rabad bore the mark of Canada, and was flown ...by British pilots. The Government of the Indian ...have, therefore, registered protests with the ...ments of Australia, Canada and Britain for ...Cotton's escapade; with the Government of ...for their air-port officials giving a clearance ...to him and adequate petrol supply for his ...thus helping to break the Chicago Conven... ...air transit from one country to another. We ...with a certain amount of cynical interest ...Governments try to get out of the trouble ...they have been let by Sydney Cotton.

...has been known for sometime that the Nizam ...rabad, said to be the richest individual in the ...has been able to buy support from those ...in the world's power-politics which have been ...with the emergence of India as a free State, ...of "British control." Sydney Cotton is an instrument in the hands of these people, and the ruling authorities of the Indian Union cannot but take note of their activities and take steps to halt these.

For sometime past public opinion in our State has been hardening against the apparent supineness of their rulers in treating with Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan. The Socialist Party headed by Shri Jai Prakash Narain have been vehement in their criticism on this matter; the Communist Party, now under a ban, have in their own peculiar ways been trying to disrupt from within the Nizam's administration. The Mountbatten regime that ended on June 21st last made many attempts to "appease" the ruling junta of Hyderabad. The Rajagopalachari regime appears to have been a little more active, imposing "economic sanctions" on the Nizam State; these can make themselves felt only after a prolonged experiment

The Sydney Cotton episode has shown that the enemies of India are busy with measures to defeat these "sanctions." The protests of the Indian Union sent to Australia, Canada, Britain and "Pakistan" cannot be the last steps taken to beat down this conspiracy. Something more positive, more direct, will have to be done to drive sense into the minds of the Hyderabad authorities suffering from Pakistan crochets. The editor of the London weekly, *New Statesman and Nation*, Mr. Kingsley Martin, had suggested a more drastic remedy —that the Indian Union should look benevolently on the legal, the extra-legal, and the illegal activities of the enemies of the Nizam both in and outside his territories. He regarded the "Razakars," the gangster bands organized in the name of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeem organization as a distinct menace, patterned as it is on the Muslim League example in India.

Since he wrote the "Razakars" have shown their depravity on a more extensive scale. This has been high-lighted by what Mr. J. V. Joshi, Minister for Commerce in the Hyderabad, has said in course of his letter of resignation submitted to Mir Laik Ali, Prime Minister of Hyderabad. It is reported that Mr. Joshi had made certain speeches exposing the atrocities perpetrated by the "Razakars" on the Hindus of the State; he had toured the districts of Nanded and Parbhani, and was "shocked" by what he had seen. And this pain he poured into language couched more as entreaty to the human instincts of the "Razakars" than as condemnation of their activities. A few samples of it will enable our readers to understand his mind.

> "I am loyal, and loyalty demands recognizing facts and remedying them before it is too late. Hindus in the State are afraid, have lost confidence, and are leaving their homes. They are sore and suspicious because of the loot, arson and murder that are occurring in the State today.
>
> ". . . Rapine and rape seem to have become common.
>
> "The term 'Razakar' means 'servant of God' and defender of the weak and the innocent. . . .
>
> "What I saw at Loha shocked me—the wholesale loot of the entire Hindu community, the gruesome murder of three Hindus, arson and rape. All this has become intolerable.

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"I beg you to act, and act quickly. Weed out the mischievous elements and clean the Razakar organization of this communal virus. You hold 90 per cent of the Services—Police, Military and Civil. You have a mass militant organization of Razakars. You possess arms. The Hindus are weak and helpless. They do not possess arms. . . ."

This appeal appears to have miscarried. Mr. Joshi has been forced out of the Ministry for his outspokenness. But the exposure has done one good—it has shown the true character of the Asafia regime. It is well-known that the Hyderabad Ministry represents the 'Razakar' gangsters, and Mr. Joshi's place there has been on sufferance, so long as he tolerated the 'Razakar' regime and winked at their misdeeds. But when he dared turn round, and point the accusing finger at the seat of disease in the State, the time came for the quit order to be served on him.

The world will now watch with suspense the further evolution of this drama. The Sydney Cotton episode has shown that the Nizam is not alone, that behind him stand reactionary forces of countries far and near, drawing inspiration from Anglo-Saxon domination over world affairs. Pandit Nehru's Government by trying to maintain and follow an independent foreign policy has not recommended itself to the dominant powers tossed on waves of power-politics. The Kashmir and Hyderabad affairs have given us a warning which cannot be brushed aside by eloquent pleadings. The enemies of India appear to think that while the Kashmir Commission is in India, something spectacular should be staged which will force the pace of Indo-Hyderabad disagreement, force it into a clash of arms. Perhaps, we cannot avoid it. The latest (27th July) news tells us of the occupation of village Nanaj on the Sholapur-Barsi road by Indian troops.

Currency Measures Against Hyderabad

The decision of the Nizam to be independent both politically and economically has forced the Government of India to take precautionary measures. The primary object of these measures is to protect the interests of India. Until a few days ago, the people of the Hyderabad State enjoyed as much freedom as any one else in India to remit funds overseas, within, of course, the exchange control regulations. But this freedom has been restricted to some extent. No bank operating in Hyderabad can now issue drafts involving foreign exchange for any person, even if he be the Nizam or his Government, without the previous permission of the Reserve Bank of India. Taking into consideration the secret arms deals initiated by that State, this restriction was invited by them. The object of the Government of India is to see that foreign exchange is not remitted from Hyderabad for purposes which are likely to strengthen the aggressive designs of the Nizam against India. This restriction alone was not sufficient to serve the purpose in view because there was nothing to prevent the agents of Hyderabad from getting funds transferred out of India through the banks in the Indian Union or Pakistan. The promulgation of the recent Currency Ordinance, providing for the control of the transfer of certain securities "which may be detrimental to the interests of India," however, proves that the Government of India is serious about closing all leakages of foreign exchanges on Hyderabad account. In the interest of India, it is imperative that there should be stringent restrictions and check over the remittances of funds from India to all the countries, including Pakistan.

The Nizam has declared the use of Indian currency illegal within his dominions. By this measure, the Hyderabad Government had made a deliberate attempt to eliminate Indian currency from circulation and to push its own notes in circulation but retaining its power to transfer Indian securities abroad in its own interests. The Government of India has counter-acted this step by closing the currency chest of the Reserve Bank of India in Hyderabad operated through the Imperial Bank and bringing the surplus currency back to India. The Government of India is, in view of the past actions of the Nizam's Government, perfectly justified in withdrawing the currency chest from Hyderabad. Another reason for this step may be to prevent the balance of India's currency chest in that State falling into the hands of the Nizam in case hostilities break out. It is thus purely a measure of precaution and one in self-defence. If the Nizam feels embarrassed for these measures, he has only himself to thank, for they have been invited by him. The Nizam has given sufficient cause for viewing his activities in respect with the currency manipulations in his State with suspicion. He has already hoarded enormous quantities of Indian currency by selling out his investments in Government of India loans and by forcing the public of Hyderabad to convert the Indian rupee notes for Osmania Sicca notes, a factor which is principally responsible for the shortage of Indian currency which is now being experienced by the public in that State.

Nehru Denounces Hyderabad's Gangsters

Addressing a mass meeting at Madras on the 25th of July, Pandit Nehru said:

"The cutting of Pakistan as it is called has created innumerable problems—political, economic, social, but most of all psychological. We cut off something from the living body of India.

"Partition came with our consent. We were consenting parties to it. We shall abide by what we have consented to. We consented because we thought that thereby we were purchasing peace and goodwill, though at a heavy price. We did not get that peace and goodwill but got something terrible instead.

"There is no going back on the decisions made. We have accepted them and today the position is that if Pakistan wants suddenly to join India to reverse that process of history, I am quite clear in my mind that we would not accept it for the present. That would mean in the present context going back in a worse way

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these troubled conditions from which we sought to escape through partition. It would mean shouldering the tremendous burdens that Pakistan has to shoulder. Therefore, do not imagine that however much I may regret the partition of India, I work for undoing it. I do this because of the fantastic allegations made by the leaders of Pakistan at Lake Success and elsewhere.

"It is a fantastic allegation that we are trying, or contemplating, to put an end to Pakistan. It is fantastic nonsense that will be doing injury to ourselves. If Pakistan economically or otherwise collapses that will bring in its kinds of injurious consequences. If Pakistan collapses, the danger to India would be great. Therefore, from no point of view would we wish for the collapse, economic or otherwise, of Pakistan.

"We want in our interest that Pakistan should continue economically and politically sound. We do not want Pakistan to continue as a progressively hostile country to India, because Pakistan and India, as they are situated, cannot remain for long just indifferent to each other. We must either to co-operate in a friendly manner or we have to be hostile and inimical to each other. There is no other course ultimately. For the present, however, the other course may be followed and it will continue for some years.

"Unfortunately during the past few months on the whole we have drifted apart. You see evidence of this, in the main, in Kashmir and Hyderabad, even though it be behind the veil.

"I am sorry to make these serious charges against not only a neighbouring country but against the people who, after all, whatever the political division may be, are Indians and will continue to be Indians even though they may call themselves something else."

Dealing with the Kashmir question, Pandit Nehru said: "At present there is a U. N. Commission in India considering the Kashmir matter. At the Security Council it was said that Pakistan was aiding and abetting the tribesmen who had come across Pakistan territory to despoil the valley of Kashmir. We requested the Council to call upon Pakistan not to do so. It was a simple request made.

"Now the Security Council sat for six or seven months and discussed it and ultimately appointed this Commission. Oddly enough, during these six or seven months of hard work and discussions, they never considered that simple fact that we placed before them. Because they did not do so, they were continually proceeding on a weak and uncertain foundation and on false premises.

"There is no reason why they should not have found out the truth. They did not choose to inquire into our complaints but they went away at a tangent and considered other matters. What is the position now? Everybody knows that it is not merely a question of Pakistan aiding and abetting some tribesmen but Pakistan sending their regular armies into Kashmir—that is Indian Union territory—and fighting our troops there. The whole of the Pakistan case before the Security Council was based on the fact that they were not aiding and abetting in any way and there was no complicity on their part in what was happening in Kashmir. Now it is established, as I do claim it is established, to the knowledge of every person who inquires into it, that Pakistan is practically fighting and has full complicity in the Kashmir affair. The whole case of Pakistan was built on falsehood and deceit. I shall not say more about Kashmir."

Pandit Nehru again referred to the partition of India and deplored the tendency among some Hindu communalists who were thinking in terms of a Hindu *rashtra*. "Attempts to do that will bring conflict and ruin to the nation. Those attempts will be resisted to the end."

Secular India

"We stand for a united India, for a secular India and for an India in which every citizen would have his religion, equal rights and opportunities and obligations as any other."

He deplored the tendency among some of the Hindu communalists who were trying to oppose the Muslim communalists and were thinking in terms of a Hindu *rashtra*.

He added: "Attempts to do that will bring conflict and ruin to the nation. Those attempts will be fully resisted to the end. Either they will be defeated or the nation will suffer tremendously. In the modern world of today communal States cannot exist except in a terribly backward condition."

Pandit Nehru asked whether they wanted India to become a great, modern, progressive and strong nation and play a great part in the councils of the world or degenerate.

"Now", he said, "Pakistan clearly proclaims and puts forward a completely different ideal. It talks about an Islamic State. A theocratic State and communal State. It is not for me to advise Pakistan. They can go their way and they have gone their way.

"But I am interested, as I told you, in Pakistan, because to my mind however much it may cut itself away, it still remains part of India. It surprises me how rapidly Pakistan is going downhill in mind and body alike. Today to talk in terms of a nation in theocratic and religious terms is to talk in a language used to be spoken a few hundred years ago. If Pakistan goes back and accepts that, it will not ultimately succeed and in doing so it will come to grief. But because Pakistan talks in a language of a few hundred years ago we are not going to be foolish enough to talk in the same language."

Pandit Nehru continued today there were more Muslims in India than in any other country in the world except Pakistan. "What about these Muslims in India?" he asked. "Sometimes people talk of demanding from them a certain loyalty. Well, of course, people who live in India and are citizens of India are expected to be loyal to India. If they are not then they isolate themselves and they no longer have any place in India. Nevertheless it is rather silly for any one to go on

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publicly demanding loyalty from them. I am not demanding anyone's loyalty but I do wish to make this clear that I can understand very well the crisis in the mind and spirit which the Muslims in India have had to face during the past year. It has been a difficult year for them and those who were completely loyal to India, even they had to face this crisis quite naturally.

"I sympathise with them and like to help to resolve that crisis. I stand for the development of a composite culture in India which will no doubt be predominantly influenced by the predominant elements in the country. But nevertheless it will be open to all. Having said that I wish to say again that India is facing and will continue to face various crises and our countrymen who are Muslims in India have to understand quite clearly how they fit in this composite picture."

Pandit Nehru said that during his brief stay in Madras he was surprised to read certain journals that were issued on behalf of Muslims. "I find in these journals a trace of arrogant communalism that has brought so much injury to India. Now I want to be frank with you. The Muslim League in the past followed a policy, a poisonous policy, which has done harm to India and which has brought about partition. The Muslim League and all those who think in the tradition of the Muslim League have no place in India today. That Muslim League has been wound up, I believe, by its own erstwhile votaries in most places in India.

"I was surprised to find some people taking exception to the *Jana Gana Mana* and the crest of the State. I say that it is a challenge and an insult. If any Mussalman here wish to carry on those old traditions, I would suggest to them in all friendliness to depart for Pakistan. Because otherwise it will not be happy for them and happy for us. Otherwise tension will continue and in the composite and secular State we will have elements that will not fit in.

"Because, you see the whole conception behind Pakistan was not a national conception. It was a religious extra-territorial communal consideration. That, of course, in the modern age, is rather a fantastic notion.

"Now Pakistan has come into existence. If the old Muslim League idea was at all right, then it means there can be no Hindu who can be a citizen of Pakistan or a non-Muslim, Christian or Sikh there because Pakistan is an Islamic, theocratic State claiming the allegiance of Muslims there. I know for a fact that large numbers of Muslims in India accept the secular conception of India and have absolutely no desire to line up with Pakistan in any way.

"Therefore, I am content with this problem. There are some, no doubt, who find it difficult to get out of the wrong habit they got in the past. Maybe they will get out of it. There are some who are deliberately, apparently, carrying on with that thought. That was the idea that struck me when my attention was drawn to certain journals issued by some organisations or individuals here in Madras. Now, when I talk of a secular State, what does it mean? Are we going to shake off our cultural institutions because somebody who is of the Muslim League in Madras does not approve? Let him get away from here and the sooner he does the better for the country."

He pointed out that India had fundamental culture and it was rather absurd for them to talk and think of challenging the symbols of that culture. It had nothing to do with religion except it was a cultural symbol.

Pandit Nehru appealed to the majority community to be tolerant towards the minorities. "We should not exercise our dominant position in a wrong way to create suspicions or fear in the minds of any minority in the country. The responsibility always is of the dominant and majority party and therefore we should be careful."

Hyderabad

Referring to Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said: "I want to say a few words about Hyderabad because it must interest you and it is near to your province and it affects you. You will remember that in November last, we came to a Standstill Agreement with Hyderabad State. There were many things in it. Among other things, the three subjects namely, Defence, Communications and External Affairs were supervised and controlled by the Central Government at Delhi. There were other matters I need not go into.

"We entered into that Standstill Agreement because, we did not want to push the Hyderabad Government to compel it to accede to us. We were of the opinion and we are of the opinion that there is no other way open to the Hyderabad State except full accession to India. But we were in no hurry and we had laid down a general principle that where there was a doubt, where there was a dispute in regard to a State's accession, it will lie with the people of the State to decide.

"We applied that elsewhere. We do not want to force a decision on Hyderabad. We thought this matter can be settled with goodwill and peacefully a little later. So we entered into this Standstill Agreement for a year. In fact, if properly understood and if properly worked that Standstill Agreement meant 80 per cent of accession because three important subjects were under the Government of India.

"We agreed, if you like as a price of this understanding, to withdraw our troops that we stationed in the Cantonment there in Secunderabad. We withdrew them soon after and carried out that very important part of the bargain. It was a very important part, because with our troops staying in Secunderabad, we dominated Hyderabad in a military way. It would have been difficult, exceedingly difficult, for the Ruler of Hyderabad or anyone to play much mischief with our troops there. Yet in order to see the way, we entered into that Standstill Agreement and we withdrew our troops from Secunderabad. That is a major thing. There are many matters in wdich we complained breach of the Standstill Agreement on their part and they complained of breaches on our part. They are minor things. Their complaint was that we did not supply them with arms.

"Well, in the context of things, you can yourself

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...e, the real thing is that we who were in a dominant ...ary position in Hyderabad withdrew our army. Can ... find a bigger gesture on our part to show that we ... a peaceful and co-operative solution of the ...rabad problem", asked Pandit Nehru.

"After that, it is a long story of repeated journeys ... Prime Minister and other Ministers and Advisers of ... Hyderabad Government to Delhi and back. Re...ally, they came to us and more than once we agreed ... they agreed and they went back with provisional ...ement. That was not accepted. On the last occasion, ... what appeared to us an agreement which we ... arrived at with the representatives of the Hyderabad ...ernment—the draft of which appeared in the Press ...hen they went back again, fell through.

"Now I am exceedingly sorry, if again I have to ... a strong language because strong language does not ...ally help. I cannot help expressing that the ...rabad Government have behaved in the last few ...ths in a manner which would not do credit to any ...sters or thieves or deceitful persons.

"They have come to us again and again speaking ... the time that they have gone on intriguing in a ...ted ways against us. All the while they have said ... thing and done something else. These gun-running ...itions from Karachi to Hyderabad and how cer... foreigners have been helping Hyderabad Govern... in this way, you have read in the Press.

"Now those of you who are students of history will ...ember the past history of Hyderabad in the last 150 ... It is not a history creditable to any State. It ... not out of love, courage or victory in arms but by ... In the present instance it has completely lived ... this past history. It has become impossible for ... deal with persons who behave in this deceitful way, ... words mean nothing, but who have built up in ... State this organisation of the Razakars which is ... an organisation of gangsters and the like. Can ... deal with a Government which is practically run by ... gangster elements?

"People talk about our having war with Hyderabad. ... do they mean exactly? It is a completely wrong ... We propose to have no war with Hyderabad. ... is no question of any war with Indian States. If ... are wars they are with free countries. If and when ... consider it necessary, we shall have military opera... against the Hyderabad State.

"But you must remember that no Government should ... these ventures involving military operations ... because they involve suffering. We are not irres... people like the rulers of Hyderabad. Many ... talk casually, but no responsible Government can ... in that manner. At the same time, no responsible ...ment can put up with the things that have been ... and are still happening in Hyderabad.

"I cannot tell you what steps we shall take and ... shall take them, because it is not a matter to ... in public meetings. But I can tell you this. ... thoroughly alive to the Hyderabad situation. I can also tell you that the draft agreement that we had proposed some time back, so far as we are concerned, we have done with it.

"I can tell you one thing, that we are not going to deal with the persons who represent the present Government of Hyderabad, because, in dealing with them often enough, we have invariably been deceived by them. In no circumstances whatever is the independence of Hyderabad going to be accepted.

"I have no doubt in my mind that Hyderabad must, and will become a full member of the Indian Union as an acceding State. If it does not accede, it may cease to be a State or a corporate entity. That I may tell you and I want to be perfectly frank with you. There are some people here even in Government service who sympathise with the Hyderabad Government at the present movement. If there are any in Government here, the sooner they quit the better. It is not going to be tolerated in service or outside it if he is a friend of the present Hyderabad Government. I say that we are not going to war with Hyderabad. We do not give that big designation to any State but so far the Hyderabad Government has behaved in a hostile and inimical manner to us and if any person here, private individual or State servant, in spite of this, sympathises with and helps Hyderabad, it will be a bad day for him. If he does so, we shall come down with all our strength upon him. Therefore, let people choose before it may be too late to do so."

Patel's Warning to Nizam

"When I spoke at Junagadh, I said openly that if Hyderabad did not behave properly, it would have to go the way that Junagadh did. These words still stand and I stand by those words," declared Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, inaugurating the Patiala and the East Punjab States Union on July 15.

Sardar Patel added : "The 'late Governor-General' thought that he would be able to secure a peaceful settlement. I let him do so. He tried his best. The Nizam used to pride himself in being styled 'His Majesty's Faithful Ally.' Britishers feel that this gives them some right to approach the Nizam and do sincere efforts to win him round to the path of sanity and peace.

"It was in this spirit that Lord Mountbatten assisted by Sir Walter Monckton hoped to be able to secure by negotiations what, they felt, Hyderabad must offer to India and India must offer to Hyderabad."

Continuing Sardar Patel said : "Although I was doubtful whether the efforts could succeed. I let them try. We also wanted that if things could be settled peacefully, so much the better. But although up to the last Lord Mountbatten was hopeful of settlement, that hope never materialised owing to the intransigence of the Nizam and the fanaticism of the forces at his back. But I should like to make one thing clear that the terms and the talks which the late Governor-General had, have gone with him.

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"Now the settlement with the Nizam will have to be on the lines of other settlements with the States. No help from outside on which he seems to rest his pathetic hopes, would avail him. I grant, there had been delay in settling this question, but to those who are restless, I should like to say, 'You must trust us. The pangs which you feel for Hyderabad, are shared by me no less. But when we have to perform an operation, we have to see that as little of the limb, involved, is cut of, as possible, and that the operation is performed only when the time is ripe.' We shall take action actuated by this motive and this alone. We will not allow any other extraneous consideration to influence us, for that way alone lies the interest of the country."

"Today," Sardar Patel proceeded, "We have assembled on a historic occasion. A new chapter in the history of India is opening up before us. We have reason to congratulate ourselves that we are all participating in such an auspicious event. We have also occasion to be proud of it. But along with this pride and this celebration, let us not be unmindful of our duties and obligations. We must cleanse our hearts and purify our minds and resolve to do pure deeds by ourselves, by the new Union and by our country. We should harbour no evil, we should reflect who we are, what we have inherited and what we have achieved. If you look at the history of India, you will find that for centuries India was steeped in slavery. What struggles, what sacrifices, what bitter news and what sorrow we all had to face to rid India of that centuries-old malady that had eaten into the very vitals of its nationhood!

"A great change has come about. Indeed a great revolution has been brought into being. The greater the change, the more comprehensive the revolution, the more are the travails through which the country has to pass. We have already had more than our due share of troubles and turmoils. We are lucky to have survived so many of them. But many are still to be overcome. If we falter and fail, we shall consign ourselves to eternal shame and disgrace."

Appealing to the audience to realise the full gravity of the situation and to consider the position in the light of the legacy which they have inherited, Sardar Patel asked, "Did any one dream a year or two ago that one-third of India would be integrated in this fashion? But we must all resolve that whatever mistakes we might commit, we should do nothing which would be calculated to send India back into the slavery of the past. It is, therefore, the duty of India's valiant sons to see that the clocks of progress are not put back, but advance forward. We must also realise that if we have to take our due place in the comity of nations, it will not come to us for asking, but we shall have to strain every nerve for it."

Recalling his visit to Amritsar and Patiala in September and October last year Sardar Patel told his audience that what he had said at those places still deserved to be carefully considered. He had told them then that it was not necessary for them to struggle for power from the Princes. He had said, "If we approach them in the right fashion, they themselves would be willing to surrender it." Those words had come true today. In the achievements which were shown to the credit of the States Ministry, the Princes had their due share.

Similarly, he had asked the Sikhs of the Punjab and the Punjab States to come to the rescue of the unfortunate and stranded refugees by giving an undisturbed passage to the Muslim refugees going to Pakistan. The Sikhs who had already extended their love and consideration to him, listened to the appeal which he and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala made on that occasion and agreed to give that passage. They were then united.

But now he saw proofs of disunity in their ranks. If they feel that the danger is passed and they could indulge in the pastime of dissensions, they are grievously mistaken. Punjab's or for that matter India's troubles were not over; they were still to face scores of them during the troublous times ahead.

He added, "Just as you agreed to make way for Muslims in compliance with my appeal, you have to make a similar way for free India to forge its course ahead. You have to give a helping hand in the same way as you did them. If I have come today, it is not only to fulfil the promise which I made to my friend and brother, the Maharaja of Patiala, but also to tell you what our duty is in the circumstances in which the country is situated today.

"You have not succeeded in forming a Ministry. I am neither sorry nor disturbed over it. Those who have never undertaken that task of administration before, are naturally reluctant, afraid or hesitant, but what is, therefore, necessary is to have a stout heart and a fearless mind. If you read the history of democratic countries, you will find that where there is stability, the task of administration goes on steadily, but where a country is foundationally unsteady, it becomes a prey to all sorts of influences, feelings, sentiments and ideals.

"Our primary aim should, therefore, be to achieve that stability which is the surest foundation of progress, that stability which can come only when there is unity in our ranks.

"It is true that for the foundation of a democratic Government we must have a Government and an Opposition. But today while we have yet to stand on our legs, we have got to strengthen ourselves and that strength cannot come by dissensions in our ranks but by unity of purpose and unity of aims and unity of endeavour."

Continuing Sardar Patel pointed out that it was almost a year since the country attained freedom. No country had suffered so much within the first year of its birth as India had. Eastern Punjab States occupied a strategic position in the north

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...stances of the country. The responsibility of ...Rulers and the people of this area was greater ...that of any other part of the Union. That responsibility was increased manifold, if they considered ...they had a neighbour with whom their relations ...not friendliness, trust and confidence. In these ...stances, the responsibility of the border people ...greater and therefore, their duty of unity was ...

...Sardar Patel then said, "I harbour no ill-will nor ...wish to hurt anyone. My only desire is that ...should be well-protected and that it should be ...every Indian to see that there are no loop-holes ...weak links in the whole system of security, both ...nal and internal. In my efforts to achieve this, ...Rulers have helped me a lot. It is now for the ...to extend their helping hand to me. Time is ...the essence. We have to move quickly and unless ...so, we have a big stake to lose."

Turning to the charge that is sometimes hurled ...the States Ministry that it has moved too ...ly, Sardar Patel drew the attention of the audience to the fact that the world today was different ...the world of yesterday. Things could move ...and steadily in the old world, where there was ...leisure and less speed.

He observed, "Today one day is equal to a century, see how overnight States have fallen and empires ...disappeared, who can say then that time does ...and that we can afford to wait. In integration ...democratisation, therefore, there must be quick ...if the country is to avoid disasters and threats ...existence and unity."

In this connection he warned certain Princes who ...still thinking of disturbing the security and integrity of the State. Some of them pay heed to an ...that in August the Ministry would break ...Government would fall, thereby giving him a ...to stage a march to Delhi. Some others were ...to a so-called *Sadhu* who was predicting all ...of things.

...*ocide*

Pakistan's charge-sheet against the Indian Union ...the United Nations Organization has made ...word familiar to us. The irresponsibility of the ...has never been demonstrated more thoroughly ...what happened in West Punjab where the Police, ...Magistracy were found co-operating with frenzied ...of the Muslim League in looting and murdering Hindus and Sikhs, in indulging in arson and ...thus clearing West Punjab of the "Kaffir." ...Chapter I of K. L. Gauba's book—*Inside Pakistan*—throws light on these abominations, producing its ...in East Punjab and the States in it.

It is these developments in the latter that form ...of the Pakistani charge-sheet. It would be ...necessary, therefore, to understand what this Genocide ...and how it came within the purview of the U.N.O.

An article in the *Indian News Chronicle* of Delhi, written by Shri D. J. Singh, enables us to present to our readers the problem as has been evolved under U.N.O. auspices. We are told that the resolution of the U.N.O. General Assembly is "a pioneer effort." The draft convention in this matter had been prepared by the U.N.O. Secretariat on 'counsel' of three internationally famous experts on legal affairs—Prof. Lemkin, Dommidieu de Vabres and Prof. Pella. After a deal of controversy and differences of opinion between the experts, Genocide came to be defined as "the deliberate destruction of a human group."

It is classified into three categories—physical genocide, destruction of individuals; biological genocide, prevention of births; and cultural genocide, brutal destruction of the characteristics of a group. This definition has rationalized for us a development that we saw enacted here in Calcutta on August 16, 1946 when the Muslim League had staged its "Direct Action." In Noakhali-Tipperah, in Bihar, in West Punjab the same mentality erupted into view. Without knowing anything about 'genocide', the Muslim League had pioneered an experiment that has uprooted millions from their ancestral homes, accompanied by deliberate murder, arson and rape. All the characteristic abominations classified by the experts were perpetrated in India long before the U.N.O. Secretariat had turned their attention to the matter. The following will give us an idea of how the experts came to their conclusions in the matter.

> Physical genocide is defined as mass massacre and group murder by individual executions, subjection to condition of life, want of proper housing, clothes, food, absence of medical and sanitary facilities, lethal doses of excessive overwork and physical labour which could lead to debilitation, deaths, or both, of the individuals, mutilations and biological experiments imposed not for curative but experimental and harmful effects, confiscation of property and the consequent deprivation of the means of livelihood; looting and arson, restriction on and stoppage of work, denial of housing and essential commodities and supplies otherwise available to the inhabitants of the territory in question.
>
> Biological genocide covers those attempts and measures designed at the total execution of a group of human beings by a coldly-calculated and systematic restriction of birth, sterilization, compulsory and forced abortions, total and effective segregations of the sexes, and restrictions that make marriage impracticable and impossible. These are some of the methods of biological genocide that merit punishment.

Cultural genocide occasioned the draft convention much trouble and caused considerable controversy. It was argued by Professor Pella and Professor Dommidieu de Vabres that cultural genocide was an unnecessary extension of the term. Professor Lemkin argued that a racial, national or religious group was unable to exist except by preservation and integration of its spiritual, moral and aesthetic unity. The right to existence of a cultural group was justified from both the moral point of view and the essential-worth point of view based on the groups' contribution to civilisation. In such cases, cultural genocide was more reprehensible than

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a policy of forced assimillation or coercion and conversion. This involved besides other measures, prohibition of the opening of schools for the teaching of the characteristic language of the group, of the publication of newspapers printed in the groups' language, the use of that language in official documents, in courts, business, etc. It aims by desperate and ruthless methods at the rapid and total disappearance of the cultural, moral and religious life of a group of human beings.

The Muslim League "jehadis" had taken us through all the experiences described above, and for many a day it will be found difficult to eliminate the poison injected into our body-politic by the leadership of this organization.

It also appears that the experts tried to define the "groups" that deserved protection under the convention laid down by them. Professional groups were held to be beyond its jurisdiction; only "racial, national, linguistic, religious and political groups" deserved protection; there appears to have been differences of opinion with regard to the last category, as "political groups were not inherently possessed of the permanency and specific characteristics of other groups;" general opinion, however, appeared to hold that this "exclusion" may be interpreted as condoning genocide in certain cases. There appears to be an exception, however; protection does not cover "the activities by groups with Fascist or Totalitarian tendencies."

This description of "genocide," however, does not tell us anything new. Human history is littered with examples where "groups" had been done to death simply because they differed from the dominant classes amongst their neighbours. The case of Catholics in Elizabeth's Britain, of the Red. Indians in the Americas, of the Maoris and aborigines in Australasia, of Jews in Europe, comes to the mind.

"Undeclared War"

Since August 15, 1947, British public men and publicists have never left us in any doubt about where their sympathies and co-operation lay. The Kashmir and Hyderabad complications have brought these out into the open. The Labour Government of Britain have been trying to maintain a "correct" attitude. But even this they were found throwing over-board when India's reference to the U.N.O. against Pakistan for overt and covert participation in the attack on Kashmir was being discussed. They helped to raise irrelevant issues taking up about 5 months when men and women and children were being maimed and killed, their houses burnt and their properties looted, women's honour was made a play-thing by the agents and dupes of Pakistan. And on these very-often false issues, they have manoeuvred to send a U.N.O. Commission to get India and Pakistan "reconciled," forgetting the fact that if the latter had been honestly neutral, there was no sense for Britain to bring her into the dispute.

But the British Press, headed by the London *Times* which has been always a mouth-piece of the British Government, irrespective of their party affiliation,—Tory, Liberal or Labour—has at last come to declare "almost categorically" that a "state of undeclared war between India and Pakistan exists," to quote from a despatch dated July 19 last sent by the United Press of India News Agency. The *Times'* correspondent is reported to have sent word that "it is noteworthy that in recent weeks Pakistan authorities have not attempted to refute statements by the Indian Prime Minister and others about Pakistan's direct complicity in the Kashmir struggle." And the U.N.O. Commission is represented as facing a more serious task than it was originally envisaged, "namely, finding a solution which will prevent the conflict from spreading beyond the borders of Kashmir and entering the plains of the Punjab." And, this newspaperman is disappointed that there is no desire on the part of India for a compromise, "to seek a realistic solution of the dispute"; he is piqued that India appears to "prefer to continue this internecine strife for months and possibly years to come."

The *News Chronicle*, a Liberal daily of London, opines that

> "The Kashmir fighting has developed into a localised Commonwealth internal war. What is even more serious is that the Commanders-in-Chief on either sides are Generals on active service list of the British Army, and R.A.F. Mechanics are supervising, servicing and repairing the Pakistan Air Force Planes."

Truth will out. But whether the U.N.O. is capable of facing the truth and following its dictates is more than we can say at present.

Cloth Muddle in India

It is difficult to remove the impression from the public mind that the Government of the Indian Union are engaged in playing a shadow boxing bout with the cloth mill owners and the cloth dealers—the distributors and traders. The consumer is being forced to play the part of a dummy. And we have very often felt that it would be preserving the dignity of the Government if their spokesmen could resist the temptation of issuing assurances to the users of cloth and threats to the profiteers. Others have been feeling the same. A writer in a Madras weekly—*Business Week*—pokes fun at the Government in the following words:

> A list of the threats they have administered since controls were lifted by them I give below—a truly revealing list. First, they said they would confiscate the difference between the old (controlled) price and the new prices established in the free market. Next, they said that they would take over the textile mills under their control just as the American Government did when the workers threatened to strike. Their third threat was that they would commandeer 25 per cent of the output for distribution through co-operative societies. Their latest threat is that they would impose controls once again and teach a lesson to the industry.

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This is a record of which any Government should have been ashamed. But our Government suffers from no such feeling. On 21-23rd July last they staged a conference of Central Government Ministers, Provincial Government Ministers and States' Ministers. Dr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee, Central Government Minister of Industry, presided over the function, and the Prime Minister of India, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a speech in opening this Conference in course of which he revealed that the cloth mill owners and the traders on cloth have in about four or five months deliberately swindled out the consumers of Rs. 75 crores in inflated prices, and the Government of Rs. 25 crores in the shape of taxes. But out of this lamentation has not come any remedy; the black-pockets and the tax-dodgers are none the worse for the condemnation implied in Pundit Nehru's words.

On the other hand, their representatives go about asserting their ill-gotten wealth and their innocence in the matter. To take an example. The President of the Bengal Textile Mills Association, Shri Suresh Chandra Roy, has lately come out with a statement that the fleecing of the public of Bengal is none of their doing. This statement is a sin against truth. It has been reported to us that one of his member-mills within ten miles of Calcutta used to sell a pair of cloth at Rs. 5-13-6; on and from the 9th of May, 1948 when the practice of stamping prices by mills was ordered to be discontinued, the cloth of the same quality is being sold at Rs. 10-7-6. Can he deny this statement? The Civil Supplies Minister of Bengal makes a parade of the fact that they have no law which enables them to get hold of the profiteer; the Premier appears to be cynical in his loud asseverations; the cleverness of the fictitious importer from mills and of the as clever fictitious receiver appears to incite admiration. Verily, verily, the black-marketeer and the profiteer appear to be more powerful than the State in free India!

Partial Control on Textiles

The Government of India's cloth decontrol policy has failed "miserably" and now the choice lies between full and partial control.

The Prime Ministers and other representatives of provinces and of States at their conference in New Delhi expressed the opinion that they should reverse their policy and impose partial control on textiles as soon as possible. Bombay, the worst sufferer from high prices, was the only dissentient. It justifiably pleaded for full control.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, in his opening speech, spoke strongly of "monsters" who had created the famine and flourished on it at the cost of the consumer. It was moderately estimated that since the withdrawal of control in January 21 manufacturers and the trade had made an enormous profit of over Rs. 100 crores. They had not only exploited the consumers but had evaded the income-tax authorities.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Minister for Industries and Supplies, who presided, reviewed in detail the cloth position since the date of decontrol and measures taken by the Centre to minimize the consumer's hardships. Mills and the trade, he said, had been given nearly six months' time to correct themselves. Several warnings had failed to improve matters.

Representatives of provinces and States narrated scarcity conditions in their respective areas, quoting the prevailing exorbitant prices. They wanted immediate partial control.

It was suggested that 30 to 40 per cent of the production of mills should be requisitioned for distribution on a rationed basis, 20 to 25 per cent should be sold through fair price shops organized by manufacturers and the balance should be released for consumption through normal trade channels.

Development Projects in India

We have been feeling for some time that the grandiose projects for developing the natural resources of our country with a view to enable us to build a fuller material life for our people are being hustled without considering the difficulties in the way. A recent number of the *Central Board of Irrigation Journal* drew attention to these created by supply and transport. In an article entitled "Priorities and Administration," the writer dealt with these two "bottle-necks" that hold up all progress, and in support of his argument quoted from the presidential address of Shri N. K. Mitter delivered on the occasion of the 28th annual session of the Institution of Engineers (India). Every engineer has to waste a lot of time "chasing several Government offices for some permit, license or priority." And,

> One work remains at a stand-still for want of cement, . . . another for supply of steel and a third for transport of essential materials available in plenty but which cannot be moved. But few people realize that the effect of such intermittent stoppages of work is that the entire construction organization is upset involving not only idle machineries but also enormous waste of available man-power of all ranks . . . from the engineer to the daily labourer. And this at a time when there is acute shortage in the country of workers of every grade and of materials of every description.

Therefore, did the speaker suggest that "priorities be fixed and classified for every approved scheme at the highest level both in the Union as well as in the Provincial Government and only those works are allowed to be actually taken in hand which have a reasonable chance of getting all materials and facilities." The point of this warning is appreciated by us who have two giant projects—the Damodar Valley irrigation and dam and the Hirakund dam—rearing up their heads in their neighbouring areas. Hopes are being created of unending prosperity flowing through Bihar, Bengal and Orissa from these irrigation and hydro-electric schemes. The present lack of co-ordination between various departments of our life, between project and fulfilment, has created a situation that may postpone these hopes.

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Foreign Experts and Consultants

Connected with these projects is the question of foreign experts and consultants called into counsel by our Governments. Speaking at the quarterly meeting of the Central Committee of the All-India Manufacturers Conference on July last, Sir M. Visveswaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore and a great engineer, made a point on the importation of foreign experts; he said that in this model State of India they have been able to build up multi-purpose projects with the help of Indian engineers and Indian skill. The fashion that was introduced by British policy still prevails, and the Indian grievance in this matter has been long-standing; expression to it continues to find outlet in the writings of Indian experts. The *Central Board of Irrigation Journal* quoted in its last April issue the opinion of Prof. A. V. Nath that deserves to be brought before the public, and we make room for it below:

> It has not been adequately realized that on the eve of political independence the departing Imperial Interests under the cloak of technical advice for post-war developments have securely installed government organizations for reckless disbanding and annihilation of the enormous manufacturing capacity, capital plant and technical man-power that were developed in winning the war . . . A big hue and cry is raised at the highest level that lack of technical man-power and capital plant is preventing all development schemes while simultaneously all Governmental agencies are vigorously working :
>
> (1) to dismantle and annihilate all war-developed potential under the name of disposal of War Surplus,
>
> (2) to disband and scatter beyond recovery the large technical man-power trained during the war under the name of Demobilization,
>
> (3) to rush Governments into heavy long-term commitments pledging Indian revenues for the next 15 to 25 years to foreign purchases of plants, equipment and services,
>
> (4) proclaiming through newspaper advertisements that enormous manufacturing capacity and plant is lying surplus in the Ordnance Factories apparently unable to devise measures to utilize them for post-war development schemes or to manufacture directly needed plant.

Certain of the charges made above proved to be true ; serviceable air-craft were condemned as useless by British "experts" when these were necessary for the Kashmir campaign ; the deception was found out, but nobody knows the extent of the mischief already done. So, in the matter of development projects, Prof. Nath suggested that "all foreign technical consultation and advice should be canalized through Indian engineering talent." The makers of our plans should hearken to the warning implied in these words.

West Bengal-Bihar Dispute

The Government of India has intervened in the West Bengal-Bihar dispute over the construction of a dam and a reservoir in Santhal Parganas district (Bihar) by the West Bengal Government under its Mor project scheme, particulars of which appeared in the ground that the building of the dam and reservoir will displace about 20,000 people. It demands provision for resettlement of these people before work is started on the project.

The Bihar Government has objected to the scheme on

To straighten the differences, the Centre called a conference of representatives of the two Governments in New Delhi, when Dr. Roy, the West Bengal Premier, gave an assurance about the settlement of the displaced population in his province. He submitted a scheme prepared by his Government.

Bihar's representative said he would place before the Bihar Cabinet the West Bengal scheme and then inform the Indian Government of its views.

Mr. Gadgil, India's Minister for Works, Mines and Power, who presided, urged expediting of the work on the Mor project. He asked the Bihar Government to examine West Bengal's proposal and, if it was not satisfactory from its point of view, suggest modification or prepare a new scheme.

Mr. Bhupati Majumdar, Irrigation Minister, was also present on behalf of West Bengal. Bihar was represented by the Secretary of the Irrigation and Public Works Ministry.

In addition to a dam and a reservoir, the Mor multi-purpose project envisages the construction of canals and a barrage in West Bengal. The total cost is estimated at Rs. 7 crores.

It will bring under cultivation nearly 600,000 acres of land with an annual yield of 6m maunds of paddy. The hydro-electric power generated will amount to 4,000 kwts.

As a result of the erection of the reservoir an area of 24,000 acres will be submerged, displacing 20,000 people.

Babu Rajendra Prasad's Apologia

The Congress President has at long last broken his silence with regard to the claim of West Bengal to have transferred certain Bengali-speaking areas that were included in Bihar when it was constituted into a separate Province in 1912. The daily press of Calcutta published on July 21 last extracts from certain letters of his written to Shri Kumud-Bandhu Bagchi, advocate, Calcutta High Court. We are told that these extracts formed part of "a series of letters" exchanged between the two. We would have liked to have the whole of this series published to understand how the mind of the Congress President has been moving since this question of re-union of Bengali-speaking areas to Bengal was raised. As it is, we must be thankful for even this small mercy. From the context of the letter we are led to the impression that Shri Kumud Bandhu Bagchi is an old friend of Babu Rajendra Prasad reminiscent of the latter's connection with the Calcutta High Court, and on the strength of this old friendship he felt drawn to make an attempt for the rehabilitation of the Congress President's character who was being depicted in "the anti-Congress Press" as a "provincial patriot and

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of applying the Congress principle of linguistic inces as between Bihar and West Bengal."

We who have called into question Babu Rajendra d's silence in the matter have never cared to ugne motives to him. We are content to go by g facts which Babu Rajendra Prasad knows of the ry of this controversy as it has developed ween Bihar and Bengal since his Province was . We charge him with failure to act up to the e of these facts which make inevitable the trans- of certain of the eastern areas of Bihar to Bengal. will try to recall to his memory the most im- nt of these. The first is the resolution of the gress passed at its annual session of December, moved by Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and seconded Babu Parmeswar Lal, a Bihar leader of those days. resolution thanked the Government for "the ion of a separate Province of Bihar and Orissa", prayed that

"In readjusting the Provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

The purpose of this prayer could not have been understood. It was rightly appreciated by the then ers of Bihar who in course of a statement pub- d in January, 1912, indicated with clarity how it d be implemented. We make no apology in ducing the relevant portion of this statement.

"In accordance with the resolution of the last Congress, the sound principle would be that enun- ated therein, that the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Ben- gal, and all the Hindi-speaking tracts placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar. According to this arrangement, the portions of Purneah and Maldah to the east of the river Mahananda, which is the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Bengal and Bihar, should go to Bengal and the western portions of these two districts come to Bihar. Similarly, such tracts in the Santhal Par- gnas where the prevailing language is Bengali should go to Bengal, and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the districts remain in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur, the whole district of Manbhum and Pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district are Bengali- speaking and they should go to Bengal, the rest of the Division which is Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar."

This was an honest recognition on the part of the creators of modern Bihar of the logic of linguis- Provinces so far as it related to their own Pro- Bihar and Bengal. Their successors in the leadership Bihar have been found unworthy of this heritage ances, and we do not know how they have been ing from on high this back-sliding of their ants. Babu Rajendra Prasad is the most ment of them, and today he gloats over the that at a certain meeting of the Manbhum Dis- Congress Committee a resolution in favour of ation of Manbhum with Bengal was "de- ". But did he always think like this? One of his old colleagues in the leadership of the Congress in Bihar has related a story that discredits his present attitude. Shri Jyotish Chandra Sarkar, sometime President of the Palamau District Congress Committee, a member of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, a member of the All-India Congress Committee a few years back, wrote a letter dated June 14, 1948 to the columns of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* describing what Babu Rajendra Prasad's attitude had been as late as 1931. We translate it below:

> "In 1931 a Conference under the auspices of the Manbhum District Congress Committee was held with Babu Rajendra Prasad in the chair. The following resolution was moved from the chair and passed unanimously in the open session: "Whereas 89 per cent of the people of Manbhum speak the Bengali language, be it resolved that when the country will be free and Provinces will be re-grouped on the basis of language, the district of Manbhum will be re-united with Bengal."

There was an episode that should be described in this connection. When the resolution was being discussed in the Subjects Committee of the Conference, it was opposed by the late Nibaran Chandra Das-Gupta of Purulia. The reason for this opposition was explained thus by him. When the country becomes free, the district will be re-united with Bengal true to Congress ideals; hence the resolution was redundant. How does Babu Rajendra Prasad respect this faith in the Congress ideal of a colleague who is no more with us to re-assert his faith? Since then there have come momentous changes in Babu Rajendra Prasad's life, and these must have caused changes in the spirit of the thrice President of the Congress, and the chosen Chairman of the Indian Constituent Assembly charged with the duty and responsibility of framing a constitution for India that would satisfy the sentiments and aspirations of the people. This flux of fortune may justify Babu Rajendra Prasad's change in attitude.

But what we cannot appreciate is the way in which he has met the request of an old friend of his (Shri Kumud-Bandhu Bagchi) that he should as Congress President "direct the Governments of Bihar and West Bengal to come to an immediate amicable settlement as to the areas that should linguistically and culturally form part of West Bengal, failing which the Government of India to take appropriate measures." With regard to the first part of he request, Babu Rajendra Prasad appears to have been silent; as to the second part he bluntly told his friend that he has had "no desire to influence it (Government of India) in any way in this connection." This is a pose of non-interference that daily wears thin.

But we have the strongest objection to the way in which he is juggling with his function as the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly. He has appointed a Commission "to find out the feasibility and other matters connected with the creation of certain new

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provinces in the south" in response to a request made by the Drafting Committee. We are of opinion that Babu Rajendra Prasad could not have written so if he had at hand the recommendation of the Drafting Committee in this behalf. We find at page 159 of the *Draft Constitution of India*, First Schedule, Part I, the following foot-note that shows that Babu Rajendra Prasad's interpretation of the Draft Committee's recommendation is unsustainable. There is no mention in it of limiting the Commission's enquiries to South India alone.

> " . . . . the Draft Committee, therefore, recommends that a Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters, not only as regards Andhra, but also as regards other linguistic regions with instructions to submit its report in time to enable any new State whose formation it may recommend to be created under Sec. 290 of the Act of 1935 and to be mentioned in this Schedule before the constitution is finally adopted."

In this recommendation there occur the words "any new State" which may be deliberately misconstrued for the exclusion of existing provinces. But that would be denying the spirit and hugging to the bosom the husk of legality. Babu Rajendra Prasad is welcome to his juggling with Truth. We prefer to go by the former, and will continue to press the case of West Bengal as we have been doing battle for other "linguistic regions." We are sorry that Bengalis should have been forced into this agitational role when all their energies would have been allowed to be concentrated on constructive nationalism. Babu Rajendra Prasad has borne eloquent testimony to the worth of the Bengali Congress workers of Manbhum. Has it ever struck him to enquire why these people should have resigned in a body from their official positions in the Congress, local and provincial? Theirs is an example which others can follow to demonstrate their feelings against the Congress President's tactics. What say the members of the Constituent Assembly returned from West Bengal? Their sitting on the fence while the name of the Congress is being soiled by its President has become a scandal.

Sterling Negotiations

The protracted sterling balance negotiations have come to an end for the present with a three-year agreement with the British Government. Shri Shanmukham Chetty, India's Finance Minister, at a press conference in New Delhi, gave details of the negotiations and stated that the British Government had agreed to make a fresh release of £80 million (Rs. 107 crores) for the next three years ending on June 30, 1951. It was made clear that this release was in addition to the unspent balance of £80 million from the previous releases which had now been carried forward. Thus the London Agreement would place at our disposal resources amounting to £160 million (Rs. 213 crores) over and above what may be our export earnings during the three years for which the agreement has been signed.

The exceptionally strong financial position of India was indicated when the Finance Minister said that India's current annual gains from export and other sources were of the value of Rs. 500 crores. Thus, even on present computations, India would have a buying capacity of Rs. 1700 crores during the next three years.

The total remaining sterling balances after the various adjustments are carried out, are estimated at £800 million. An interest of ·78 per cent will accrue on the blocked balances. The London Agreement has limited the free convertibility of the sterling released to £15 million (Rs. 20 crores) during the first year. The non-utilisation of the total amount of the last release has marred our case for demanding a larger amount for free convertibility. The question of the amount of sterling to be made available for free convertibility during the remaining period of the agreement was to be determined later. The present release, however, will enable India to meet her dollar requirements adequately during the next 12 months.

Sjt. Chetty has emphatically said that there was no question of scaling down India's Sterling Balances and no such suggestion had been made by the British Chancellor of Exchequer. But considering the fact that there has been for long a persistent demand for a scaling down of the balances in the British press and the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to Mr. Churchill's demand for a repudiation of this debt, to the effect that in spite of the agreement the entire question can be re-opened at any subsequent time, the uneasiness in India about this scaling down business will not be over. The manner in which a very large amount—Rs. 197 crores—has been deducted from the Balances by compelling India to purchase a tapering annuity has not eased the feelings of the Indian public.

The military installations and stores left here by Britain have been acquired at a value of £100 million (Rs. 133 crores) in full and final settlement. The Finance Minister has tried to prove that this deal has been a great bargain by saying that the book value of these installation and stores was £375 million (Rs. 500 crores) and that they have been acquired at a bargain price of practically a quarter of their book value. Comparing it to the eagerness of the British Government to knock out as much as possible, indicated in the pension deal, the average Indian will be inclined to be a little conservative as regards the bargain claimed by our Finance Minister. Book value and actual value in respect of military installations and stores may not merely fluctuate as one to four; it may range upto even one to ten. The visible installations do not inspire much confidence about their actual value..

A third factor, in this connection should also be taken note of. The Finance Minister was asked whether it was true that prices of capital goods were higher in Britain than in dollar countries. It was

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...ed that British manufacturers of capital goods ...charging higher prices from India than from ...countries. The Finance Minister denied the ...ions but said that if it could be shown that ...things were taking place, he would take up the ...with the British Board of Trade.

There is no doubt that the sterling balance nego...have been more to the advantage of Britain ...of India. The agreement insures Britain against ...withdrawals while it does not ensure the ...of capital goods even to the extent of the ...amount provided. The British manufacturers ...seize this opportunity to evade supply of capital ...and to restrict their trade to consumer goods. ...aneously with this Financial Agreement, a Trade ...ment should also have been concluded. Our ...tries of Commerce and Industries have found ...selves unable to utilise the sterling releases in ..., and thus they must bear a heavy responsibility ...the small amount released under the new agree...Their failure proves that the released Sterling ...not be utilised through the help of private capi...enterprise. The principal lapse of the Minis...of Commerce and Industries lies in the fact that ...were not conscious about this failure of private ...prise in using up the money. It was their duty ...watch over the transactions, get monthly returns, ...divert the balances to national enterprises like ...sion and improvement of communications and ...tion works. The sterling wealth has been earned ...the people of India through intense suffering ...ghout the war years. The masses, who had to ...with their produce for Government purchase at ...rol rates and buy their requirements at four to ...times the control prices, must have a first charge ...this accumulated wealth. The Ministries of ...ce, Commerce and Industries seem to have ...dered the war-profiteers as the owners of the ...ling balances, but even in that case it has been ...ed that the profiteers are either unable to utilise ...balances for industrial expansion or unwilling to ...so for fear of an increase in the production of ...mer goods with a consequent fall in prices. The ...reliance placed by our Ministries on the capi...and war-profiteers for the utilisation of the ...ces has really strengthened the corner-bases and ...further increased the suffering of the common ...It is, therefore, imperative that the present ...of utilisation of sterling releases be reversed. ...Government should take upon themselves the ...of importing goods necessary for the introduc...of new communication, irrigation and housing ...es. Instead of the Government going in them...for the establishment of industries, they should ...trate their energies in completing development ...which should create conditions for an expan...of agriculture and small and medium industries, ...providing employment for the masses and as far ...ticable at or near their hearths and homes.

Agrarian Reforms

The Members of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, presided over by Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, are now on a tour to ascertain the opinions of officials and non-officials interested in land reform. The questionnaire issued by the Committee indicates that its final judgment on the existing systems of land tenure, methods of farming and allied problems, is likely to be based upon a wide representation of informed public opinion. Many of the questions are far-reaching in scope and character and they deal with important economic aspects of agricultural regeneration and development. The first section of the questionnaire deals almost exclusively with the subject of land tenure and the problems resulting from the intended abolition of the zemindari system. In this connection, it is significant to note that Dr. Kumarappa declared the other day at Nagpur, that the recommendations of his committee would be implemented in the provinces only after the abolition of the zemindary system, to which the Congress Governments had committed themselves and in respect of which some provinces had, in fact, already undertaken legislation.

The discovery of a uniform land system for the whole of the country which should guarantee a permanent right in the soil for the cultivators but at the same time prevent fragmentation and sub-division of the land and growth of any non-cultivating tenure-holding class, is the greatest problem that faces the Kumarappa Committee. It has been brought to their notice that the Reports of agricultural experts like Sir Daniel Hall and Sir William Jenkins may be misleading. Agricultural policy in India has, during past years, not proceeded along right channels and being dictated by foreign experts, with very little knowledge about local conditions and Indian traditions, more problems have been created than solved. Time has come for putting an end to expert advice detached from Indian context.

The land system and her agricultural life are inseparably connected with the culture and civilisation of India. Elaborate details of their working may be found in the *Manusamhita, Parasara Samhita* and Kautilya's *Arthasastra*. In later times, Akbar grasped the importance of the land system in Indian life and devoted a great part of his energy to the overhauling of the system which had been rudely disturbed during the preceding seven centuries of continuous conflict. *Ain-i-Akbari* also gives us a good deal of materials necessary for the reconstruction of Indian agriculture and land system.

Indian civilisation has succeeded in maintaining its integrated individuality longer than any civilisation on earth mainly because she had succeeded in evolving a scientific and stable system of agriculture and land tenure. The permanent settlement has struck at the root of our own tried and tested system and has brought about ruin in the life and conditions of the Indian cultivator. The problems before the Kumarappa Committee are stupendous but not insurmountable.

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India and World Rice Shortage

According to the Government of India officials, India's overall food position was believed to be better and we were told that "vigilance" still continued to be the keynote of the Government's food policy. Recent official talks on food have, however, been on the side of pessimism and rationing in de-rationed provinces is being seriously considered. But the special rice bulletin issued a few days back by the Food and Agricultural Organisation reminds us, rather unpalatably, that the world situation in regard to rice supplies will continue to remain without any appreciable change during the next few years. This means that the food economic of India, as that of other rice-importing countries, will continue to be seriously affected.

Rice is the staple food of the people of the South and East Asia who form more than one half of the world's population. Before the second world war this area normally grew some 81 million tons and consumed about 80 million tons. But the war brought with it a sharp decline in production. Internecine warfare, political instability and consequent devastation greatly hampered and disorganised agricultural production.

Although world rice production in 1947-48 was as much as it was in the pre-war days and has thus been an improvement over the previous years, it still fell short of the 1934-38 average of 100,500,000 tons. Similarly, though the quantity declared available for export by surplus countries has proved to be higher than was expected some time ago, it is still less than two-thirds of former exports. Production plans for the next three years envisage an extension of the rice areas in South-East Asia by 2½ million hectares over the pre-war acreage under rice but even in that case there will be a deficit of about 14 million metric tons in each of the next two years and about 13 million tons in 1950.

The overall picture of rice production in the near future is therefore not quite encouraging. India cannot expect to receive supplies freely from the surplus rice-growing areas of Asia until after 1950 at any rate. The estimated acreage under rice in India for 1946-47—latest figures available—is 81·8 million as compared with 80·7 million (actual) acres in 1945-46. The yield is estimated at 28·14 million tons in comparison with 26·67 million tons in the previous year. Thus an increase has been effected both in regard to the area and also of production. The pre-war production of rice in India was about 28 million tons, whereas consumption amounted to 30·5 million tons. This deficit position makes the country continually dependent on foreign imports which are a serious source of drain on our foreign exchange resources. There is still a great possibility of increasing our food production by increasing the yield through the application of manures, expansion of irrigation schemes and introduction of better methods of tillage. It is regrettable that the enormous potentialities for expanding our food resources have not yet been energetically tapped. No further time should be lost to do so.

Indo-Japanese Trade

The editor of the *Indian Exporter* is to be congratulated on the informing monograph that he has brought out entitled "Indo-Japanese Trade from 1929 to 1948." Within the short compass of 54 pages has been compressed everything that the traders require to be known about this trade between two countries, and the student of economics will find in a handy form information about life and work in Japan struggling to re-create decent conditions out of her war-shattered economy. In this behalf the article of Shri G. B. Kotak whose firm has had trade relations with Japan will be found of use. The reports of the Indian Trade Mission sponsored by the Government of India and that by the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers, give a bird's-eye view of the possibilities of trade and commerce between the two countries. Imports from Japan in 1937-38 amounted to Rs. 22·19 crores while exports from India amounted to Rs. 18·13 crores; raw cotton accounted for Rs. 14·79 of the latter while about one-fourth of the former, about Rs. 6·76 crores, was accounted for by cotton manufactures.

At present when India is determined to be less dependent on other countries for the essentials of her life, the building up of her own industries has become a necessity and a duty. And in this behalf the Indian Trade Delegation has done well in impressing on the Government of India the need of bringing "Japanese key technicians" for advising our industrialists and also of sending Indian technicians to Japan to study Japanese methods which had made Japan such a rival to Anglo-American-German industries in course of 40 years. This idea of importing Japanese skill appears to have had a strange reaction. While the Japanese Mission was at New Delhi and the subject was broached, the information was elicited that "Australia was putting obstacles in the way of Japan rendering such aid to this country or anywhere else." We should like to know the inspiration of this Australian intervention, whether it was Britain or the United States, or both, that put up Australia to do this job for their own industrialists. The purpose is obvious; it is to keep India a producer of raw materials as she had been hitherto kept by British policy. We are sure that we will be able to break this ring. But the revelation makes us suspect the "one world" morality preached by Anglo-American public-men and publicists.

Dutch Imperialism and Indonesia

The latest number of the *Merdeka*, organ of the Indonesian Information Service issued from New Delhi, reports a stalemate in the negotiation between the Dutch Colonial Administration and the Indonesian Republican Government. In the Security Council Mr. Palar, representing the latter, brought to its notice examples of Dutch "economic blockade" that will have the effect of "strangling" life out of it. There has recently been a general election in Holland; the right wing parties are said to have won it, and their leaders

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...ing election speeches are reported to have advocated ...ral of "Police Action" in Indonesia, an euphemism ... war just as by the use of the words "China ...dent" Japan had tried to hide the extent of her ...ations on the integrity and sovereignty of ... At the instance of the Good Offices Committee ...N. O. the *Renville* agreement had been signed ...the 17th January, 1948, putting a stop to the Dutch ...Police Action" and Indonesia's gallant fight against it. But the Dutch imperialists do not appear to be ...to accept the responsibilities of this agreement, ...they have been breaking both its spirit and require-... Article 5 of this agreement stated :

"That as soon as practicable after the signing ...the truce agreement, economic activity, trade, ...transportation and communications be restored ...through the co-operation of both parties, taking ...into consideration the interests of all the consti-...tent parts of Indonesia."

The Dutch have been going against this compre-...sive and specific provision of the *Renville* agree-... Mr. Palar's indictment described how the Dutch ...orities by "arbitrary interpretation" have practi-...y banned the entrance of "all kinds of machinery ...equipment"—in fact the bulk of "every essential ...non-essential"; they have been continuing the ...er, passed temporarily during their "Police Action" ...closing the north coast of Java and the greater ...of the east coast of Sumatra. This technique of ...may benefit the Dutch for a while; but ...tely it will lead to a liquidation of their empire. ...the revolting spirit of Asia will not tolerate its ...ance entailing dishonour and poverty on her ...

...turbances in Malaya

India's present interest in this strip of land across ...Bay of Bengal was created by the indentured ...from India arranged for by the British ...ment to work for the tin mines and rubber ..., all the property of British capitalists. The ...ity of these labourers came from South India, ...ly from Tamil Nad. In their wake came traders, ...professional men—lawyers and medical men, for ...e. As in other parts of the British empire, so ...laya the labourers who slaved for the capitalist ...just allowed to live. The Chinese who out-...the Indian labourers had a better deal. But, ...the Indian and the Chinese were kept at logger-...by judicious discrimination which was another ...for the "divide and rule" policy. The invasion ...conquest of Malaya by Japan brought a revolu-...y change amongst Indians, specially after the ...ation of the Indian Independence League under ...leadership of the late Rash Behari Bose; this ...ation reached its fruition when Netaji came ...the Azad Hind Government was formed, con-...the dreams and aspirations of millions of ...hearts and the dynamic revolutionary spirit of ...chosen few. Of these Raghavan and Thivy were ...ent amongst Indians in Malaya.

Since the return of the British, consequent on Japan's defeat, things in Malaya have been moving in circles that have been confusing to a degree. The small country is divided into innumerable states with Muslim puppet "Sultans," with enclaves of direct British rule round about Singapore ; the British authorities have been trying to reconcile irreconcilable interests—of Sultans, of British finance-capital, of the subject peoples, native Indian and Chinese. The attempt has failed of its purpose. Hence there have been intermittent outbursts. The British authorities have detected the hand of the "Communist" in these, and capitalist interests have been demanding that these be controlled or else they stop production. The use of Gurkha soldiery for the control and suppression of these disturbances has introduced a complication. Technically the Government of the Indian Union may refer the matter to the Nepal Government with which Britain has had a special arrangement for the use of Gurkha contingents in her wars of survival and conquest. And except putting on a ban on their transit through their own territories, we do not see how the Government of the Indian Union can interfere. Any way, Malaya will cause headaches to many, Indian and non-Indian, and we must wait further developments before we can expect the Nehru Government to decide their course of action.

Tuberculosis Association of India

The report of the last annual meeting, the ninth annual meeting of the Tuberculosis Association of India, held at Government House, New Delhi, on the 20th April last, is to hand. From a perusal of it, we come to realize the magnitude of the task that the Association attempts to shoulder. Dr. Jivraj Mehta, the then Director-General of Health Services with the Government of the Indian Union, in his speech as chairman of the meeting, indicated it when he said that "the minimum bed requirement for tuberculosis cases in India, taking one bed for one death, is about five lakhs as against 8,000 beds we now have." Lady Mountbatten, the then President of the Association, underlined this description of the needs of institutional treatment of this fell disease when she said that "in India about five lakhs of people died every year from tuberculosis and another 25 lakhs become active in tuberculosis cases." The Bhore Committee have stressed the need of "institutional treatment." But a permanent remedy can come only when in the words of Lady Mountbatten "the people's standard of life and power of resistance to disease" is raised; the State by its policy enables the people to raise these two prerequisites of healthy and full life. Clinics and sanatoria are all right in their own way. But as prevention is better than cure, the State has to inspire the people to make the requisite effort to keep healthy. For such a consummation many things will have to be done. The Tuberculosis Association of India and its affiliated institutions have been showing us the way, and they deserve well of the public. Our people, steeped in the

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traditional ways of their life, and it difficult to reconcile themselves to modern methods for the control of this disease. But they are not unteachable ; they show eagerness for learning the better ways of life that is pathetic. Organizations like the Tuberculosis Association of India can, under newer conditions created since August 15, 1947, organize a better campaign against all the conditions that made for lethargy, uncleanliness and disease in mind and body, and revive hopes in hearts that have been content with swimming with the tide of circumstance. This must form part of the new education that will enable us to create the New India.

The Imperial Library

There have been some stringent criticisms on the part of scholars at the proposal to shift the Imperial Library to the Belvedere in Alipore, Calcutta. Lack of tram and Bus facilities and distance from the main City are the main grounds of complaints. We ourselves cannot understand why the library cannot be shifted to the Metcalfe Hall site. Regarding the latter we give the following extract from the *National Magazine* for Feb. 1914:

"Calcutta Public Library", afterwards Imperial Library : The library was formally opened on 21st March, 1836, in the lower room of Dr. F. P. Strong's house at the Esplanade Row; from which place it was removed in the latter part of July 1841 to the College of Fort William only for three years. . . .

In 1840 the Library was allowed by the Government along with the Agricultural Society of Bengal, a piece of land, on which the Metcalfe Hall, the upper apartments of which it occupied, was built. The stipulations enjoined in the Government letter transferring the ground were that the edifice to be erected shall be ornamental and at the same time substantial, and that on failure of its maintaining its repairs, the ground shall revert to the Government or at least the building shall not be alienated to other purposes than those set forth in the correspondence.' The cost of the building, which was designed by Mr. C. K. Robinson, Magistrate of Calcutta, and built by Messrs. Burn & Co., amounted to Rs. 68,000 to which the sum contributed by the Library was Rs. 16,400 nearly, the balance, being the contribution of the Agricultural Society and of other bodies who subscribed to do honour to Lord Metcalfe at the time of his departure from India, for the emancipation of the press, and for the private and public virtues. The Metcalfe Memorial Committee thought that such an edifice (Metcalfe Hall) could not be more appropriately connected with better useful public purposes than by devoting it to the use of the two most interesting and beneficial institutions on this side of India, the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India and the Calcutta Public Library.

United States Presidential Election

Next November the people of the great republic will go to the polls to choose their President, the supreme executive of their country's administration. The campaign in this behalf has brought on to the surface many a crudity of thought and conduct that detracts from the credit of this people as constituting the greatest democracy in the world. The treatment of Negroes is one of these. Nearly eighty years back a civil war was fought and won, one of the issues of which was the emancipation of Negroes. The fighters for the cause of human justice and decent human relations won it under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln. The slave-owning States in the "solid south" bowed to this decision in the field of battle ; but they did not accept the ideal for which Lincoln had staked his life.

The victorious "North" has not been able to halt this deterioration. In the 1948 election, the dying embers of this estrangement have been revived. President Truman's "civil rights programme" has precipitated a revolt in the Democratic Party, and majority representatives of the Southern States have decided to set up rival candidates against President Truman and Senator Alben Barkley who were nominated on July 15 at the Democratic Party Convention at Philadelphia. Governor Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi have been chosen by them. The temporary chairman of their meeting, Frank Dixon, former Governor of Alabama, reflected their mind in his speech made on July 17 last: The Civil Rights programme which would include Federal anti-Lynching, anti-Poll-tax was stigmatized as an unconstitutional effort "to reduce us (white people) to the status of a Mongrel, inferior race . . . to kill our hopes, our aspirations, our future and the future of our children." The programme constructed by these dissident Democrats laid down the following "principles" amongst others :

> We stand for segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race ; the constitutional right to choose one's associates; to accept private employment without Government interference.
>
> We oppose and condemn a Civil Rights Programme calling for the elimination of segregation social equality by Federal Law.

This fight takes the U. S. A. people to the year 1860 when Abraham Lincoln started the good fight for human justice, for the integrity of the Union.

The Republican Party have set up Governor Dewey of New York State as their Presidential candidate and Governor Warren of California as Vice-President candidate.

A third party, known as "Progressive Party," has been formed to contest the election, the majority of them breaking away from the Democratic Party under the leadership of Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the late President Franklin Roosevelt during his third term as Chief Executive of the Republic. So far as one can make out, the fact appears to be that the "Progressives" differed from the Democrats in the policy pursued by the latter under President Truman in foreign affairs specially in reference to the Soviet Union. They are for compromise with the Bolshevik State.

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FROM ASAF JAH I TO OSMAN ALI,

The Fate of Hyderabad

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt.

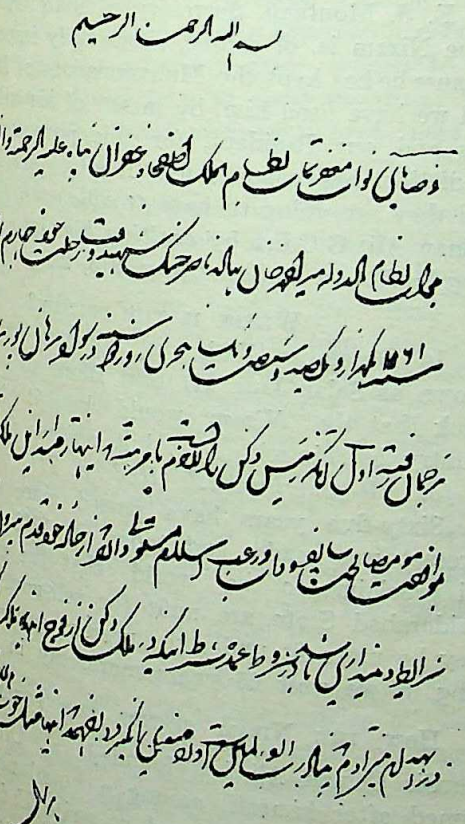
Legal Status

Asaf Jah, the first Nizam *i.e.*, *governor* of Haidarabad, left a will in which he solemnly charged his descendants:—

"Firstly, to be always friendly with the Marathas who are the owners of the land in this country," and "Secondly, never to put any human being to death without a judicial trial by an authorized judge. The portion of the will giving these orders is printed below from a photograph of the original preserved in the Nizam's Government Record Office so that its authenticity cannot be questioned.

Awal an ke rais-i-Dakhin ra lazim ke ba Marhatta ke zamindar-i-in mulk ast, ashti warzad.

Duyam an ke dar hadm-i-baniad-i-bani-Adam ... tamul kunad wa mujrim wajib-ul-qatl ra ba Qazi, ke hakim-i-shara ast, tafwiz numaid.



Here it should be noted that the founder of this dynasty, to the very end of his life, called himself only a *Rais* or chieftain, and never a *Shah* or *Sultan* (a King), in spite of his having won the victory at Shakarkheda (1724), which the present Nizam has been misrepresenting as the Day of his *Independence!* In fact, so long as there was a Padshah at Delhi, the rulers of Haiderabad always sought the recognition of their succession from that Padshah or his keeper, because they were merely hereditary office-bearers under him. When Mahadji Sindhia was appointed by the Emperor Shah Alam II as his *perpetual* Regent, the then Nizam sent an agent to Sindhia's camp near Delhi to secure such recognition through him. This is proved by the British Residency Records published by the Bombay Government. Such was the Nizam's legal position in 1785 sixty years after the so-called independence achieved at Shakarkheda.

In 1804 the British took over Delhi and the perpttual regency of the Padshah from Sindhia and became the master of the Nizam. In 1858 the shadow of a Delhi Padshah was abolished, and the English became *fully* sovereign over all the provinces of the Mughal Empire including Haidarabad. In 1947 the English handed over Delhi to the Indian Union, and thus the Indian Union legally stepped into the position of the suzerain of the governors of Haidarabad. The Nizam cannot exist politically *in vacuo*.

It is also recorded in Persian histories that when in 1739 Nadir Shah entered Delhi as conqueror, he offered to place Asaf Jah I on the throne of Delhi, as he was disgusted with the folly and vices of the Emperor Muhammad Shah,—but Asaf Jah declined this independent sovereignty and declared his satisfaction with his present position of a provincial governor. The word *Nizam* comes from the same root as *Nazim* and means a governor, or king's deputy.

People's Lot

But apart from legal controversies the right of a family to rule ultimately depends upon the condition in which it keeps the mass of its subjects. Can the Asaf-Jahis stand this test?

In 1776, a French nobleman, Comte de Modave visited Haidarabad, and has thus recorded what he saw there of the condition of the people:

> *Les Musalmans triomphent dans cette ville qu'ils ont batie et ou ils sont les maitres.*—[P. 336 of the Paris MS.]

"The Nizam's country had never been anything but a puppet State. The present Nizam was understood to be, in Malcolm's phrase, 'a *melancholy madman.*' [Thompson's *Metcalfe*, p. 189, year 1810.]

"Never, to be sure, was there such a Government (as that of Haidarabad) since the world began, and what can be done to remedy its present state would baffle any politician." [Edmonstone, Secretary to Governor-General to Resident at Haidarabad, 6th May, 1812.]

"The country soon became depopulated and necessities rose to famine prices. Government ceased. There was not a shadow of law or police anywhere; bands

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of armed plunderers traversed the roads and jungles." [This was in 1820. Do the reports of 1948 give any better picture of the Nizam's Government ?] (Thompson, p. 191.)

On 6th November, 1847, the *Times* of London wrote on "the moral and political right of myriads [of the population] to turn to the Governor-General for succour, protection and redress. . . The Governor-General's easy task is to level those masses of misgovernment which obstruct the free circulation of prosperity and happiness throughout the peninsula (*i.e.*, the Deccan), and to advance those improvements by which such blessings are so materially promoted . . . *The Nizam is morally* accountable to us." (Quoted in Lee Warner's *Dalhousie*, I, 97.)

Sir Charles Wood (President of the Board of Control) wrote to the Governor-General on 8th May, 1853, "What are you going to do with the Nizam ? Everybody seems to suppose that he *cannot administer* his own affairs much longer." (Lee Warner, II, 131.)

On 14th May, 1852, the Resident, General Fraser wrote to the Governor-General, "I cannot hesitate to repeat the opinion that the Nizam's Government possesses but little capacity or vigour, and that if the Nizam be replaced in a position of honourable independence among the Native Princes of India, this will *never* be done otherwise than under temporary European management." (*Memoir*, p. 373.)

Sir Richard Temple, who was Resident in 1867, writes, "My main business was to secure the stability of His Highness's realm by *decent administration*. That realm had several times been brought to the brink of *destruction by misgovernment*. In the present temper of the Nizam, these evils might but too easily recur." (*Story of My Life*, I, 174). "The Arab soldiers had been imported to form a Pretorian Guard. But for Lord Dalhousie's interposition in 1855, they would have imprisoned the Nizam in his own apartments. . . In 1857 . . . they would have seized the sovereign power in the Deccan." (*Ibid*, 179.)

W. S. Blunt who had the greatest sympathy with the Muslims and spoke Arabic freely, wrote during his visit to Haidarabad in December, 1883 : "A teacher at the Moslem School told me, the Muhammadans here were far from happy. They were isolated and without knowledge of what happened in the outer world.

"We discussed the *drinking of wine* which is *common* among the Muhammadans of Haidarabad." (*India Under Ripon*, pp. 68-69.)

1904.—"The inhabitants of Berar would have been dismayed at the prospect of reverting to Haidarabad rule." (L. Fraser's *India Under Curzon*, p. 225.)

In 1910, Mr. Casson Walker in his final report wrote, "There are not more than four or five roads in the interior of the Dominions which are passable all the year." "Owing to the lack of roads, and still more of bridges and culverts, the peasantry cannot market their spare produce in time of plenty, while when scarcity prevails the absence of transport facilities leaves them at the mercy of the local money-lender." (*Ibid*, p. 227).

British Policy in Haidarabad

Why was such abominable misrule and people's misery allowed to continue during the century and a half when the Union Jack floated over the Residency at Haidarabad? The answer is given by three English witnesses.

Russell, Resident with the Nizam, wrote in 1819 : "If we owe the foundation of *our empire* in this country to the *weakness* in which we found the Native Powers, we ought not to complain of the evils which that weakness necessarily produces. If we have reaped the benefits, we must submit to witness the inconveniences which are its inseparable attendants." (Quoted in Thompson's *Metcalfe*, p. 191.)

W. S. Blunt supported this view 65 years later. He wrote from Haidarabad, "The policy [of the British] seems to be to keep the *Haidarabad nobles in ignorance* of modern thought, and it also looks as if the [British] Indian Government *encourages the bad administration* purposely." (*India Under Ripon*, p. 68.)

E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State wrote in 1918 : "The Nizam is, of course, enormously important to us because he has kept the Muhammadans of India *straight*, and we have used him, by means of his wily old ministers and our Resident, for this purpose." Montagu's prediction has come true—"Really, this is ridiculous and they are going to have *trouble with this man* [Sir Osman Ali, G.C.B.] *by exalting him* into a *position of kingship*." (*An Indian Diary*, 213, 218.)

Where is the remedy?

In December 1883, the Minister Laik Ali (later known as Salar Jang II) told Blunt that "he did *not* think that the *Nizam* would be *fit to govern* the country by himself, . . . but *neither is the country fit for self-government*." (*Ibid*, p. 77).

Sixty-five years have passed since this political forecast was made, and today in 1948 another Laik Ali proclaims to the world that the people of the Haidarabad State are unfit for self-government! Will they be more fit under the present system and official gang, if we wait 65 years more, say in 2013 A.D.?

How the Nizam spends the public money

Sir Osman Ali has founded a Urdu University named after himself, among a population *ninety per cent* of whom cannot read or write Urdu. He spends lakhs of rupees on a translation bureau for making and printing Urdu translations of standard books in English. In a History of Europe issued by this department the sentence "Luther burnt the Papal Bull" has been rendered in Urdu as *Luther ne Papa-Rome ke byle ko jalai dia* (Luther roasted the ox of the Pope of Rome). This information was given by a Muslim Professor of Aligarh to Dr. Rajendra Prasad at New Delhi on 24th Oct, 1946. Such is the condition of education under the Nizam's Government agency!

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THE EASTERN QUESTION IN EUROPEAN POLITICS

By BUDDHA PRAKASH, M.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S.

From the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wards, the world has been moving towards ter and interdependence and war and politics are ming increasingly international in range and incid- e. Hence the Eastern parts of Europe which had ir negligible influence on continental politics are ming important factors in European affairs. In interregnum that followed the break-up of the an empire, the Volkerwanderung of the Vikings e a stimulus to the countries bordering on the board of the Atlantic and in the result the centre political gravity shifted to England, France, Spain, rtugal and Germany and other countries of the far est. For about a thousand years the history of rope was mainly the history of these Atlantic coun- es. But in the beginning of the nineteenth century e centre of political gravity again shifted to the st and its importance grew to such an extent that e first shots of two world wars were fired there.

With the dawn of the nineteenth century the e powerful Ottoman Empire of Turkey began to ter and the Slavs, Serbs, Greeks and other races inha- ing the Balkans, which formed part of the Empire, gan to raise their heads under the impact of tionalism, which the French Revolution engendered d Napoleon spread far and wide, and liberalism, ich was the lodestar of British foreign policy under d Canning. The Serbs for the first time raised the mer of revolt against Turkey in 1804 A.D. and ured a measure of autonomy under a prince of e native Obrevonitch house in 1817 A.D. Three ars later Greece followed suit and after her success e contagion spread very quickly and the whole of e Balkans flared up in a national rising.

At these developments the European powers ked from their own respective angles of vision. ssia saw in them a golden opportunity of securing e key to her house" as Czar Alexander II described e control of the Bosphorus and Dardenelles. Hence e espoused the cause of the rising nations of the lkans as a protector of their racial and religious ments and launched a Pan-Slavist propaganda to engthen her handhold on Balkan countries. Side y side she availed of every chance to coerce the rkish Porte into giving her the privilege of the ren-waters." In 1828 she declared war on Turkey d compelled the porte to recognize her claims in the ck Sea. Again in 1831 she helped Turkey against hmet Pasha and as a price of her services obtained e military protectorship over Turkey and a free passage r her warships through the Straits to the exclusion of all other powers. Again in 1855-56 she attempted the same policy but was thwarted by the combined resistance of England and France. Foiled in her designs, she tried her luck in 1875 also but with unlucky consequences. Still she persisted in her policy unto the last.

Austria-Hungary viewed the falling fortunes of Turkey in a different light. Her empire was a patch-work of many nationalities, which could be held together only so long as they remained dormant. The southern parts of the empire were inhabited by the Slavs, who were racially and culturally related to the Russians; and the northern parts were peopled by the Czechs who were extremely Russophile. Transylvania though diversified by Magyar and German colonists was really a Ruman country and in the Banat of Tameshvar, Crotia, Southern Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzogovina lived more Serbs than in Serbia herself. Thus the interest of Austria consisted in keeping the Balkan states weak and small. Her policy was to maintain Turkey as a bulwark against Russia and the Slavs generally, to keep Serbia small and landlocked and to work towards Salonica by economic penetration.

The British Government had also a powerful stake in the decadent destiny of the "sickman of Europe." She wanted to keep her communications with India and the Far East secure and hence could not tolerate the paramountcy of Russia in the waters of the Mediterranean. At first her policy was to fillip up the nationalities of the Balkans, apparently under the name of liberalism, but really to throw a strong bulwark against the advance of Russia and to prop up the Ottoman empire also as a dam to stem her. But after the death of Earl Canning British foreign policy was more inclined towards Turkey than the Balkans. In 1831 she intervened together with France, to buy off Mehmet Pasha and to forestall the progress of Russia. Again in 1839 they compelled Mehmet to surrender Serbia and Arabia to Turkey. In 1855-56 the Crimean war was fought merely to give a chance to Turkey to put her house in order, which she failed to do. Again Disraeli championed the Turkish cause in spite of the fulminations of Gladstone's Midlothian speeches and the remonstrances of Bismarck. At Berlin in 1876 he thoroughly alienated Russia and Rumania, Bulgaria and Greece by upholding the cause of Turkey.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century another very important and powerful factor arose in Eastern politics which brought about a thorough revolution in the policy of Great Britain towards Turkey. It was the German policy of *Drang nach dem Osten.*

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After Bismarck, Germany began to court the sympathies of the 'sickman' in order to further her imperial plans in the Middle East. With this end in view Kaiser Wilhelm II paid a visit to Turkey in 1889 and then in 1898 and Baron von der Gotz lived for some time in Turkish military circles and the result of these visits and sojourns was ostensibly demonstrated by the Turkish victory over Greece in 1898. German financiers and traders followed in the wake of the soldiers, a branch of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin was started at Constantinople, Von Sandres was appointed German ambassador to Turkey and to crown these developments Germany concluded a pact with Turkey in 1902 for the construction of a railway line up to Baghdad, which was to be extended later on to Basra and other places in the Middle East. Thus German interests in the Balkans lay from west to east whereas Russian interests lay from north to south. This led to Britain giving up her policy of favouring Turkey and adopting one of emphasis on the Balkans.

In a horizon of such complications and entanglements the twentieth century dawned and portended a terrible future. In 1908 the young Turk revolution took place. A party of youngmen trained in western ideals of war ad statecraft rose under Unver Pasha and overthrew the regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid. Taking this opportunity Bulgaria declared herself independent on 5th October, 1908 and soon Crete followed suit and demanded her incorporation with Greece. Austria also under Aehrenthal announced the annexation of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzogovina. This act of Austria added another 2,000,000 Serbs to the already great number of 7,000,000 who were smarting under Magyar domination. The British foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey remonstrated but Austria settled with Turkey by a payment of money and the return of the Sandjik of Novibazar to her. This exacerbated the Serbs against Austria to such an extent that war became imminent in 1909. But Germany gave a mild ultimatum to Russia, which dissuaded her from siding with the Serbs and thus the world had a narrow escape.

Meanwhile another knot was added to the tangle of the Balkans. After the young Turk Revolution every insult was heaped on Italian merchants, bankers and engineers, who formed the advance-guard of the Italian occupation and Turkish officials always and everywhere maltreated the Italian people. Thus Italy determined to wreak vengeance on Turkey. In October, 1909 Czar Nicholas of Russia had an interview with King Victor Emmanuel of Italy and assured him of Russian neutrality in the event of an Italo-Turkish war. Accordingly, in 1911 Italy declared war on Turkey by bombarding Tripoli. This difficulty of Turkey was the opportunity of the Balkan nationals who were impatient to overthrow the Turkish yoke. Hence the Albanians—the ultra-royalists—broke out in open rebellion against the young Turk regime and scored a victory at Mitrovitza. In the meantime, miraculously and in complete secrecy except in respect of Russia, M. Venizelos of Greece and M. Gneshoff of Bulgaria, along with Serbia and Montenegro, formed a league against Turkey and declared war on her. They scored victory on all sides. Turkey's main armies in Thrace were destroyed by the Bulgarians in the battles of Kirk Kilisseh and Lule Burges; Macedonia was swept clear of the Turks; Salonika fell and leaving Adrianople to be invested, the Turkish forces fell back on the Tchataldja line for the defence of Constantinople.

The conference of the belligerents met at London, where it was decided that the victors should be allowed to retain what they obtained. The only exception was that the Serbs were forced to quit Durazzo and Alassio on the Adriatic. The net result of all this was not merely the triumph of the Balkan nationals but a victory for Russia in the Balkans and a blow to Austria-Hungary although Sir Edward Grey threw his weight on her side.

Austria-Hungary was now enchafed. Under the impulse of the fire-eating Conard von Hotzendorf and Count Berchford, she sharpened her teeth against Serbia. All of a sudden on 28th June, 1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated by the Serbs at Serajivo. This event raised a storm of resentment in Austria and with the consent of German officers she served a 48-hour ultimatum on Serbia on 23rd July and on the 28th actually launched the attack. On 29th Britain urged arbitration, but the die had been cast. Russia mobilized, Germany declared war against her on 1st August and against France on the 3rd. On the 11th an army was sent into Belgium and at night of the same day England and Germany were at war.

The First World War ended and in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles the pattern of future Europe was formulated. The Austrian empire was broken up and the Balkans were Balkanized in the true sense of the term. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania emerged in a totally changed form. This arbitrary arrangement was fraught with grave discontent and misunderstanding. The Hungarians were stripped of Slovakia, which was transferred to the Czechs, of Transylvania, which was conquered by the Rumans, and Crotia, which now became part of Yugoslavia in the Serbo-Croat-Slovene kingdom. Thus some six hundred thousand men and women of Magyar race passed under alien domination. Similarly Poland received the corridor and Silesia and 230,000 German Tyrolese and 1,300,000 Yugoslavs were transferred to Italian rule. The principle of self-determination stood stultified. The net result of this treaty was the extension of Russian influence in the Balkans which was to become a very dreadful thing later on. In vain the English geographer Mackinder wrote in his book *Democratic Ideals and Realities* in 1919:

"When our statesmen are in conversation with the defeated enemy some airy cherub should whisper to them from time to time and say: 'Who rules east Europe commands the Heartland (territory from Volga to the Yantze and from the Himalayas to the

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Arctic region), who rules the Heartland commands the World Island (Europe, Asia and Africa), who rules the World Island rules the World'."

His warning was not listened to at that time.

A decade later, the rise of Germany under Hitler signed the resumption of the old German policy of advance towards the East or *Drang nach dem Osten.* Hitler, following Oldenberg, remarked:

"We start anew where we terminated six centuries ago. We reverse the eternal Germanic migration to the south and to the west of Europe and look eastwards. If we speak of new soil we can but think first of Russia and her subject border states . ." (*Mein Kampf* p. 742) . . . . "None of our pacifists refuses to eat the corn of the east, although the first plough was called the 'sword.' "—*Mein Kampf* p. 153-4.

Germany's policy from the outset was to consolidate the countries of the Balkans into a strong state and to militarize it as a strong base for the advance towards the East. Hence German thinkers were envisaging German control over the Balkan countries. The first step in this direction was the unification of Austria and Germany. As early as November, 1934 the *Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik* wrote in regard to Austria:

"Austria is located in an extremely dangerous position from a military standpoint; its boundaries are defenceless to the attacks of its neighbours and it threatens partly through its own faults to become the battle-field of the next world war. The military weakness of the Austrian space is the reason for this danger, which can be averted only if a Great Power takes over the protection of this Austrian territory."

Afterwards in May 1938 in an article in the same magazine Albrect Haushofer wrote about Czechoslovakia:

"A Czech national state within the boundaries of the Czechoslovakia of today was thinkable only at a time when the German power did not exist."

The next objective after the Balkans was Russia. But the attitude of the magazine and its editors towards it was one of friendly co-operation. They impressed upon the German government the urgent need of a strong and abiding friendship with Russia, since war between them would have the effect, as it had in the past, of pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the sake of the imperialistic aims of the Western neighbour-ing powers. Besides this the strategic position of Russia was so invulnerable that war against her was bound to end in disaster. Hence such a great thinker and philosopher as Oswald Spengler wrote in his book *Jahre der Entscheidung* (years of decision) as follows:

"Distance is a force politically and militarily which is as yet unconquered. Napolean himself had to learn this lesson. What advantage is it to the enemy to occupy territory no matter how immense? To make even an attempt impossible the Bolsheviks have shifted the centre of gravity of their system further to the east. All the great industrial areas which are important to power-politics have been constructed east of Moscow . . . . The entire region east of Moscow, which was once the most vital part of the Czar's empire, forms today a fantastic glacis against Europe."

Therefore, the Russo-German pact of August 1939 was hilariously hailed by Dr. Karl Haushofer, editor of *Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik* as a masterpiece of German policy. He wrote in the magazine:

"It needed the worst attacks from London before the conviction of the Fuehrer of the indispensability of the British empire for the world culture and the Nordic race idea was pushed back far enough so that the inevitability of the co-opeartion of the Axis powers, the Russian Empire and East Asia as the saviours stood distinctly before the German soul . . . . The audacious construction of the anti-comintern pact was perhaps the borderline which such an insight (*i.e.*, that Russia and Germany lost the war because they had fought each other) had to cross in order to teach the most vital great powers of the old world, that they should not again endanger, by ideological differences, the geopolitical foundations of their adjustable space-existence."

Furthermore, Dr. Haushofer envisaged the prospect of Germany and Russia entering into a pact with Japan. In 1940 he wrote in the magazine:

"If it were possible that the flags of the rising sun and of the hammer and sickle could destroy their mutual distrust, then they would be invincible in their domestic seas."

In this way the advance towards the East was planned as the basis of Nazi policy. Behind it was the sagacious realization of the strategic advantages that Russia possessed over Germany and other Western powers. It had influenced and fascinated some important colleagues of Hitler, notably Rudolf Hess, who was a disciple of Dr. Haushofer. Hence the German advance towards the east was devised in collaboration with Russia. After taking Austria and Czechoslovakia Germany attacked Poland from the West on 1st September, 1939 and Russia from the east. But then England and France declared war on Germany (3rd September, 1939) and she had to turn her attention towards the west also. She took Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium and Holland and advanced up to the heart of France unchecked (June, 1940) and after Dunkirk, had she straightway punched on England her success was assured since England was unprepared at that time. (See R. C. K. Ensor: *A Miniature History of the War* p. 28.). But Hitler treated the conquest of England with indifference and penetrated into France. Even after Bordeaux an immediate heavy night air campaign against England might have proved irresistible and Germany had a nice chance had she concentrated all her energies on that. But something mysterious took place and Hitler had to divert his attention to the East, especially the Balkans, and England got time to prepare herself for the defence. The reason for this sudden change in Hitler's policy is unknown. It may well be that he slighted the sea-power of England, but it passes comprehension that he could have missed so easy and decisive a prize. As a matter of fact,

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something more serious and more important was taking place behind the scenes.

As Hitler was scoring resounding victories in the West and especially France, Russia was entrenching her hold on the Balkans. She had already annexed more than a half of Poland and the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and had dictated his terms to Finland. Now her attention and efforts were rivetted on the Balkans which was a congenial field for her. This startled Hitler beyond measure, for the control of the Balkans would give Russia the command of the heartland of the world and consequently the power to crush the superiority of Germany in the West. Hence she contracted a treaty with Japan, who was to advance *via* Singapore, Rangoon, Ceylon and Madagascar and meet the Germans moving *via* Malta, Suez Canal and Red Sea and thus to attempt a naval blockade of the world including Russia herself. Grand Admiral Raeder was the author of this plan, which led to the giving up of the projected invasion of England (*Vide* the documents consisting of the minutes of conferences between Hitler and his naval commanders in 1942, published in *The Hindustan Times*, 10-7-47.).

In the result Germany struck against the Balkans and pushing through Rumania, Bulgaria, (Jan.-Feb. 1941) Yugoslavia (25, March, 1941) and Greece (24-30 April, 1941), attacked Crete and Malta and campaigned in North Africa. These movements irritated Russia whose interests clashed with those of Germany and the result was the fateful German invasion of Russia on 22nd June, 1941, the disastrous consequences of which had been brought home by Spengler and Haushofer.

The ultimate alienation of Russia and Germany was inevitable. No doubt Dr. Haushofer had passionately pleaded for a lasting Russo-German alliance. But two swords cannot rest in one sheath. Two equally strong and ambitious powers aiming at one common objective must fall out among themselves someday and eventuate either their mutual destruction or the survival of the fitter one. In politics, unlike in personal relations "two is company, three is none" is the very opposite of the truth.

Thus Russia and Germany went to war. In this struggle the advantages were tremendously on the side of Russia and the defeat of Germany was a foregone conclusion, which her great thinkers clearly knew. The self-same thing came to pass.

After the capitulation of Germany, Russia kept her policy of entrenching her hold on the Balkans intact. A series of coups organized by the communists resulted in the installation of puppet governments in Balkan countries, whose wires are pulled from the Kremlin. In Yugoslavia Russia has turned the racial and religious ferment to her advantage. The whole manoeuvre was so organized that in the elections to the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly in November 1946, King Peter got only 10 per cent. of the votes as against 90 per cent. of Marshal Tito's, a Soviet-trained leader of Urban proletariat. Rumania was ridden with a pro-Soviet monarchy presided over by King Michael, whose recent abdication has left a clean field for Russia. Bulgaria underwent a coup at the hands of the communist-dominated Fatherland Front and last September she voted to establish a Republic. Hungary underwent a ravaging purge by the communists. General Dinnyes, whose party polled only 17 per cent. of the votes in the last elections has usurped the government with the help of Soviet bullets, by swashbuckling the small Holders' Party which had a majority in it. Czechoslovakia also passed under Soviet influence very recently and the suicide of Masaryk and the resignation of Benes has left Russia unrivalled there. Poland is already a Soviet-dominated country and the Eastern Zone of Germany is fast becoming a communist preserve. In Scandinavian countries also the communists are gathering head very rapidly. In Denmark an underground organization of extreme communists is known to exist and on the Finnish side of the frontier of Norway, and Soviet-dominated Finland, large-scale exacavations are being carried out and detonations of blasting are heard almost daily. Hence a few weeks ago the premiers of Sweden, Denmark and Norway met in Oslo to discuss the communist menace. In this way the 'iron curtain' is being extended west-wards very swiftly.

Here the very important question arises as to what is the future of West-European countries under these circumstances? Either they come under Soviet influence and form a big communist bloc embracing the vast regions of Eurasia and thus avert the chances of war, the Eurasian and American question having been left out for the present; or they unite in some common scheme of defence under American leadership, as their tendency is these days. In the second case the prospect of a clash between them and Russia would have to be seriously considered. In history, invasions from the east have often ravaged the West, but no invasion from the west towards the east has ever succeeded. Napoleon and Hitler both failed. Of course, the West-European countries established their colonies and empires in far-off Asia and Africa in the east but that was by naval force and its main reason was the decadence of subject peoples. But as these peoples are rising and progressing, sea-power with distant bases cannot keep them in check. Hence that era has come to a close and the question of land-fighting has arisen again. As far as war on land is concerned the hard fact remains that whereas in the event of a raid from the west Russia can leave a thousand miles and nestle in the retreats of the Urals, in the case of an invasion from the east, France and her neighbours cannot go anywhere save sinking in the deeps of the Atlantic. Hence their doom is decreed.

There was, however, a chance of forestalling the westward expansion of Russia, which the Western

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failed to avail of. It was the formation of an with Germany under Nazi leadership. The ally commanding position of Germany, her population, her vast resources and her effi- in organizing both human and non-human mark her out for the domination and leader- of Western Europe in any war against the powers the east. Hence the best and the only chance for and France of lengthening the lease of their was to accept the leadership of Germany and to entrench their hold on the Balkans, which has an effective bulwark against the east for well a century. Hitler's prophetic vision visualized project very clearly. As the great scholar of his- and politics Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee remarked in spect:

"Hitler once said that, if Europe seriously wanted to be a power in the world of our time, then Europe must welcome and embrace the Fuehrer's policy; and this hard saying was surely the truth. Hitler's Europe—a Europe forcibly united by German conquest and consolidated under German domination —is the only kind of Europe that could conceivably be a match in war potential for either the Soviet Union or the United States."—A. J. Toynbee: *The International Outlook in International Affairs* Volume XXII, No. 4, October 1947. P. 471.

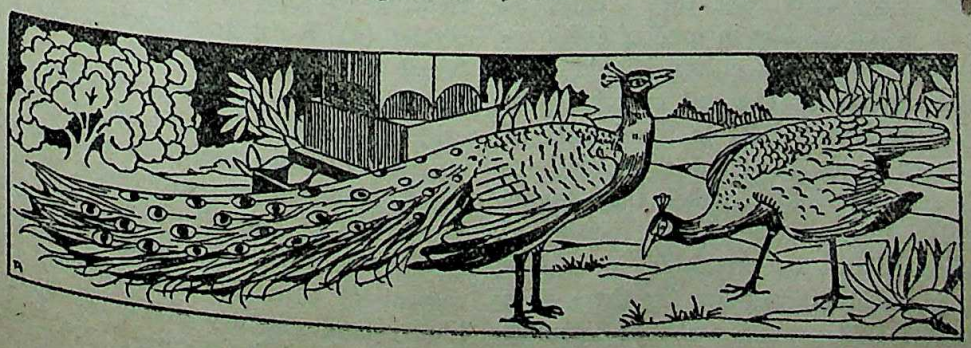
But instead of turning towards Germany West- European powers are now drifting under the do- mination of America, who has emerged vastly strengthened from the second World War. As a matter of fact, America is not directly hit or hurt by the war. On the contrary, her resources have got a tremendous fillip from it. Hence in point of richness and resourcefulness she is unrivalled today. This is by her intrusions in the Russian field in the form of interference in Greece, Turkey, Persia and the Middle East are going unchallanged. But sooner or later Russia must recoup the loss that she sustained in the and stand foursquare against all intrusions of America. At that time it is very doubtful if America would be able to withstand the force of Russian might from a distance of thousands of miles. for the ideological sympathy that Eur-America in the east for her, Guy Wint in his book *British in Asia* published recently in London written that she cannot compete with Russia in . For four centuries Russia has nursed a messianic . The Bolshevik Revolution only strengthened the idea and the concept of Russia as world-saviour merged with that of Russia as a patron of international communism. Behind Russian expansion today, therefore, lies an emotional or even religious force, perhaps the most fervent since the expansion of Spain in South America. Her ideology is so similar to that of Islam that her influence in the Middle-East would be unmatched. To quote Guy Wint:

> "Once atheism is abandoned it would not be difficult to represent communism as Islam brought up-to-date, so strong is the equalitarian tradition in Mohammadan society. For these reasons, even the critics and enemies of Russia, sometimes feel constrained to prophesy an inevitable Russian supremacy in Asia. This might not come from the intentions of the Russian Government, but from *historical necessity*, for if there is disorder in Asia, Russia would find it genuinely hard to stay aloof."

Thus we notice that the days of America in Eur-Asia are numbered. The supremacy of the east under Russian auspices is assured. The powers of Western Europe are so vulnerably situated as to fall a prey to Russia one day or the other. The only hope of a powerful West-European Union is the regeneration of Germany. To quote Dr. Toynbee again:

> In a European Union . . . . Germany must come to the top sooner or later by one means or another, even if this United Europe were to be presented, at the start, with a Germany that was disarmed and decentralized or even divided."—Toynbee: *op cit.*

The West European powers and especially France should take this historic lesson to heart and try to build a strong Germany as speedily as possible. Side by side they should develop and inspire a messianic faith in their existence by upholding the dignity of man and espousing the cause of his freedom. For this they should renounce their outworn imperialist policy in the East: France and Holland should atone for their guilt in Viet-nam and Indonesia by giving them full freedom and England should give up her chess-tactics in Palestine, Kashmir and South Africa by helping solve their problems amicably. In this way alone they can inspire in the East a faith in their existence and thereby assume its spiritual leadership. After all, integrity is more effective than strategy, ethico-politics is more powerful than geo-politics and spiritual strength is more successful than war potential.



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SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)

II

A unique feature of the Draft Constitution is found in the emphasis placed on "Fundamental Rights" of citizens. An entire section, *viz.* Part III is devoted to the subject. Neither in the constitution of Canada nor those of Australia or South Africa do we find such an enumeration of fundamental rights. In Great Britain they are guaranteed by an independent judiciary and certain prerogative writs, such as *Habeas Corpus,* Mandamus, etc. In U.S.A. also the original constitution which emerged from the labours of the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 did not contain any provisions regarding fundamental rights which were subsequently added by way of amendments. Here in our country the insistence on the incorporation of an elaborate system of fundamental rights is quite understandable in the context of the sad experience of the eclipse of all human rights not only in the Nazi and Fascist dominated countries, but also in the so-called democracies in the grip of war, as also of India's own sad experience under British rule. Quite a large number of the Constituent Assembly whose deliberations furnish the basis of the Draft Constitution have been the worst victims of the denial of fundamental rights of man by a foreign bureaucracy and it is only natural that when they should be entrusted with the making of a constitution of their own country they should place these rights beyond the possibility of encroachment by the Legislature and the Executive even though these are to be popular in character. Besides, there is the general consideration that if democracy is to have any success—and Indian opinion is by and large in favour of establishment of a democracy—it must guarantee to its citizens those elementary freedoms which by equalising the conditions of life for all make for the fullest development of human personality of all its citizens. Moreover, in formulating the scheme of fundamental rights they have taken care that these are not to be merely pious precepts and paper safeguards but they should be easily enforceable in courts of law in case of infringement from any quarter and every citizen should have easy access to legal remedies. The sad experience of the Weimer constitution is a pointer to the futility of incorporating a scheme of fundamental rights without provision of legal remedies. To make these rights effective it is essential that the law-making powers of the legislative bodies should be restricted in such a way as to exclude possible interference by them with these rights and further that provision should be made for judicial review of cases of infringement by the Legislature or the Executive. Accordingly, Section (8) of the Draft Constitution provides not only that the 'State'—meaning thereby "the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India"—should be precluded from making laws taking away or abridging the rights enumerated in the Constitution and a law made in contravention of such rights should be treated as null and void, to the extent of contravention, but further that all laws made even before the commencement of the Constitution inconsistent with the preservation of the rights in question should be treated as void to the extent of the inconsistency. It seems, therefore, that all possible precaution has been taken against these rights being rendered infructuous and merely paper safeguards. While curtailing the power of the legislatures in respect of these rights a proviso has been introduced, and rightly, so that they may not be prevented from making laws "for the removal of any inequality, disparity, disadvantage or discrimination arising out of the existing law." For the removal of existing inequality or discrimination is as much desirable as the guaranteeing of fundamental rights. We quite agree with the explanation given by the authors for the insertion of this proviso:

> "The proviso has been added in order to enable the State to make laws removing any existing discrimination. Such laws will necessarily be discriminatory in a sense, because they will operate only against those who hitherto enjoyed an undue advantage. It is obvious that laws of this character should not be prohibited."

The purpose of this proviso is the same as the clauses preserving fundamental rights against encroachment by legislatures.

To come now to the specific rights guaranteed. The list is a comprehensive one falling under the following heads,—(1) Rights of equality, (2) Rights relating to religion, (3) Cultural and Educational rights, (4) Right to property, (5) Right to constitutional remedies.

Rights of equality comprise prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, sex, race, etc., equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, abolition of untouchability, abolition of titles. protection of the classic 'freedoms', such as freedom of speech, movement, association, etc., protection in respect of conviction of offence, protection of life, liberty and equality before law, freedom of trade, intercourse, prohibition of traffic in

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beings and forced labour and employment of children. The principle underlying all these rights is that they are meant as much to secure equality as to prevent inequality, as securing true equality presupposes the removal of existing inequality. For instance, while it is provided that no citizen shall be subjected to any disability or restriction on grounds of race, religion, sex, etc., it is at the same time provided that the State shall not be prevented from making any special provisions for women or children, inasmuch as the latter are under some disadvantages. (Section 9). Similarly, while it is provided that there shall be equal opportunity for all citizens in matters of employment and that no citizen shall be ineligible for any office under the State on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste, etc., it is at the same time provided that it shall not stand in the way of the State making any provision for the reservation of appointment or posts in favour of any backward class who happen to be inadequately represented in the Services under the State (Section 10). Section (II) of the Draft Constitution provides for the abolition of untouchability and the enforcement of any disability arising out of it is made an offence under the law of the land. Untouchability is a baneful form of social inequality and all shall agree in stamping it out of the body-politic. We doubt in the efficacy of the legal process to achieve that end. It is a social abuse and the most effective remedy for it is to educate public opinion. Happily, public conscience has already been aroused to its baneful consequences and thanks particularly to the life-long labours of Mahatma Gandhi untouchability is fast on the decline and is expected to be a thing of the past at no distant date. It might better be included in the Section of 'Directive Principles of State Policy'.

We welcome the provision for the abolition of titles (Section 12) as a healthy measure for the abolition of an artificially created privileged class—a class which may be doped into subservience and used for its own ends by the ruling class, if unscrupulous. Section (13) provides for the preservation of the time-honoured "rights of man", such as the right to free speech and expression, the right to assemble peacefully, the right to form associations, the right to free movement, etc., while guaranteeing the liberty of the individual in these matters care has been taken against excesses on the part of individuals in their actions amounting to license to the detriment of public interests. This is just in accord with the principle of English jurisprudence that a person is to exercise his right only up to the point where it does not interfere with a similar right of other persons nor prejudice public interests. Corresponding to each of these rights there is a proviso setting a limit to it. For instance, the right to freedom of speech and of expression is to be subject to the right of the State to make laws relating to libel, slander, defamation, sedition or any other matter undermining the authority or foundations of the State. Similar provisos are introduced with regard to the other rights. Thus a balance is struck between individual rights so very necessary for the development of personality of the citizen and interests of the community at large. To emphasise the importance of the right to life, personal liberty, freedom from conviction, etc., these have been separately dealt with in Sections (14) and (15). A person is not to be convicted of an offence except for the violation of a law *in force at the time of* the commission of the offence. This is a safeguard of individual liberty against the operation of *ex post facto* legislation. Further, it is provided that no person is to be punished for the same offence more than once, nor to be compelled to be a witness against himself, if accused of an offence. Protection of life and liberty as secured under the principle of Rule of Law of English jurisprudence is provided for under Section (15) which runs as follows:

> "No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law, nor shall any person be denied equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India."

The above two sections have been drafted on the model of the Fifth amendment of the American Constitution. The language seems to be an improvement on that used in the American Constitution. We have nothing to comment on the other rights enumerated in this Section. So far as the next category of rights, *i.e.*, the rights relating to religion are concerned they are all conceived in the spirit of the basic fact that India is to be a secular State. Freedom of conscience, freedom to profess, practise and propagate any religion is guaranteed subject to the right of the State to make law for (a) regulating economic, financial, political or other secular activities associated with religious practice; and (b) for social welfare and reform or for throwing open Hindu religious institutions of a public character to any Class or Section of Hindus. So far as this last-mentioned matter is concerned we should prefer this to be effected by the growth of public opinion of which there is a distinct manifestation rather than by legislation. Freedom of every religious sect or denomination to establish and maintain its own institutions, to manage its affairs and to own, acquire and administer properties for religious or charitable purposes is also guaranteed as also the freedom as to attendance of religious instruction or religious worship in certain educational institutions. In the spirit of a secular State it is provided that no religious instruction is to be provided in any educational institutions maintained out of public funds. At the same time the freedom of any community or religious denomination to provide religious instruction for pupils of its own community in an educational institution outside its working hours is prejudiced.

The next category of fundamental rights relates

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to the protection of minority interests as provided by Section (23). The object of this Section is to disarm the fears and suspicions of all minorities whether religious, racial or linguistic, about the suppression of their culture and language by the majority community. The way provincialism is on the ascendant throughout India and particularly the attitude of the people of Bihar and Assam towards the Bengali-speaking minorities there point to the wisdom of these provisions. The next important right guaranteed is the right to private property. This, of course, does not rule out a socialistic economy which is envisaged in Part IV of the constitution. In the present-day world this right cannot be absolute but always subject to the paramount necessity of the State. Of course, compensation is to be paid in case of acquisition of any form of property by the State for public purposes.

The last section of the rights relates to remedies for enforcement of the rights discussed above through the Supreme Court or other Courts by directions or orders in the nature of the writs of *Habeas Corpus*, Mandamus, *quo warranto*, etc. As has already been stated above, mere enumeration of rights without appropriate remedies for their enforcement would reduce them to nullity. So this has been included in the list of fundamental rights with a view to making the others effective.

The powers to make laws with respect to matters under discussion which requires provision by legislation and for prescribing punishment for those acts which are declared to be offences in this context is to belong exclusively to the Federal Parliament and not to the State. This is just as it ought to be for the sake of uniformity of the system of fundamental rights throughout the Union.

The catalogue of rights incorporated in the Draft Constitution and discussed above is quite comprehensive and calculated to secure to the citizens a measure of individual liberty that any one can expect in the present-day world and if they are properly enforced people in many parts of the world will look upon Indians with envy. But the question is whether they will be actually translated in the everyday life of the common man. There is more often than not a gap between the law and the facts of everyday life. It all depends on the tradition of a people. In England liberty of the individual is being enjoyed longer than perhaps in any other country, but it does not rest on any written provisions of the constitution. It is embedded in the mental habits of the people. On the other hand, in spite of the elaborate constitutional guarantees about rights in the Weimar constitution the German people never tasted them in their daily life. So we should not feel unduly complacent over this catalogue of fundamental rights written into the text of the constitution, unless we are able to develop those habits of thought and traditions and that psychology which consitute the real foundation of true liberty and democracy. If, however, we succeed in realising these rights in our daily life we shall not only achieve peace and happiness at home but also make a distinct contribution to world peace; because the cause of world peace will be largely promoted by the preservation of democratic rights over such a large area and such a large section of humanity.

(To be continued)

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BUILD A 'THIRD FORCE'

By J. BHAR, M.A.

Weep not today : Why should this sadness be ?
Learn in present fears
To o'ermaster those tears
That unhindered conquer thee.

—Robert Bridges

The world is now being divided fast and sure into two camps. Sandwiched between two forces, Soviet power politics and the U. S. A.'s dollar imperialism, humanity is now foolishly fumbling towards a third world war. As recent events and trends in European and Asiatic politics have shown, the Big Two are fast heading for a showdown with their respective satellites siding with one or the other. For the common people all the world over this game of power politics is equally sinister and harmful, no matter which particular camp they may choose to join. The Big Power rivalry and wrangling have come to a head after what is known as the Czechoslovak 'coup'. There is now under way more feverish activity than ever for bloc-making on either side. Humanity is facing a crisis, a sort of dilemma. Have they now got no other option than cast in their lot with either America or Russia? Is the situation so hopeless that helpless mankind cannot afford not to allow either one or the other to make them its partner in the coming war? Granted that war is no longer a probability, but a certainty, must we adopt an attitude of listlessness or rise triumphant over war-mongering and make a last-minute effort to avert the calamity that will plunge the world headlong into chaos, destruction and even total ruin? Is there really no choice left for us between U.S. imperialism and Soviet power politics, both of which actually seek to foist upon us the tyranny of a ruthless regime with lust for power as its essence? Only intellectual bankrupts will answer this query in

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negative. For, the light of the world has not yet gone out, and there is still enough time left for the organisation of a third force of peace and moderation. This third force alone, if properly consolidated and directed, can triumph over the forces of reaction and protect Democracy inviolate from the depredations of power politics.

Insurance Against War

Organisation of the third force is the strongest insurance against another war. In between stubborn Communism and the re-born neo-fascism a third force ought to be made to emerge and take its rightful place in the comity of peace-loving nations. It must come, if we want to prevent war and make peace and democracy safe for ourselves and the future generation of mankind. It is for us to build it, and if we do not do it right now, we will do it never. Let us, therefore, get going in the proper direction before it is too late. Otherwise there will be war, and its evil consequences will prove the undoing of all the noble things man has done for hundreds of years. Atomic warfare after all is not a matter of joke. How could we ever forget what happened when the bomb went off in Hiroshima and Nagasaki ?

Effort has already been made in Europe and America to build a third force. But it is a pity that after the Czechoslovak 'coup' this force is now disappearing leaving the field open for the war-mongers to play their own game. But it will be a sin to lose faith in humanity. It is no use questioning the efficacy of democracy, for frankly speaking it has not yet been given a trial anywhere under the sky. But here in India there is only one man who represents the essence of democracy at least in word, if not in deed. He is no other than our beloved Nehru who advocates political as well as economic democracy. Even if the third force fails in Europe, let not Asia lose faith in it. Men like Soekarno, Ho Chi Minh, and Nehru have a great task to perform. Let them organise the third force here on the Asiatic soil, and strengthen it to such an extent that war-mongers will not dare to hook us in as their partners. The ruling powers in our neighbouring countries may refuse to co-operate with us in this effort for saving peace and democracy, for under the guise of so-called freedom they are entrenched both deep in military and economic collaboration with their previous Ruler. But if even at this stage Pandit Nehru, the torch-bearer of a lofty democratic ideal, should care to come forward and take over the leadership of an Asian movement for peace, the people of all these regions will certainly respond to his call. This partnership will be no violation of the U.N. Charter, for it will be first and foremost a healthy movement for peace, the very ideal that brought the UNO into being. The Asian Conference convened last year in Delhi was quite a commendable move. It is a pity that the pledge for peace and unity among the Asian nations taken on the occasion is nowhere near realisation even after a lapse of about two years. Let us fulfil the mission now or a good act deferred indefinitely, we shall find it too late afterwards to keep out disaster. To build a third force on Asian soil is no costly luxury. It is an imperative necessity, a matter of life and death. If we can launch the movement right away and make it a cent per cent success, the war-mongers will be bound to leave us free, knowing full well they can't have much of a dent on this part of Asia.

India's Role

If India refuses to lead an Asian movement for peace, well then who will? China is by far the largest country in Asia and her children are scattered wide over the entire south-eastern part of Asia. But China is now too much in hot water, and one side of her civil war feeding fat on U. S. support is too feudal in outlook and too much of a lackey of foreign imperialism to be of any service to the cause of Asian peace. The other side represents democracy, the Chinese civil war being a straight fight between Chiang Kai-Shek's feudalism and Mao Tse Tung's "new democracy." If and when this "new democracy" emerges triumphant, China will inevitably decide and influence the fate of the whole of Asia. But till then India cannot and should not shirk her responsibility in maintaining Asian peace. Otherwise troubles will be whipped up, and the path for destruction and even subjugation to foreign influence might be opened out. Let us, therefore, do all we can to prevent a war on Asian soil, especially in countries like India, Ceylon, Burma, Malay, Indo-China and Indonesia. Let the mutual co-operation among all these countries be founded on a genuine desire for peace. The task is no doubt difficult. It is also manifold: a perfect co-ordination of its various aspects,—cultural, political and economic, and even collective defence against aggression on a regional basis—may prove too heavy a burden on us. And yet we cannot afford not to think big.

The Third Force in U.S.A.

The third force in America is being led by Henry Wallace. Truman's popularity is already on the decline, and some of his countrymen have begun to look askance at his heavy commitments in Asia and America. He may be knocked out altogether at the next election. The most popular figure in U.S.A. is Gen. Eisenhower, but he is not going in for presidency. Henry Wallace stands for peace and moderation. He is frankly critical about what he rightly calls Truman's policy of "unlimited aggression." Most officials in the U. S. today are in the grip of wild Russophobia: there is a red bug in every American cupboard. If Wallace is elected President, it will mean victory for the third force in the U. S. A. and in that case, Russia will get no further chance of accusing America of war-mongering. But it may be wildly fantastic to expect that things could turn up that way. And yet

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one cannot escape dreaming at times, especially in the modern situation when the world is too strife-torn and the prospects for peace so dull and thin.

Europe's 'Middle-of-the-roaders'

What about the future of the third force in Europe? Some think that after the Czechoslovak 'coup' it must cease to exist and elements comprising the force will be polarized to the two opposites. But I refuse to agree, for a new force may emerge, if and when the older one dies. The third force is more than a political hegemony, it is an ideal, and like the human soul itself, the ideal can never die. Even if it may seem to be dead, let us revive it. The third force must live and work and succeed, if we would win peace and save democracy from ruin.

Six months ago a strong third force was operating in Europe. Since the Czechoslovak 'coup' some of its adherents have gone astray. Britain, for example, is now treading an extremist course. And so are France and the Benelux states. But the Western Union they have formed may not ripen into a power political caucus at all. It may help Russia sober down to a more realistic appreciation of the evil of war.

Today in Britain, Attlee and Company do not represent the third force any longer. It is being frankly rumoured that Don Quixote Truman has found a Sancho Panza in Ernest Bevin and both together are on their mission of emancipating the fair maiden of Democracy from the iron clutches of totalitarianism. France's Bidault has made common cause with Bevin. But Leon Blum and a whole host of British and French intellectuals are still advising cautious moderation. In Italy Giuseppe Saragat, a follower of the third force, continues to ask his countrymen to go upon the principle of compromise and moderation. With the death of Jan Masaryk Europe's most eminent torch-bearer of the tradition of democratic liberalism has passed away. Czechoslovakia is no longer what it has been so long. In the Scandinavian countries, Norway's Premier Gerhardsen and the Premiers of Sweden and Denmark represent the third force. Germany's Schumacher, a social democrat by political creed, is another well-known representative of the third force. He is equally critical about Soviet-sponsored SED, a Communist-dominated caucus of power politics and the Anglo-American occupation chiefs when they support the interests of Big Business. Europe's intellectuals and genuine democrats prefer peace and moderation to power political manoeuvring. Their argument is "Let us not be crushed between two giants, Russia and America." Here is a lesson for Asia and the rest to cash in upon. Mere wishful thinking, however, is not enough. A positive programme of action needs to be evolved and that should be done without any further delay.

Save Peace and Democracy

To sum up, mankind should build a third force of moderation and democracy everywhere in the world. Otherwise we shall be caught in the maelstrom of ruin, when the next war comes. To frustrate that eventuality coming about at all, organise democracy for the peace offensive. That is the only solution to the present dilemma. So urgent is this work, that no country ought to offer its pre-occupation with domestic affairs as an excuse for its failure to do the needful. Should war come one of these days, it will not do to blame it on Russia and America. We who hopelessly grope in indecision are equally guilty. By keeping dumb and ridiculously passive in this hour of crisis, we are indirectly helping the war psychosis to be warmed up. Prince Hamlet's delay may be one of the component factors of another tragic war. For this dereliction of duty on our part, our posterity will not willingly exonerate us from guilt. After all it is not contemparary commentary on any leadership that stands the test of time. History will call the bluff, tear off the pleasant exterior and show up only the naked truth. Shall we not, therefore, face up to our task, so that Democracy and Peace may live and those that are making a desperate bid for world domination may be persuaded to see the light of reason and altruism as opposed to their present insensate worship of power?

For us Asians the immediate task is to stop crooning about that old 'One World' ideal. That is really too fantastic to be true. Like practical men of action let us do something about it. Let us rivet our attention first and foremost on this part of Asia and see how best we can build up a third force here. Our work for peace should now come down from the plane of idealism to that of the real. Its basis should be the union of the nations of this part of Asia into a strong bloc to safeguard their economic, political and strategic interests determined to uproot the present hysteric tendency towards war-mongering. It is also necessary that the nations participating in the Asian union should have the courage to turn down any cringing gestures of appeasement offered by either of the Big Two. The building of a regional bloc in Asia with peace as its sole mission does not mean we are going to quit the UNO, but by virtue of unity and strength that comes through unity, we certainly can expect to stop playing the second fiddle to any big power, as we did in the case of Korea. We really failed to implement our pledge of neutrality when we openly subscribed to political opportunism by siding with the Anglo-Americans in Korea's case as also over the issue of the Little Assembly. By building a third force in Asia, we stand to gain both morally and materially. Our international prestige will be enhanced that way, for as soon as the Asians hold together as a single unit, they will be able to follow a more courageous policy of independence: that is essential, if India and her neighbours sincerely desire to keep out of war or the existing rivalry among the Big Powers. And if we can't do that, we had better stop talking about peace and neutrality altogether.

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REFORMED COMMUNISM : AN ANTIDOTE TO COMMUNALISM

By Prof. U. C. BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.

Communism is a world-force today. You may compare it to cholera and call it an epidemic disease and refuse to take it as a sign of healthy growth of society. But however you may view it, it is there and is leading the world somewhere, perhaps to a crisis. It is no use, therefore, to play the ostrich with it. And personally we do not belong to that breed which sees nothing but a nightmare in it. A shield has two sides; so has communism also. We have a horror of some of its practical methods; but still we can respect its ideals.

We must first of all disabuse our mind of the idea that communism was "made in Russia." The Russian brand undoubtedly holds the field today; but communism is as old as Plato and a sort of it was taught by Christ also. As a philosophical ideal of social reconstruction and of human uplift, it is perhaps as old as human thought. We find it in an elementary form in early Christianity also. The Russian form is its latest form just as nuclear physics is the latest advance in that science.

Taking communism in general, it has certain merits as a theory which it is well to remember. None of these merits may be exclusively its own, but nevertheless it owns them.

(1) In the first place and foremost of all, it stresses human equality. This is not an exclusive discovery of communism. That all men are equal in the eye of law is an ancient doctrine. And the spiritual equality of man has been advocated by all religions. Even Hinduism, in spite of its caste system, has not overlooked it. And Jainism and Buddhism went much beyond that and preached the equality of all life—equality in spiritual value between the moth and the mammoth, between man and the date-fruit. But communism gave a new turn to the question of equality. It was not enough to say that men are equal; social practice and social structure must show that they are so. Besides, in this world of mortal beings, economic equality was more important than the theory of spiritual equality. And communism raised this question of equality in the face of feudalism and Czarism, against priestly hierarchy and landed aristocracy, against unbounded wealth and the presence of abysmal poverty. This was a courageous step and an advancement of human thought.

(2) Emphasis on human happiness and an equitable distribution of the means of attaining happiness, viz., wealth, is another merit of communism. It is not happiness promised in a future life or in a world to come, but happiness here and in this life, that communism speaks of. There was a time when the poor were considered blessed, and the kingdom of heaven and the inheritance of the earth were promised to them. Communism turned down this doctrine and advised the poor to endeavour to share the wealth of the rich. It was easier for the camel to go through the eye of the needle than for a rich man to enter heaven, said Jesus Christ. Communism brushed aside the doctrine and instead of trying to console the poor with the promise of heaven, would rather advise him to have a share of the joys of this life. In Christ's teaching also there is a condemnation of the rich; but nothing is suggested as a means to deprive the rich of their extra wealth. But communism not only condemns excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, but also thinks of ways and and means by which this extra wealth may be distributed to the poor. The poor are not left only with a spiritual consolation and the promise of a better future—not here but in another world; but are also advised to try to have a share of the blessings of this life. This shifting of emphasis has both its merits and demerits. It deprives religion of the means of perpetuating poverty. But at the same time, it kindles in the heart of the poor an open hatred against the rich which makes class-war inevitable. But so far as poverty of the poor is condemned and a better social structure without poverty is envisaged, communism is entitled to our consideration.

It is not easy to find out the richest man in any society or the poorest; and in between the richest and the poorest, there is a gradualness in the distribution of wealth. So it is not always correct to speak of the rich and the poor, as if they are two distinct air-tight classes without any mixing between the two. Yet there are some in every society who are denied by circumstances even the ordinary amenities of a decent human life. It is not difficult to spot them in spite of the gradation of wealth. And the merit of communism lies in the fact that it focussed attention on them.

This concern for the so-called lower classes in society is not exclusive to the communist. All leaders of thought, founders of religion and reformers of society gave some thought to them. But to communism belongs the credit of raising to prominence the economic aspect of a lowly life.

All this is good and commendable. But communism has some fault, too, which, we hope, communists will allow us to point out.

1. Communism looks upon man as an economic being only. This prunes the human self beyond recognition. Man buys and sells no doubt but he is not a buying and selling machine, a producer and consumer of goods only; he is more; he is an animal and is capable of emotions. He eats, drinks and has other impulses of the flesh. But he is even more than an animal. He thinks, and loves and has nobler emotions. He is a spiritual being. Even if the world becomes completely communistic, some mothers will probably love their children and some women will probably remain faithful to their husband; and may even sacrifice their material comforts for husbands and children. And even in a communistic society, cripples and blind men will probably be born and

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require human sympathy and succour. Even in a communistic society death and bereavement will occur; and these and similar situations will call forth the softer and nobler emotions of the human heart. If man only buys and sells, produces and consumes, and understands only physical comforts, where will be the fountain of these loftier emotions? It is a mistake for communism to suggest by words as well as by deeds that man is nothing more than a glorified animal, if not a machine only.

2. Following from the above, there is another grave error in communism. It denies—at any rate, does not emphasise—the moral values. Moral differences are perhaps permanent differences, until men become gods and nothing immoral happens in society. Even according to communism, there will perhaps be a difference between theft and gift, between adultery or fornication and marriage, between forgiveness and ferociousness, and between murder and mercy. When communism preaches the doctrine that the end justifies the means, it places these moral values at a discount.

3. Another evidence that communism depreciates morality is furnished by the fact that it speaks of rights but hardly ever of duties. Rights imply duties also. It is well to remind the poor man or the labourers of his rights in society and against other classes; but has not he any duty also? Complete moral education of the man will mean teaching him both. We shall probably be told that the upper classes in society do not do their duties. We admit it; very few men or classes perform all their duties. But the remedy for this is not to encourage in all classes a dereliction of their duty. Two wrongs do not make a right. If communism taught both rights and duties and taught them to all, it would give the world an excellent moral code.

4. The communistic doctrine of 'liquidation' of opposition is another strange defeat in it and a perilous theory. The old world thought that ideas could be combated and conquered by ideas—by teaching and preaching. So Jesus preached and Buddha taught. But some brains are impervious to new ideas. Neither Buddhism nor Christianity has been accepted by the whole world. And even now there are people who would oppose both. Preaching and teaching have failed to overcome this opposition.

Communism has invented a new technique for overcoming opposition. Ideas inhabit minds and minds inhabit bodies. If it is found that a mind inhabiting a particular body is not amenable to new ideas, can never accept them and continues to oppose them, then, instead of waiting indefinitely for the conversion of such minds, the shortest way is to liquidate such minds by dissolving the bodies which shelter them. Whatever name ordinary language may give to such a process, the magnitude of the end justifies the means.

Adverse critics have often said that Islam was propagated by a similar method. Followers of Islam approached people with the sword in one hand and the Qoran in another; those who accepted the Qoran escaped the sword, those who did not were finished by the sword. There was no continuous flow of arguments and refutations, no endless verbiage. A large part of the world was Islamised within a very brief span of time, because the proselytizing followed this short and easy process.

This account of the spread of Islam has been repudiated by many devout Mussalmans. Let us assume it is not true. But we find a parallel to this in the propagation of Communism. Need we point out that it is a dangerous method? The process of liquidation may be used against communism also. The immediate effect of this reciprocation in the process of liquidation will be a vast chaos out of which may emerge beatific communistic society or a Napoleon or some other kind of dictatorship. From both sides of the Atlantic already comes news of the sharpening of swords. When the process of liquidation starts both ways, may Heaven save humanity!

5. Another drawback of communism is that it is intolerant of patriotism or love of country. The only country that modern communism can think of or love is Russia, where it professes to have assumed a practical shape. Other countries must cease to excite love and must be subordinated to the love for Russia. Barring Russia communism pretends to belong to no country but to the world—to the whole of humanity. It implies a type of society which cannot be confined to any country. It must spread—must be made to spread—and engulf the whole world. And because the systematic spread of the doctrine is directed by Russia and because the model of society it desires has been or is being made in Russia, Russia is the only country, which can be loved, nay adored, as a country.

This repudiation of patriotism by communism is one of the reasons for its conflict with other modes of political thought. Patriotism has been counted as a high virtue since the days of Rome and Greece. And it will certainly take time and mean a violent uprooting of human instincts before all men can be persuaded to disown their countries and own only Russia and the world.

6. A greater and a more fundamental defect of communism lies in its intellectual make-up. It has repudiated religion but has retained a fanatically religious attitude towards the teachings of Marx. Marx is beyond criticism just as the dogmas of the church and the articles of faith are to Christian churchmen. To take one instance, Marx taught dialectical materialism and taught that as the only interpretation of history. The dialectical method was used in philosophy by Plato and perfected by Hegel. It is not a discovery of communism. And the interpretation of history also is no one's momopoly. History has been interpreted in more ways than one,

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been interpreted long before Marxism and the interpretaiton is only one of the many of its interpretation. The communists expect, that the Marxist interpretation must accepted as a gospel, without demur, without without any modification or amendment without any mental reserve. For a non-com- it is difficult to see how it differs from fanaticism and how it can be reconciled to and how it can be regarded as intellectual

Euclidean geometry and Newtonian physics have undergone revolutionary changes in recent time; but Marxian communism is immaculate, eternal, unchang- sacrosanct. One must accept it in full or be rejected. Yet we are told, communism offers the freedom to humanity. Communism does not itself as others see it. It pins its faith in the and sanctity of its teachings.

If it has failed up till now to achieve its avowed it is because of its errors. In itself communism not to be as repugnant as it is to many. Is any in present-day communism possible? Yes, if will only allow it. Its greatest defect is Moscow-mindedness. Moscow is its centre of the source of its unity and also of inspira- But that is also the greatest difficulty in the of its reform and improvement.

Christianity reformed itself by denying Rome by protesting against authority, especially the of the Pope. Communism also may deny —may protest against all authority—even authority of Marx and Lenin—and may, like all movements in the history of the world, appeal to reason. Half the opposition to communism melt away as soon as people feel that it is not in Moscow.' Christianity could not spread if, of appealing to reason and to man's higher it only appeared as a Palestinian doctrine. theory, scientific, religious or political, misses its character once it is propagated only as some manufacture or some individual's patent. communism allow itself to be reconsidered and by thinkers of the world in a free and frank and re-shaped by them, just as scientific are done?

The objection to the Russian brand of com- is that it means domination of all countries and leaves no freedom to other countries to it in any way. The British parliamentary of government is not bad altogether; but how other countries feel if advocates of this system to force it unaltered and unamended upon them? communism comes from Russia full-fledged and either acceptaince in full or rejection on 'liquidation'. Is this compatible with freedom, freedom of thought and action?

communism could be freed from the apron- of Russia, rid of its Muscovite shape and allied to patriotism, it would appear more respectable, more acceptable, to many than now. Reformed communism as a philosophical doctrine and as an ideal of human happiness, would not only be more appealing but might be used as an excellent antidote to communalism. It could be thus employed as a powerful instrument for securing human good.

Communalism is an attitude of mind which grows generally on religious fanaticism. One of the earliest examples of community-consciousness can be found in the conflict between Christianity and Judaism. A rough picture of this has been preserved in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. Even today, in Palestine, the birthplace of Christianity, we have a horrible display of communal struggle between the Arabs and the Jews. They both belong to the same Semitic race. So, the struggle here is between one religion and another. In recent months, India also has witnessed a most horrible form of religious communalism.

But communalism is not confined to religious differences only. Racial differences also may give rise to community-consciousness of the most atrocious type. In Hitler's Germany, the Jews suffered terribly because of their differences in race. Differences in colour or race are also responsible for what is happening in South Africa between the white and non-white population. Lynching, the American way of dealing with an offensive Negro, is another savage demonstration of colour communalism. The tussle between the whites and non-whites is a world phenomenon. The whites of Europe and America desire to dominate the entire human population of the world, including the Chinese and Japanese. We have examples of it in Indonesia, in South Africa, in America, and till recently, in India. The desire is not extinct even now, in spite of the doctrine of 'one world' in the air.

Whatever its form, communalism feeds on a feeling of exclusiveness and a psychology of superiority complex. Here reformed communism might render yeoman's service to humanity by pulling down the barriers that separate one race from another or one religion from another; in sum, one community from another. It could really build one world with one humanity.

We do not deny that this is one of the major aims of communism. But it is not the chief aim; and what is worse, it is subordinated to ambition for political power. We shall probably be told that without political power, this end cannot be achieved. Political power is thus a means to the end. We are prepared to concede that provided communism does not aim at world-domination and provided it allows each country to adopt a technique for the attainment of political power suited to its genius and socio-political environment, instead of each following the inevitable Moscow model. But we do not go the whole hog with communism here. The barriers of caste or community may be combated without raising an army, by the creation and mobilisation of a virile

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public opinion. Ideas can be demolished by ideas, without necessarily destroying the body that carries the mind containing the ideas.

The struggle between the non-white and white portions of humanity may eventually call for a political, and even a military decision. But this cannot be anticipated before other steps have been taken. One of the most important steps in this direction is that coloured humanity, from China to Peru, must be made to feel its unity. The best way to do it is the propagation of ideas and not immediate clash of arms.

Communism cannot hope to become universal until it disowns Russian dictation. We mean no disparagement of Russia's achievements in the field, in spite of the fact that much of what is happening in Russia is screened from the view of the rest of the world. But just as you cannot have the same climate for all countries, or equal distribution of natural wealth like oil and minerals all the world over, just as you cannot give to every country the same quantity of heat or light or coal, so, perhaps, you cannot have the same social structure for all. And just as moral values are universal for all mankind, similarly, one world and one humanity are universally acceptable ideal. Only we must feel that we are not asked to accept it at the point of the bayonet. Let communism become a world doctrine, a non-Russian doctrine and it will have immense possibilities for doing good to mankind.

In this discussion, we have not touched upon the relation between Communism and Socialism. In spite of differences, there is much common ground between the two as theories and also in the practical field. For our purpose here, however, the important difference is that Socialism owes no allegiance to Moscow and can tolerate patriotism; and thus, in our opinion, is a better political philosophy than rank communism.

There is another point to be borne in mind. We have discussed only communism as a doctrine, and not the communist party in India or elsewhere. As a party organisation, its first endeavour everywhere is to seize political power. And with that end in view, it makes alliances and enmities wherever and however they suit it. Thus in India it sometime worked with the Congress, sometime with the British, sometime as an advocate of peasant interests, sometime as an ally of the Muslim League; sometime as an enemy of government and sometime as an ally of labour and sometime as an ally of revolutionaries anywhere and sometime as an enemy of all organised authority, whether of labour or of capital. This is hardly honest and straightforward. But we shall be reminded that the end justifies the means. Nothing phenomenal can be achieved without political power. With that end in view any alliance or quarrel is justifiable. We can only say, we do not accept that proposition. And most people, especially in India, dislike communism because of its unreliable friendships and unreal and ambiguous enmities. This frequent change in its tactics and manoeuvres makes it untrustworthy; makes it difficult to believe that its avowed aims are its actual aims; makes it difficult to believe that it is not toying with a social philosophy only to seize political power. This is why we wish that communism allowed a reform in its methods, its alliances and affiliations. That might make it a sober philosophy, respectable as a doctrine and almost Platonic in character.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF FARMING

The Post-Abolition Period, and Their Suitability to West Bengal

By P. N. SINGH ROY

While the abolition of zemindaries is the declared objective of the Congress and of Government, the country has been flooded with suggestions for various alternative methods of farming in the post-abolition period. It is instructive to analyse the basic nature of these suggested alternatives and their suitability to the existing conditions in West Bengal. Mere abolition without an alternative set-up on constructive lines would create a vacuum in the country which would be disastrous to production and stability.

State Farming

Here the State is the absolute owner of land, and directly under its auspices cultivation is carried on by hired labourers under the guidance and direction of government officials, with the help of machinery owned and supplied by Government and according to a pre-conceived national plan. The worker's freedom is totally subordinated to government decree and his interest is limited to the fixed wage. The produce belongs to the State.

Peasant Proprietorship

In this case the proprietor of land is himself a peasant, the actual cultivator, who independently or with hired labourers carries on cultivation on an individualistic basis. As against permanently-settled estates as of today in the peasant proprietorship or ryotwari system the revenue is not fixed in perpetuity, but is liable to alteration at periodic intervals. Another distinguishing feature of ryotwari system consists in the fixation of revenue on individual pieces of land rather than on estates. The actual occupant at the time of the original settlement is recognised as

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...ing a permanent and heritable right of occupancy with unlimited rights of transfer, but subject to the payment of revenue. The revenue payable by the cultivating ryot to the Government in a ryotwari system is neither wholly contractual nor wholly customary but depends on the value of land as determined during periodic settlements. The produce belongs to the ryot. The ryotwari systems as now prevalent in different parts of India have most often kept their pure form intact, but have degenerated into a system where the peasant has ceased to be the proprietor.

Co-operative Farming

Co-operative farming, unlike peasant proprietorship, is an example of joint farming, and unlike corporative farming, retains a strong individual element in it. Unlike corporate farming, it eschews absentee landlordism and production for profit, but concentrates on the greatest good of the member-farmers. Its distinguishing characteristics are regarded for the individual life of the members and voluntary union. The extent of co-operation may vary. Thus, land may be cultivated jointly by members on wages, the means of production being owned by the society and surplus income being distributed to individuals on the basis of wages earned. Or lands of small tenants may be pooled under the auspices of the society and leased out again in large economic blocks to members for individual cultivation, while the society directs and supplies common services. In the first case the produce is the property of the society for equitable distribution among the members; in the latter, the produce is separately the property of every individual responsible for it out of which he has of course to pay for the services rendered by the society. The society may or may not levy a land-tax either on the society or on the individual members composing it, and in the majority of instances, actually offers special facilities to such co-operative societies financially or otherwise.

Collective Farming

A collective farm is an association of peasant members whose rights in individual holdings or even individual rights in land are irrevocably lost to the collective. It pays wages to its members, according to the work done by each and according to the net profit of the farm. The members have some freedom in the management of the farm although it is largely controlled by government agencies. Out of the profit of the collective members get their dues.

In Palestine collective farming took two forms. In the one case the collective entirely operating on borrowed capital, owned all the property in a settlement, members owning nothing privately, not even the wages being received by them, though maintained by the communal institutions run on the sale-proceeds of the produce which was owned collectively. In the other case, starting with collective ownership small-holder's settlement and later individual allotments were created, certain operations like cultivation, irrigation, sale purchase storage, etc., being however done collectively.

The Russian collective is a synthesis of the above two forms inasmuch as there is joint ownership and management of all agricultural property, including live and dead stock, work is common, but there are individual houses for each family. Members are paid at a uniform rate and enjoy complete freedom in the spending of their earnings. The produce is raised with some amount of local freedom but largely according to Government plan and although it is the property of the Kolkhoz for distribution among the worker-members, there are certain statutory deductions for reserves on a priority basis.

The Russian Kolkhoz with small individual farms attached to each worker, combines features of (a) State enterprises conducted according to plan and under constant government direction; (b) co-operative enterprises which, although not enjoying self-management, unite and organize members' labour and provide income dependent on labour and on the income of the enterprise as a whole; and (c) small private homesteads working for the market and providing a considerable proportion of their owners' individual incomes.

We have discussed above in outline the important alternatives to landlordism as a system of farming, both in their pure form as also in their possible variations. It is quite possible that the genius of our people will not be satisfied except on the adoption of a combination of two or more of the dominant forms above.

State farming, though it may secure certain advantages of large-scale farming, reduces the independent peasants to the position of mere wage-earners who lose completely their freedom in the management of the farm. State farming on a province-wide scale would be too stupendous a task for the West Bengal Government which is faced with acute dearth of qualified agricultural officers, and is lacking in necessary finance. It would also open the flood-gates of nepotism and corruption to the Government officials whose past records leave much to be desired. In effect, it would mean substitiution of private landlordism by state landlordism without the saving grace of direct personal contact between the landlord and the tenant. Even in Soviet Russia, the land of State control, State domination and State ownership, State farms hold a position far less in importance than collective farms wherein State interference is not so much in evidence. In fine, by reducing the peasants through force of arms to the status of wage-earners it would kill their independence and stifle their initiative. The Co-operative Planning Committee set up on the recommendation of the 14th Registrar's Conference therefore recommend that "in the existing conditions of the country State farming should not be taken up except where land is already held by the State and for the purposes of experiment and demonstration."

Peasant proprietorship is often wrongly supported

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on the analogy of the prevalence of the ryotwari system in Bombay, parts of Madras, etc. But it is as untrue to hold that the ryotwari systems in these provinces actually equate peasants and proprietors of lands as to say that the ryots of West Bengal do not enjoy much the same set of permanent and heritable rights in their tenancies as their compatriots elsewhere, as has been conclusively shown by the Famine Enquiry Commission in their Final Report.* Indeed, as the F. I. Commission pointedly remarks on page 253 that the defects of sub-division and fragmentation of holdings, of uneconomic size of holdings, and of uneconomic sub-infeudation below the occupancy-right holder are not peculiar to permanently-settled estates alone. but are common with all the other land-tenures prevalent in India. Change-over of the West Bengal land-tenure system to the ryotwari pattern would not offer a solution of these grave defects.

A system which recognised the actual cultivator of today as the ryot, particularly when irrespective of the basic nature of the tenure, small holding is the rule all over India, would simply not work. It may be a good escapist policy to follow this line of least resistance; it may even be sought to be justified on sentimental pseudo-socialist grounds that men down on the ladder already should not be touched during this troublous transitional stage. It is also true that an independent and contented peasantry helps the growth of a sturdy democracy and offers a perennial reservoir of strength on which the country can draw in a national emergency. But the uneconomic holdings have to be converted into economic ones, even in the interest of the peasants, involving some necessary dislocation in the holdings of some of the existing peasants. Sub-division and fragmentation have to be countered by consolidation, perhaps compulsorily, involving some displacements in employments. Admitting the urgency of consolidation even at some cost, the F. I. Commission recommended on page 263 that for such perposes "stamps duties and registration charges should be remitted and fees for encumbrance certificates waived" by the State. All these involving serious limitations to the rights of the ryots are foreshadowed. Even an ardent champion of peasant proprietorship like Sir Manilal Nanavati has thought fit to recommend restrictions on the peasant's freedom in respect of transferability, partitioning etc. For obvious reasons, there is hardly any advocate for full-fledged peasant proprietorship today.

Even with such restrictions the so-called peasant proprietorship will fail to deliver the goods. Peasants are chronically short of funds. They do not have good seeds, good measures, proper water supply or even requisite technical skill. They will have to procure all these from outside agencies and to the extent these agencies lie outside the control of the peasants, they will control the peasants and will make an end of the peasant proprietorship system for all practical purposes.

It cannot be denied that population in the provinces is growing steadily and our methods of productions till now have been small-scale and primitive. On top of these, food for the millions of refugees have got to be found. Agricultural productions including of course, raw materials of the fundamental industries have got to be geared to the industrial policies of the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal. If agricultural inefficiency born of sub-division and fragmentation and innumerable sub-infeudation has got to be overcome we cannot afford the luxury of peasant proprietorship with individual small-holdings at this stage. In these days of planning all around the blissful planlessness of individual peasant proprietorship would be the end of our economic freedom. The F.I.C. on page 271 definitely refused to accede to the proposal of Sir M. Nanavati for state acquisition of even land cultivated on the crop sharing basis for distribution among cultivators. Indeed the Commission held that multiplication of small holdings would not necessarily mean increase in agricultural efficiency and may well involve the State in heavy financial burden on their behalf.

The Remedy—Multi-purpose Co-operatives

Indeed, the Commission in page 272 definitely suggests that "it is desirable that cultivators of small farms should be organized in multi-purpose co-operative societies." This recommendation is in keeping with the spirit of mutual help and understanding which centuries of landlord-tenant system has created in West Bengal. The success of peasant proprietorship system anywhere postulates the pre-existence of a spirit of robust independence among the people but for decades past leadership in the villages has come as a rule from a particular section only.

Coming down to the practical question of the actual acquisition of lands from the rent-receivers for the setting up of ryotwari system, the Commission definitely sets its face against it. It says on page 276-77:

"From the financial point of view, therefore, it seems to us likely that the abolitioin of the system cannot be carried out within a relatively short time, without incurring financial commitments which might seriously restrict the sources of public borrowing available for other urgent schemes of development in the post-war period. Priority in the allocation of available resources should be given to large schemes of irrigation or industrial development which unlike a scheme designed to replace one land system by another, are calculated directly to increase the productive resources of the country." It can be pointed out "that the Government of India has enunciated its industrial policy entirely along the above lines, so that acquisition of existing industries to the detriment of the development of new industries may not be pursued on a narrow view of emergency."

It is evident from the above, peasant pro-

* *Famine Enquiry Commission Report*, p. 252.

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ership is not a suitable substitute for the existing land-tenure system of West Bengal, collective farming is also not. Collective farming may be somewhat better than State farming inasmuch as it leaves some incentive to the peasant members for the improvement of the farm because of its special method of paying wages and because of the ownership by the collective of the means of production. But in the detailed role that State officials play in controlling the collective it is as much open to the charge of nepotism and corruption as is the pure form of State farming. It is to be specially remembered that Government officials since the famine days in our country have not much reputation to lose on the score of incorruptibility. But, more than this, collective farming may be misunderstood by our peasantry as outright expropriation and raise many socio-economic problems. The deep attachment of our farmers to the ownership of land will seriously stand in the way of its introduction. Indeed when ownership in other fields of industry remains undisturbed, the peasant will not easily part with his title deeds. The peasant will simply refuse to be dispossessed of his land, his livestocks and implements, in short, to lose his identity altogether and be a mere wage-earner under the collective commune. Even Soviet Russia in the thirties had to pay disastrously heavy price in men, money and material in forcing down upon the peasants a collectivism which they bitterly resented, and had to introduce later a strong dose of individualism even within the collective framework to keep the peasantry contented.

It appears therefore that the system of farming which will not affect any of the fundamental social institutions or customs, will be appropriate to the native genius of Bengali farmers born and brought up in an atmosphere of mutual sympathy, understanding and tolerance and will yet give increased production. What is so greatly needed now is a network of multipurpose co-operative societies in which the farming interests in land will be commutable in their shares of equivalent dividend-yield. With intelligent Government propaganda aided by the majority party in the countryside it will not be too difficult to persuade the peasants to surrender their lands—while retaining the substance of their rights in them in—for purposes of management and development and themselves working on the joint plot as so many part-owners.

This system of multipurpose co-operative societies will be more advantageous than state farming in that it will retain management entirely into the hands of farmer men while never shutting the door of state assistance. As against collectivism involving a wholesale revolution in society, threatening to uproot the basic structure of private property even, it will keep down the rights of private property in check in view of the national emergency for increased food production. In contrast with peasant proprietorship with small holding, this system bids fair to raise the standard of living of the peasants not only for those who will be kept on the farm, but also for those who cannot economically be so kept but provided for elsewhere in the manifold spheres of activity of the multi-purpose society. In its astounding flexibility, the multi-purpose co-operative system can serve both as a short-term expedient and as a long-term solution, adjusting itself to the needs of the times in keeping with the availability of modern machines and technical skill. By bringing various types of people to work together in the same farm, the system will substantially help the people in mastering their caste prejudices and communal distinctions and activise national harmony. It will effectuate a smooth change-over from a much-maligned land-tenure system to an admittedly modern method of farming and transitional hardship incidental to any change will be reduced to the minimum. Above all, it will render unnecessary expenditure of huge sums on payment of compensation which will be unavoidable in case of any other substitute—and the saved sums may then be utilized on important irrigational projects along the lines of recommendation of the Famine Enquiry Commission. In any case it will do away with any gap between the abolition of zemindaries and the setting up of a permanent substitute thereafter. Above all, this form of co-operative farming will automatically effect consolidating of farming even without a change in the laws of inheritance the scrapping of which the Famine Inquiry Commission could not recommend despite weighty arguments for the same. At the same time it will involve effective restriction on the existing rights of transfer of land as was recommended by the Famine Inquiry Commission in their *Final Report*, page 265. Not only by saving the huge amount of compensation money, but also by tapping private resources of West Bengal's millions of peasants and rent-receivers, it will make necessary finance forthcoming for the improvement of agriculture and by taking up subsidiary lines of work allied to farming it will throw open new avenues of employment to displaced personnel who cannot be provided for in the organised industries or in pure agricultural work. It will of course steer clear of excess of official interference but will not fail to secure expert knowledge and governmental assistance and co-ordination in the interests of better and greater production.

A carefully planned co-operative scheme of the above type which properly puts emphasis on the individual rights in land, though not on the individual holdings and which ensures the requisite degree of Government help and co-operation together with those of the people directly concerned should now be the aim of West Bengal Government for initiation. Reverberating faith in the possibilities of such a scheme should be created in the minds of the country-people by means of intensive propaganda at suitable sites under Government auspices. For if co-operation fails, with that will fail the last hope of rural Bengal.

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THE ISLE OF WIGHT

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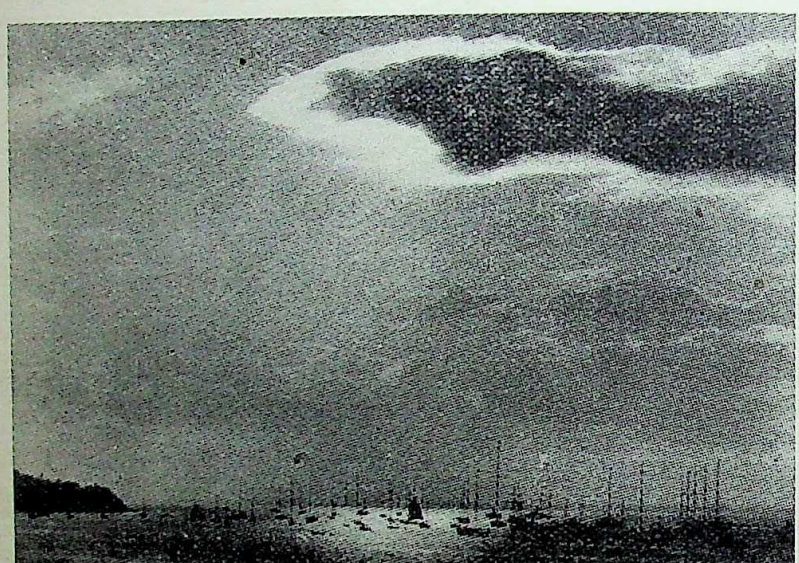
By GEORGE EDINGER

Off the south coast of England, and separated from it by a channel that takes 20 minutes to cross, lies the Isle of Wight. Twenty kilometres across and 30 from end to end, this small, sunlit fragment of Great Britain comprises a great diversity of scenery.



Thousands of tourists come over from the mainland to the Isle of Wight to enjoy the sea-bathing and scenery of the island

From the rolling, bare, windswept uplands on the west you used to look out leisurely over the jagged line of rocks called The Needles at the great ships sailing to America.

On the sheltered, southern shore, where daffodils and almond blossom flourish among the beechwoods, the sheltering down and crag and forest have been diversified, by a generation that was nurtured on Victor Hugo and Walter Scott, with romantic bowers, "Gothic" castles and bow-windowed villas in the 120-year-old style that the British call "Regency."

The Island's attractions have been appreciated for a thousand years, as you can see by the tesselated pavements of the Roman villas that have been found under the soft turf.

Queen Victoria built herself a house on the north coast at Osborne, and a few miles from it stands Cowes, the centre of English yachting. For season after season, thousands of tourists have come over from the mainland to sample the seabathing, to gaze at the famous daffodil fields or enjoy the spacious prospects of hills and the sea.

Then came 1940. France fell. The Holiday Island was overnight an outpost of the Free World. As thousands of people who have taken one of those old-fashioned paddle steamers that used to ply to Cherbourg and back on a day's trip, well know, it is only 100 kilometres across the water to occupied Europe. The hotel-keepers and the landladies of all the lodging houses that line the front in the more sophisticated stretches of the Island saw their livelihoods vanish overnight. When the bombers came, they were lucky if they did not see their lodging houses vanish too.

So there were few who visited the Isle of Wight, and those who did so had excellent cause. But visitors apart, there were 90,000 people living on the island, and they had no intention of leaving it. To many living in the cottage with white-washed walls and thatched roofs, and in the grey stone farm-houses away from the tourist tide, their island was the whole wide world. The horizon of their imagination, like the horizon of their vision, was bounded by the sea. Along with them, were many old sailors in the Navy or the Merchant Service who chose the Island to

Winkle Street, Isle of Wight

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their days, and for whom the supreme happiness to sit with a telescope in a cliff-side garden, watch ships go by and (on special occasions) to fire a brass cannon to salute a homecoming liner that friends aboard or had accomplished a record run. Suddenly and speedily these people had to adapt ways to a new order which, even if it was so drastic as Hitler's, needed a high degree of ility and good humour.

For, the Island people was not only in the front line, must virtually have been self-contained. Yet the was not, after all, so great as one might imagine. Island had been in the wars before. Throughout fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was repeated- raided and ravaged by the King of France's ships. Mary Tudor in the sixteenth century devised comprehensive scheme for its defence. You can still the bastions and ramparts erected by her Italian neer, who, by the way, designed the fortress of werp also. It was beset, too, by the privateers of Louis XIV, and during the wars against Napo- it was necessarily an armed camp, garrisoned part by a brigade of Dutch volunteers who risked to share their sovereign's exile.

Thus the monuments of ancient greatness con- you wherever you go on the Island. No English- can experience without a thrill that crossing the mainland that carries him past Nelson's ship and the chequered island forts that rose to the channel at the order of the immortal William

Newport, the quiet capital on the Medina River, overshadowed by the thousand-year-old keep of sbrooke castle, whose precincts, carefully pre- ed, enclose the traditional residence of the Island vernors, of whom the latest, Princess Beatrice, is only surviving child of Queen Victoria.

For a thousand years this Island has supplied the al Navy and the Merchant Marine with some its most venturesome recruits and the tradition has taken its young men and boys for the sea has only been slightly mitigated of late by the attraction of the Royal Air Force.

So the Isle of Wight was well able to look after The call for Home Guards met a ready answer the men who had seen, in the gatehouse at sbrooke, the scarlet and buff coat in which their ancestors went out to face Napoleon. The batteries about Queen Mary's ramparts barked savagely at the intruding raiders. Old ladies, whose heads Queen Victoria had patted long ago in the gardens at Osborne, emerged from the Regency Villas to drive through bombed streets for the Red Cross or the A.R.P. The landladies shook their heads, locked the front door behind them, and went off to make munitions. This fighting answer somewhat confounded the enemy; invasion threats receded. Raiders became more rare.

Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight

And behind its barriers the holiday Isle was able to devise a new economy. Ploughs and tractors began to break up the grass slopes of the gentle hills. In the gardens along the sheltered Southern shore they are growing the early vegetables that had temporarily been lost to Britain with the Channel Islands.

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Erratum

The Modern Review for June, 1948: "Mauritius Once Again" by Prof. Priya Ranjan Sen

The reference on p. 464 to the article in *The Modern Review* for April 1946: The article was written by S. Balgobin, Mauritius.

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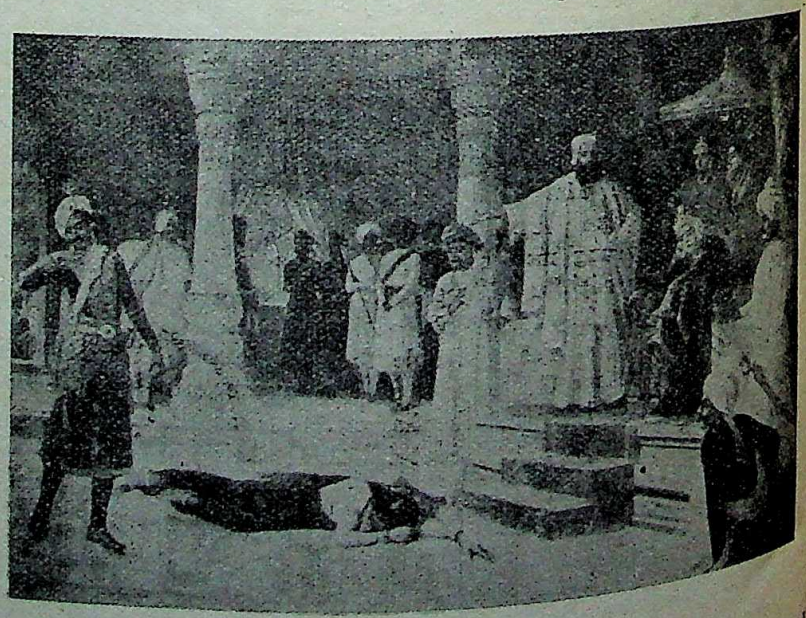
RAJA RAVI VARMA
A Centenary Tribute

By SUDHA BOSE, M.A.

On the happy occasion of the centenary of Raja Ravi Varma, who was born on the 29th April, 1848, at Kilimanur, an extensive village in the Travancore State, it is our pleasant duty to recall and to review the works of a pioneer artist, who had initiated a new era in the history of Indian painting. Abandoning the point of view and the ideals of the great traditional schools of Indian painting, he adopted the techniques and methods of the Western schools of painting with their scientific apparatus of perspective, chiaroscuro, anatomy, proportions and other aids of realistic and naturalistic painting foreign to the history of Indian and Far Eastern pictorial art. The last representative of the indigenous and traditional methods of Indian painting, Molaram of the great school of Kangra painting, died about the year 1837, and within ten years there appeared in the field of pictorial art a modern representative, "blissfully" ignorant of the qualities and ideals of the traditional Art of India and "un-hampered" by its age-long conventions, its peculiar types and imaginative methods of expression. The middle of the nineteenth century was the beginning of an orgy of foreignism introduced by the British rule in India, which pervaded every phase and aspect of Indian life. The English people in India took particular pride and pleasure not only in introducing the English language, and its rich and varied literature, but all kinds of English customs, dress, manners, and other fashions of social habits, which adversely affected the national ways of life in India. The introduction of English culture was not a matter of slow infiltration and gradual assimilation by a voluntary and conscious process, but a sudden imposition from without and an uncritical and an unintelligent imitation of everything English without relation to the character and the basic principles of Indian life. The importation of foreign ideas, very little understood, and badly interpreted, sapped the very foundation of Indian life.

Sakuntala-Patralekhan

In the field of Art the influence of imported ideas and methods was of much more fatal consequence to the life and growth of national art. The captivating realism of European oil-painting changed the very outlook of the Indian connoisseurs who began to regard the conventions and the imaginative presentation of Indian life and indigenous themes followed by the old traditional painters, as due to an



Draupadi at the court of Virata

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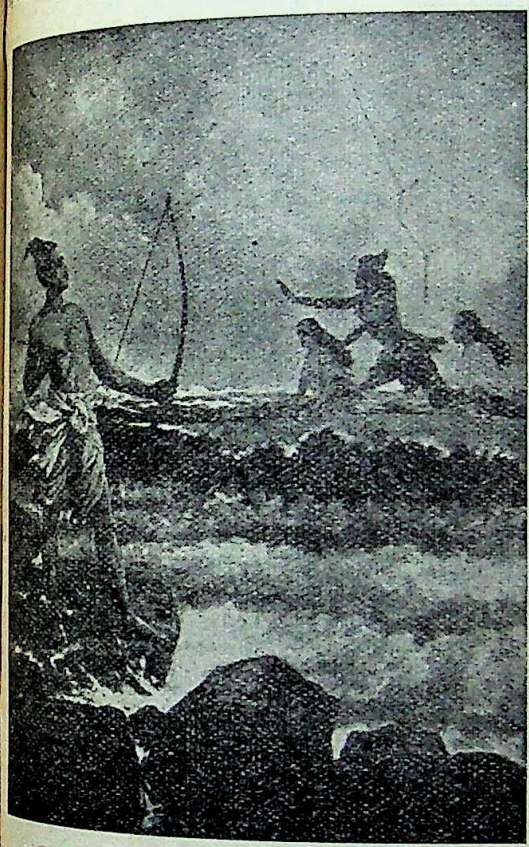
incapacity of the language of Indian pictorial to give a visual presentation of the ideas in an ately convincing form. There was a tendency, fore, to discard altogether the language of nal art, then still surviving in various parts of with all its inherited glory and vital powers of ression.



Ramachandra-Samudrashasan

Unfortunately the traditions of the old Indian rial art had survived more in the North, than the South in living practices of indigenous artists, Raja Ravi Varma had no opportunity in the far- corner of India to come in contact with the great itions of Indian painting, and quickly succumbed the captivating manners, and the superficial dear of loudly expressed juxtaposition of colours European oil paintings, which gave living likeness the actualities of things, particularly in the branch portrait-painting. And very appropriately, Raja Varma's initiation into the mysteries of European ting took place, when he watched Theodore sen, an English artist, at work on his commission execute a series of portraits for the royal family Travancore. It was indeed a thrilling experience a novice untrained in the technique of any lan- ge of pictorial art—Indian or European—to imitate out any proper guidance or discrimination the bularies of a foreign art, before one's judgment any chance to develop through an understanding own national art. And when Ravi Varma started strate the themes from Indian mythology, he had no idea that such subjects had for centuries before inspired the brush of generations of Indian artists in the great schools of Gujrati, Rajasthani, and Pahadi paintings. Even in the South, the interesting branches of the Ajanta school had survived in splendid forms in the frescos of Sittana-Vasal (Podukottai State, Tanjore District) and in some of the remnants of Chola painting in the Brihadeswara Temple, but they were forgotten records of antiquarian interest, which provided no living models to a practising artist bent on catering to the needs of his own generaton. But Ravi Varma belonged to a family of orthodox religious beliefs accustomed to pay daily visits to the temples—a custom still followed by the present Maharaja of Travancore.

And since some of the temples of Travancore are still covered by magnificent frescos, illustrating the Shiva and Vaishnava legends (*e.g.* those in the Ethamanoor Temple, and the Padmanavapuram Palace), it is difficult to explain how Ravi Varma could flout or ignore the pictorial traditions of his own country. This can only be explained by the psychology which British Dominion engendered in the Indian mind that the products of Indian culture were greatly inferior to those of Europe and particularly in the field of pictorial art, as Indian artists had not developed the scientific "appliances" of accurate representation of natural forms, typically discovered in the later phases of Renaissance art and applied successfully in the

Gangavatarana

Realistic Schools of Dutch painting and their derivatives and analogues in French and English art.

Anyhow, either through ignorance or through a depreciatory estimate of indigenous manners and

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methods of painting, Ravi Varma swallowed with open mouth the lessons that the English artist could teach and demonstrate in the series of realistic portraits that he painted at Trivandrum. Ravi Varma had no systematic training in oil-painting in any school of Art, and he picked up the technique by imitation and superficial study. But, though not of a very high merit, judged by Western standards, his imitation of Western painting was acclaimed by enthusiastic admiration on the part of his royal patrons (Maharajas of Travancore, Baroda and Mysore) and particularly the English Governors of Madras and Bombay (the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Thomas Ferguson), who were naturally pleased with this obvious submission of an Indian genius to the influence of English art. And

Vanity

the prizes and medals that the Indian artist won not only in the local exhibitions at Madras and Poona but also in the Indian and Colonial Exhibitions in London and in the Chicago International Exhibition, confirmed his own judgment that he was on the right track in the pursuit of his career of Art. The acquisition of a new language of Art, hitherto unknown in India and never practised, before Ravi Varma introduced it for the first time, is of some of consequence, though not to the extent that the learning of the English language and its repercussions on Indian intellectual and social thought produced in India. For, in the case of Ravi Varma, the introduction of this new language of Art did not introduce the host of dynamic ideas that could flow into India, at the time, through a study of the contemporary English, French, or Dutch schools of painting. The teaching of English brought in its train the whole panorama of the masterpieces of English literature, but, in the field of Art, the knowledge of the tricks of Western

studios did not usher in the masterpieces of the European schools of painting, which still remained a sealed book to Indians and Indian artists. Things might have developed in different ways, if Ravi Varma and his followers had any opportunity to study and assimilate the lessons, which actual contact with the masterpieces of European painting could have conveyed with dynamic consequences. For we know, how in the field of literature the study of Scott and Fielding, Dickens and De Quincey, Smiles and Johnson, Shakespeare and Shelley stimulated the growth of vernacular literature in India, particularly in the great novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji in Bengal —the earliest product of the beneficial consequences of contact with English culture.

Modesty

Raja Ravi Varma, therefore, began his career under two great handicaps: (1) an ignorance of or an apathy to the ideals and methods of the classical Indian schools of sculpture and painting, which had set very highly developed standards as to how to portray the gods and goddesses of Indian mythology by psychic realisations through spiritual contemplation (*dhyana-mantras*), and (2) an ignorance of the manners and methods of contemporary English painters by which the latter presented the mystic stories of Greek and Norse mythology. If our Indian illustrator of Indian myths had the chance to study how Rossetti (1828-82), and Burne-Jones (1833-98) in England were presenting mythical and legendary themes, things could have shaped differently in the field of modern illustrations of epic subjects. Beyond of any kind of respectable precedents in India and in England, Raja Ravi Varma was left to his own resources to fashion out gods and goddesses on the men and women in the society

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him, and to clothe them in the costumes of contemporary life. Correggio, the decadent representative of the late Renaissance, has been reprimanded for introducing the portraits of the members of his own family in sacred Christian subjects. Such a plea applies with greater force in the case of the sublime and transcendent themes of Saivaite mythology. Even in Ravi Varma's illustration of the 'Descent of Ganga' he is a self-conscious athlete, not the dreamy figure whose actions operate in self-forgetful moods of trance of spiritual seances. In the 'Vow of Vishma', the mystic hero of the Mahabharata is weakly rigged in the personality of a Marhatta chief. By such methods it was impossible to call up the imaginative but radiant personages—the super-men and women of Indian sagas.

And very harsh, indeed, have been the criticisms that greeted the mythic subjects painted by Ravi Varma. According to Havell:

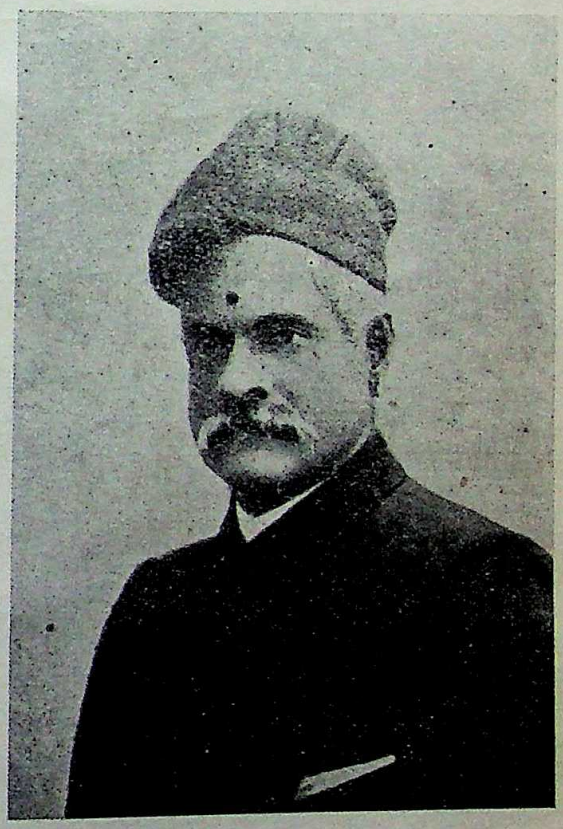
"Certain it is that his pictures invariably manifest a most painful lack of the poetic faculty in illustrating the most imaginative Indian poetry and allegory; and this cardinal sin is not atoned for by any kind of technical distinction in the execution."

The strictures of the late Dr. Coomaraswamy are as severe:

"Theatrical conception, want of imagination and lack of Indian feeling in the treatment of sacred and epic Indian subjects, are Ravi Varma's cardinal faults. No offence can be greater than the treatment of the serious or epic subjects without dignity, and Ravi Varma's gods and heroes are seen cast in a very common mould, who find themselves in situations for which they have not a proper capacity . . . . His pictures are such as any European student could paint after perusal of the necessary literature and a superficial study of Indian life."

The explanations we have offered above, can not provide no defence to the onslaught of attacks by eminent critics and connoisseurs of Indian art. But whatever may be the intrinsic merits of his illustrations of Indian Puranas, there is no doubt Ravi Varma rendered signal service to the cause of Indian culture by broadcasting pictures embodying ideals of Indian culture, at a time, when Indian social life and thought was under an eclipse under dark clouds of Western influences, propagated through the educational institutions set up by the Government and by Missionery enterprises, which Indian culture was deliberately ignored or neglected. This new illustrator of ancient sagas was able to widely distribute his pictures through cheap reproductions, which found their way to all Indian homes, rich or poor, in all parts of India. This itself was a piece of achievement to be proud of by any lover of Indian culture, particularly at a time, when we witnessed a severe calamity in Indian national life. Ravi Varma's pictures fell short of an ideal artistic ideal, they provided valuable spiritual support to the illiterate and the uneducated and an easy visual aid to remind them of the glorious teachings of ancient sages.

This valuable national service Ravi Varma was able to render by setting up a colour printing press, imported from Europe at great expense. At this press he prepared cheap oleograph prints, somewhat too shiny and gaudy, but fairly accurate renderings of his original pictures. At that time, excepting the coloured lithographs of the Calcutta Art Studio produced by Mr. Bagchi, no other form of reproductions was in use to disseminate works of Art in cheap and accessible copies for those unable to indulge in the



Raja Ravi Varma

luxury of possessing original pictures. Mr. Upendra Kishore Roy had not yet started his process studio to reproduce pictures by the photo mechanical process. So that apart from his artistic achievement, Ravi Varma could claim to be the first pioneer in a commendable publishing enterprise, dedicated to a national cause.

But even in the domain of art creations, his achievement was of no mean order, if we set apart the controversial character of his presentation of Indian mythology. In the branch of portrait-printing, and, in the rendering of Indian types and *genre* subjects, his creations were valuable contributions to a branch of painting hitherto unexplored. His merits as a portrait-painter was widely admired, and Duke of Buckingham, the then Governor of Madras, honoured him with several commissions to paint

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portraits which still adorn the walls of the Government House, Madras. This was followed by other requisitions on his skill as a portrait-painter and he was commissioned to execute a series of portraits of His Highness Sir Chamarajendra Woodayar, the then Maharaja of Mysore. Of his studies of Indian types the most charming and convincing examples are his renderings of Nair ladies and a series of imaginative types, symbolizing "Modesty", "Vanity", "Reverie", "The Charmer", "The Worshipper" and a variety of other studies, which uphold a high standard of conception and execution, which are creditable successes in his search for Beauty in the current life of the society of his time. Even if he had not ventured into mythical themes, his *genre* paintings are enough to place him on a high pedestal as a talented and inspired painter of Indian life and character.

To this great pioneer of modern Indian painting our respectful tributes are due for valuable contribution made to the aesthetic phase of Indian culture, which the lapse of a century has not tarnished or diminished.

We should like to conclude by paying a well-deserved compliment to the Founder-Editor of this journal, who was the first to publish an illustrated book on the Art of Ravi Varma with several reproductions of his works executed by the late Mr. Upendra Kishore Roy.

———:O:———

A VISIT TO SEWAGRAM BY A PILGRIM

By Justice SANKAR SARAN,
President, Allahabad Harijan Ashram

I

What is this place, Sewagram, the world-renowned little village in the interior of the Central Provinces? Is it in fact a village, or a mere settlement, or just a camp where people meet for a purpose and then disperse, or is it a monastery where men and women of piety live in poverty and penance or indeed is it the sanctuary over which broods the spirit of God once embodied in the frail old frame of Gandhiji? Who can answer these questions? Certainly not one who knew Mahatmaji casually like the writer. Certainly not one who never had the good fortune of a pilgrimage to Sewagram when the Mahatma lived.

All I can say now is that it is a strange place. It is a village and yet not a village. It is situate at a spot where for miles there is hardly any habitation, one might almost say little vegetation and gives the impression of a deserted, rather desolate village. Yet the place is littered with huts, semi-pucca houses and blocks of buildings. There is no electricity at Sewagram and other amenities of the town are absent, yet it is not altogether typical of India's village because it is humming with life. All the same its chief aim is to serve the villages and raise them not to the level of the towns but to the level of ideal self-sufficient communities.

Sewagram is a settlement and yet not quite a settlement. It has not grown from a small village into a township. It came into being, so they say, because one day the spirit moved the Mahatma and he walked from his residence in Wardha and stopped under a tree in the locality where now stand his Ashram and the buildings of the other allied activities and decided to stay there. When his friends and followers found that Gandhiji was determined to choose that site for his future scene of activities they immediately put up a hut for him. After that other huts sprang up and gradually the place grew and people began to live there. Mahatmaji chose the place in face of almost insuperable odds. It was malarial and one year he had severe malarial attack himself. But Gandhiji was not the man to retrace his steps. If the place was malarial he should stay there himself and make it easy for others to live there. If it was inaccessible so much the better, for he could work there for the toiling masses undisturbed.

Is it a camp? Yes and no. It is a camp, because men gather here from different parts of India, indeed of the world on occasions and disperse. It is not a camp because there has always been a continuity of life. Men have come and gone, but the life that Mahatmaji infused in his followers has persisted.

Is it a monastery? Here again the answer is both in the affirmative and in the negative. Here at Sewagram are gathered men and women, many, if not all of whom are pledged to poverty and chastity. They live, at least try to live, in a spirit of dedication and in pious observance of rules. But, unlike most monastic orders they have hardly any rituals, the rules that they observe are, for the greater part, self-imposed. No dogmas are imposed on them although most of them have a common ideology.

Is it then a sanctuary? I would unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative. I am no theologian. I know not the attributes of God nor do I claim to know. He incarnates in human forms in a special way. If there is truth in the theory of *Avataras*, then to my mind God manifested Himself in the form of the man we knew and revered as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Blessed are we of this generation that

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the privilege of being his contemporaries and ly blessed are those on whom the Mahatma owed his special attention, I shall not say affection, such men have equal affection for all. In every se of the word therefore Sewagram is a sacred e where in the years that lie ahead, yes, even the dim distant future men and women will go to ship and be blessed. Human nature with all its nesses and frailties has an uncanny knack of ering greatness sooner or later and luckily we ered Gandhiji before it was too late, that is, his life-time.

II

When I heard of the Constructive Workers' Con- e I thought here was an opportunity for me to Sewagram and be near enough the Presiding of that sanctuary. But fate had willed rwise and the assassin intervened. I was deprived the unique privilege which might have been mine ring the Mahatma's *darshan* in his Ashram itself. sequently the Conference was held and I did d it. With him it would have been a rare delight tend the Conference. In March it was a sacred to do so.

I arrived at Wardha in the evening and when I to Sewagram it was dark. With the help of a rane lantern I discovered a corner for myself in om where eight of us were lodged. We were a ellaneous crowd. An Ex-Premier of a Province, a functionary of the Congress, a simple volunteer a worker among the youth were some of my -mates. But next day I was assigned a semi- doorless hut furnished with mats. There also we a mixed crowd.

On arrival I needed a wash. The arrangements were out of the ordinary. There were no flush gements for the Conference guests. I am told are only two or three sanitary fittings in the place. It is hardly a subject about which one yet at Sewagram this subject has received ious attention. The water closets are carefully ned and their cleanliness and disposal of their ents scientifically worked out. There are no ons at Sewagram, at least I saw none, and all cleaning is done by the highly cultured inmates see to it that the refuse substance is so put that it becomes manure easily. I was greatly ed by it and I wish more people could see this work so that it could be copied in our villages towns. After my wash I was told to go to the ary dining shed, where food was ready for the arrivals. The food was simplicity itself. But ly it was wholesome and clean. Each individual ven a brass tumbler, a cup and a plate of

In this connection I might mention that the habi- tea and coffee addicts were not ignored and with al morning breakfast, one could have tea and coffee, sugarcane juice was there for the abstemious. Anxious inquiries were made of each guest and there were hundreds of them, if they required special food. Care was taken to accommodate as far as possible the food faddists. I hope I shall not be accused of irreverence if I were to say that Sewagram attracts faddists and cranks. I am told, not only raw vegetables but grass, oil-cakes, and flowering *neem*, at times, find place in the menu of food-reformers. In the matter of dress barring European costume one came across all kinds of dress. *Achkan* and *Pyjama* were rare. *Kurta, Dhoti* and *Gandhi Caps* appealed to the majority. But there were the *Lungi* and *Langoti-walas*. When it was chilly in the mornings there were a few *Kambli-walas*. This was the crowd that I saw in the morning. But what a crowd? Ninety per cent of these so-called cranks and faddists had as their motto in life 'Do and die'. They were, till August 15, jail birds and had known suffering, more suffering and still more suffering as their lot in life.

The next item in the programme was the evening prayer. It was scheduled at 8-30 p.m. On an open spot sat either on the bare ground or on mats the congregation. There were a few lanterns burning and a number of people were spinning in that light. Just as the prayer was to begin the lights were dimmed and in that semi-darkness some one chanted the *Mantras* in Sanskrit. It was followed in a melodious voice by the recitation of the Holy Qoran. Then a beautiful *Bhajan* was sung and finally the congregation joined in *Ram-Dhun*. Thereafter lights were put on, rather their normalcy was restored and the audience dispersed quietly.

III

Utility was Sewagram's motto and austere simplicity was noticeable everywhere in everything. In the Conference itself there was neither gloom nor rejoicing. It was not like a big Conference or even a public meeting where leaders are greeted with lusty cheering. It was a business-like assembly which had assumed a solemnity all its own on account of Mahatmaji's absence.

But Mahatmaji's assassination has made Government vigilant and the Conference was simply infested with the Police. The majority of the guests were unhappy about it. They did not like their leaders to be guarded like this. But there was no disposition to take risks where the leaders were concerned and so people submitted to the strict checking of admission cards philosophically. Saturday, the 13th March, was the big day. On that day the Conference was to open. Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad, Governors Katju and Pakwasa and the Premiers of Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces and Orissa and many high functionaries of State were there. They were meeting on a great occasion. It was no longer a Workers' Conference. It was a gathering of disciples and devotees.

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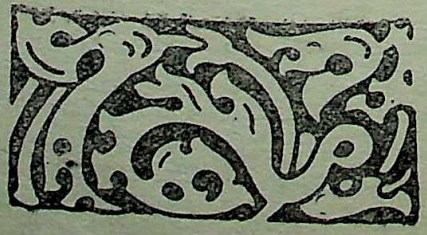
It was reminiscent of the meeting that was held two thousand five hundred years ago after the Buddha passed away. There was earnestness but there were misgivings. There was keenness to perpetuate Gandhiji's work but there was anxiety not to set up a new orthodoxy. The speeches were mostly impersonal. Mahatmaji's life and death were seldom referred to. His name was brought in only occasionally to strengthen an argument. I believe it was deliberately done. But I have a feeling it was a bit overdone. I am no *Bhakta* and seek solace in work rather than communion, yet I thought these earnest souls, some of his nearest workers, might have given us a little more of Gandhiji.

It was touching to find Pandit Nehru visit Mahatmaji's hut before he went to the Conference. Yes, what is Sewagram without that hut? It haunts me till now. Pandit Nehru's speech at the Conference was characteristic of the man. It was frank, and torn as he was between conflicting views he did not know what to advise. He felt it was necessary to consolidate the work Mahatmaji had done and yet he was afraid of the birth of a new cult with its dogmas and beliefs. He put his point of view earnestly and sat down. Maulana Azad was definite that there should be set up an organization to carry on the great work. Make it broad-based as you like but set up an organisation.

Even at a Conference like this heat was occasionally generated. Rajendra Babu presided. He was the most hard-worked man. He is an ideal though rather an indulgent President. But the proceedings terminated in an atmosphere of perfect friendliness. There was earnestness in the gathering. Some of India's well-known public men took part in the discussions, many of them played their part behind the scenes. The result was the decision to establish a Samaj which will owe allegiance to the Gandhian ideology. The fear that if the Mahatma's name was added to it there would grow up a Church, led to the naming of the new society as Sarvodaya (the Blossoming forth of all faculties) Samaj. The workers there seemed to pooh-pooh all ideas of visible memorial pillars or halls or other such manifestations of love, loyalty and homage seemed to leave them cold. How far this Samaj would succeed in keeping Gandhiji in the background I do not know. But of this I have no doubt that his name will inspire millions in the future as they never did in his lifetime. Men and women will cherish his memory and worship at the shrines that will spring up all over the world not only in India, South Africa and London where he spent years of his long life but in distant corners of the world.

IV

I fear these are random thoughts not even properly arranged. Of the decisions at the Conference the public have knowledge through the Press. I just give my personal reflections of the few glorious days for me, days not necessarily of prayer and penance but of prayerful thinking. I was sad at heart that Bapu was no more but I rejoiced that I caught a glimpse of his greatness at Sewagram, the abode of service. Here let me record the most remarkable event of my visit to Sevagram. It was the pilgrimage to Mahatmaji's hut. It was a novel experience for me. I had heard and known of Gandhiji's life of austere simplicity and had read a description of his hut. But truth to tell I had never imagined that it could be such a small place. It is actually a mud hut with narrow verandahs with two tiny little wooden windows. There was just enough room for a mattress to be placed for the occupant of the house and some space for visitors. Near him was a small desk, a rustic waste paper basket, a spittoon and an improvised sort of book case, where a few sacred books were placed. Nearby behind a partition was spread a mat and a desk, perhaps for his secretary. Near Gandhiji's pillow on the mud wall was written in mud 'Om' and on another wall hung two card-boards with manuscripts written by hand; one was a quotation from Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and the other a few stanzas from Qoran. As I entered the room I saw an oldish man sitting there all by himself, looking at the mattress where lay the Mahatma's rosary. With a sorrowful gesture he drew my attention to the long stick which Mahatmaji used when he went out for his walks. I came out of the room and noticed the palm leaves that were spread on the walls to prevent the heat. I saw no fan there. Here lived the greatest man of the age. Thus toiled the noblest Indian of all ages! How puny we are! What shadows we pursue!



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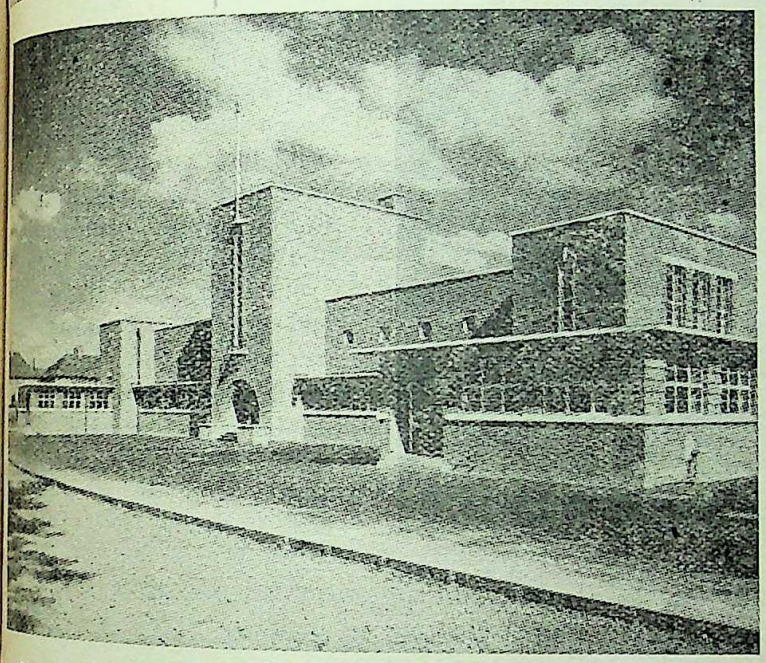
SCHOOL-BUILDING IN BRITAIN

By WILLIAM NEWTON

Architects of modern school buildings must pay attention to the demands of modern education, and emphasize the needs of sunlit classrooms, air currents without draughts, insulation from external noises, and accessible playing fields.



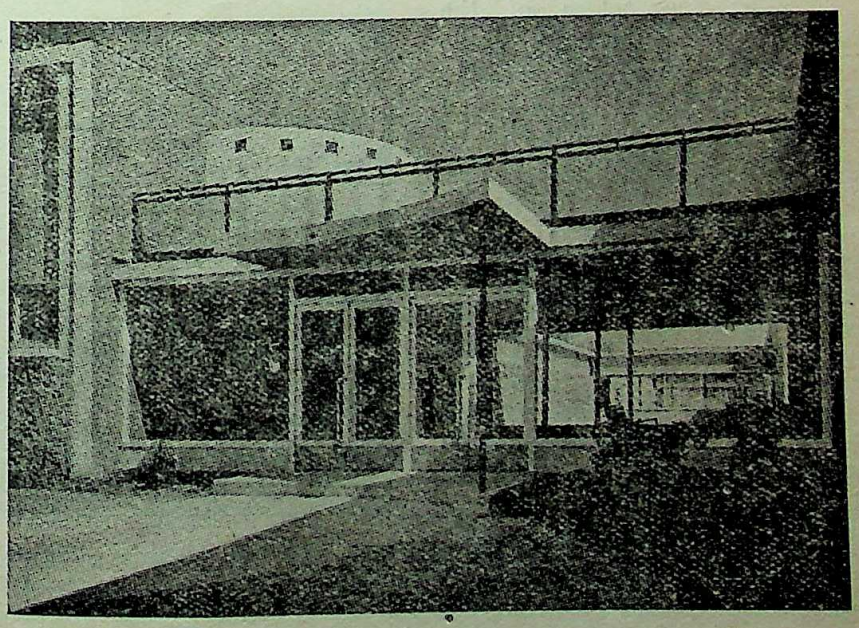
The modern British school is well exemplified in this picture of an elementary school near London

Architecture is the true international language. Music, the art which comes nearest to it in this respect, is apt to have a racial colour which may be an obstacle to judgment. We might need to be schooled to appreciate the melodies of China or Abyssinia or Tibet; but their buildings we can at once understand from plan, section and elevation, see what their problems are, and compare their solutions with our own treatment of similar problems.

This is perhaps especially true of such buildings as schools and hospitals. Britain was a pioneer in school-building 70 years ago; and in some degree suffered the usual fate of pioneers. The building types evolved as a first solution of the school problem were further developed and improved in other lands—notably by France in the last years of the nineteenth century—while in England the earlier models had been so well and solidly built that they were difficult to adapt and alter. And for a time, too, it may well have been that the prestige of the pioneer buildings made the British less ready to think the problem out anew. But development there was all the time, and its pace has been notably increasing throughout the last 20 years.

A sketch of the development of the school "idea" would show first of all an emphasis on compactness, the teaching-rooms grouped round a central hall, into which they often open directly. This after all was very natural. In old days, all had been taught in one big room; and it was a step forward when the teaching-rooms were made separate, even if they were only, as it were, annexes of the main meeting room. But the need for quiet and for ventilation soon moved the teaching-room away from the Hall.

More and more attention is paid to them. The early ones have good light, but are often sunless. Now sunshine, and if possible early morning sunshine, is considered indispensable, and no less important is natural cross-ventilation from windows in opposite walls. Left-hand light for the pupils, insulation from external noise; air currents without draught, a blackboard lit but not shiny, easy movement for teacher and pupils, easy speaking without echo—all these are points in the design of teaching-rooms to which more and more attention has come to be paid. As the



The entrance to a school in Yorkshire, England

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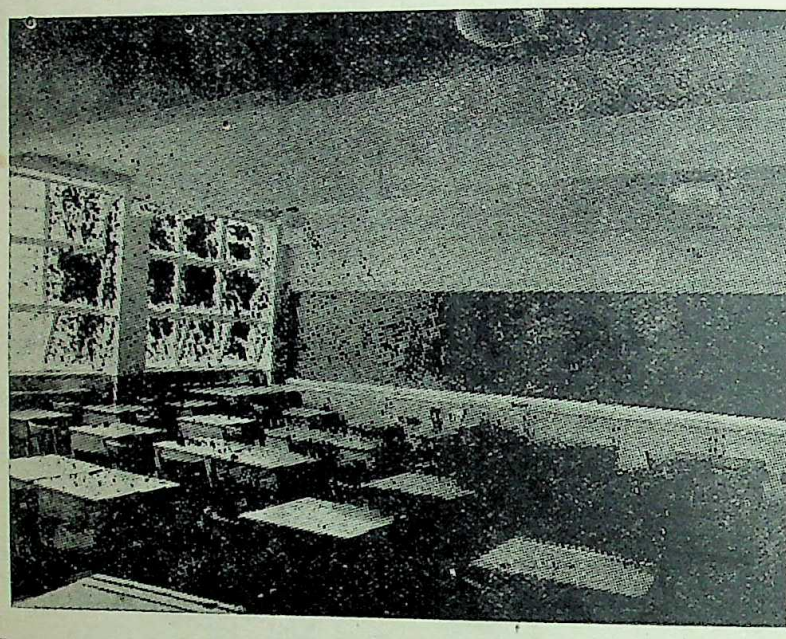
subjects taught grew in variety, so did the teaching-rooms; standard class-rooms were added, with all their individual demands, rooms for teaching art and science, woodwork and metal work, cooking and laundrycraft, needlework and handicraft, and similar "practical" subjects—a list which is continually growing.



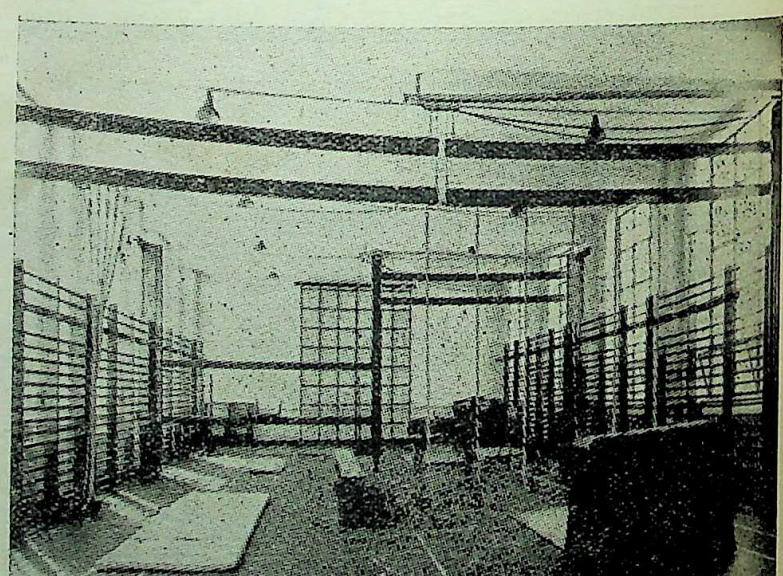
The modern classroom in a Council school near London

Meanwhile, the assembly hall expands in function. At first it is just a convenient space for collecting the whole school together; but it takes more and more a new importance as the centre of the school's life, where the unity of the whole is emphasised in speeches and ceremonies, in music and drama. Today it is coming to be thought of as the cultural centre, not only of the school, but of the whole district served by the school —as a regional hall to be planned and available for this double purpose—or rather these two aspects of one purpose.

It will be evident that the new needs and uses of these two constituents of the school-plan (the hall and the teaching-rooms) will have radically affected the old arrangements. Instead of being compact, the school building spreads itself out to meet the sunshine and open air; while the hall can no longer be embedded in the other plan-elements, but must, with its enlarged stage and dressing-rooms and foyer, be designed for the easy welcome of a crowd which may come either from one school or from outside or from both at the same time.

A school must always be able to handle crowds not only on the occasion of special ceremonies, but every day. For every day the children come—it may be four or five hundred of them—all within a few minutes. Within these few minutes all must take off hats and coats, and perhaps shoes, and be gathered orderly in their appointed place. The arrangement of entrances and cloak-rooms is thus a vital part of the school plan. The earlier solution of a single entrance and centralized cloak-rooms (duplicated where there were both boys and girls) perhaps made supervision easier. Now the tendency is to lessen supervision, to look to the self-education of the child orderliness and reasonable discipline, and in consequence provide open access and a number of cloak-rooms. This again influences the whole planning and grouping of the school units.

Nor can the plan ignore leisure hours, and breaks and all that is needed for the young at exercise and play. The playground we have always had. It is still a problem to site it so as to be sunny in winter, easily reached, near a covered play-space and the water-



The interior of a Gymnasium at a grammar school in London

closets, reasonably subject to supervision, and not embarrassing the teaching-rooms with noise and summer glare. Besides the playground, the modern school provides a covered play-space, gymnasia, library, and dining rooms for mid-day meals, gardens and lawns and flowering trees—all to be married with the building-plan and lay-out, the entrance drives and the great playing-fields.

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These are the problems which designers of school-buildings in Britain have had to face and their solutions have been notably successful. In the years before the war Britain's modern schools were among the first in the world and certainly, in the present times, school-building programmes can be put into operation again and we shall see this enlightened policy for design used to its best advantage for the rising generations.

———:O:———

REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, Ph.D.,

Former Economic Advisor, National Economic Board, United States Army, Military Government in Korea

The urgent need of India is the revival of Buddhism, which was once her supreme religion and which is still the dominant religion in the Far East and South-east Asia. The moral and spiritual sources from which Buddhism sprang still exist in India. Buddhism more than any other religion realized the greatness of inner life and the importance of self-control as the means of achieving peace and tranquillity, both of which are essential today in the face of the rising tides of materialism. The moral and spiritual achievements of Buddhism are among the strongest pillars of the foundation of India's rising new civilization.

The time has come when Buddhism should be revived and reinstalled as a principal religion of India. There are several reasons why Buddhism is needed: (1) the decline of popular Hinduism, which was largely based upon caste, endogamy, taboo (eating of cow), and similar other practices as well as on idolatry and symbolism; (2) inadequacy of such creeds as are based upon the concept of Hindu trinity, and the mythological concept of reincarnation of God as Rama (the hero of the Ramayana) and Krishna (the hero of the Mahabharata); and (3) the lack of proselytizing in Buddhism as indicated by the decline in number of the Buddhists, as compared with Moslems and Christians.

Buddhism has surpassing moral and spiritual values. The grandeur and glory of Buddhism once attracted not only the masses but also the scholars, monarchs and conquerors. The messages of Buddhism long ago crossed the national boundaries and at present it counts among its followers a vast number of the humanity. Buddhism is a part of the moral and cultural achievement of India and its teachings still form India's cultural heritage. After a thousand years, India should again welcome its own creed and establish, as her greatest religious teacher, Gautama the Buddha, the "Light of Asia."

The revival and regeneration of Buddhism in India should be attempted from different angles: First, like Christianity and Islam, Buddhism is a proselytizing religion and its message should be brought to all classes of people. The possibility of converting the so-called depressed classes into Buddhism should be explored; Second, the life of Buddha and Buddhism should be a part of the curriculum of all the schools, colleges and universities in India and every Indian, irrespective of his creed, should be required to know the life and teachings of Buddha. Buddhistic temples should be built at convenient places and Buddhistic literature should be made available in all Indian languages.

India should organize a Buddhistic council, which will be the fifth in its order, the fourth being held in the first century of the Christian era, preferably at Saranath where Buddha preached his first sermon some 2500 years ago, and all the Buddhistic countries, such as Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Tibet, China, Japan, and Korea, should be invited to send their representatives to the council. The council may last from three to six months and a program should be drawn up in consultation with the prominent members of the Buddhistic countries as to the subject-matter for discussion. But they should include such questions as (1) the present status of Buddhism in various countries; (2) the Renaissance of Buddhism and the adjustment of its doctrines and tenets in the light of modern science, art and philosophy and in accordance with the needs and requirements of men and women in modern society; (3) the establishment of an international university for Buddhistic countries; (4) an arrangement for periodic conferences of the Buddhists in each of the Buddhistic countries every two or three years; and (5) similar other subjects which may be decided upon by the council.

The revival of Buddhism will have several effects on India as well as on other Buddhistic countries.

First, it will elevate the moral and spiritual status of India and raise her in the estimation of the other peoples. It is a paradox that the people who contributed most to the concepts of monotheism, monism, and Buddhism would permit their own countrymen to follow the crudest idolatry and most obscene symbolism as their cults.

Second, it will bring India into close contact with the South-eastern and Far Eastern Asiatic countries, all of which have monsoon economy and some basic cultural unity. Hindu and Buddhistic empires were once established in Sumatra and Java and extended to Formosa and Luzon in the north, and Bali and Lombok

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in the south, and some of the best Hindu temples are still to be found in Indo-China and the best stupa in Java. India has all the possibilities of enriching her moral and spiritual cultures from most of these countries, where Buddhism has been a living religion for the past ten centuries.

Third, a close relationship between India and these countries may facilitate the Renaissance of Buddhism so that its tenets and doctrines may be reoriented and readjusted in the light of modern art and philosophy and may form the moral and spiritual foundation of industrial civilization and may avoid some of the materialistic effects in the East as it has been the case in the West. India and these countries may even establish their own living and cultural standards in industrial centers, the possibilities of which have been created by the inauguration of regional labor conferences by the international labor organization in Asia and America.

Finally, India must also actively participate in all international activities and attempt to establish international peace. As in the old League of Nations, power-politics have already appeared in the international affairs of the United Nations and groups and blocks have already been formed for working out their problems, such as the Latin American bloc, the Western European bloc, the Arab Moslem bloc (extending from Pakistan to Egypt), and the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union have also their dependent countries. For her international activities India will be able to depend upon the South-eastern and Far Eastern Asiatic countries as her allies for the solution of some of the important international problems, especially with reference to Asia.

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INDIAN STUDIES IN GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

By Dr. GIRIJA MOOKERJEE

I happened to be passing through Tuebingen one evening last winter and Prof. Von Glasenapp the great Indologist asked me if I could not stay the night and take part in the meeting of the Indian Seminar in which Prof. Hermann Weller was reading a paper on *Raghuvansam*. I readily agreed and after dinner made for the chemical laboratory of the University where the meeting was to take place. It was not easy to find. The approaches to the building were dark and when I eventually got inside the house, I could not find the way to the laboratory. There was no porter and the passages were dark, the consumption of electricity being strictly rationed. At last, by following the direction of a streak of light coming out of a room, I finally discovered the place and was soon introduced to a group of a dozen people who had braved the weather to hear Prof. Weller speak. The room was not heated and it was a terribly cold night. Everyone had his or her overcoat on but even then one shivered. Prof. Weller spoke for about an hour and afterwards there was a general discussion on the etymological significance of the Sanskrit word "Uma". Prof. Weller ventured the suggestion that it might have something to do with the German word "Oma", meaning a grand-mother and thus "Uma" might really mean the mother of the earth!

At any rate, the whole thing was impressive to a degree. I could not for a moment forget that, most probably, none of the audience had a decent meal for months and it applied equally to the speaker, who looked haggard and pale and could hardly move with ease. Still, their love of India was strong enough to make them forget all the inconveniences and to take part in the discussion of a subject which, I may say, least, was highly technical. I could not help being deeply moved by this scene and I felt that our people at home should know about it. After all, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to German scholars and German Indologists and the fact that even under the present circumstances, some of them carry on their Indian studies should not be allowed to be forgotten.

I carried on subsequently an enquiry in all the four zones of Germany and found to my pleasant surprise that most of the famous German Universities have already reorganised their Indian Seminars and students were flocking there from all parts of the country. Interest in India has grown even more than before and there is also a strong desire among the students to know something of modern India. Unfortunately, some of the well-known scholars had died during the war amongst whom the pride of place should go to Prof. Heinrich Lueders of the University of Berlin. He was a great authority on Epigraphy, Buddhism and the Vedas and he was well-known to several generations of Indian students who frequented the Berlin University. His wife who also had made a name for herself in researches on Buddhism, died during the war. Dr. Zieseniss of the University of Breslau (now in Poland) who was an authority on Shaivism is reported to have been killed in action. Among those who died after the war, Dr. Reinhard Wagner was well-known to the Bengali visitors to the German capital, for his painstaking attempts to write Bengali in Roman character had made him very dear to such well-known scholars of Bengali as Dr. Suniti Chatterjee and Humayun Kabir. It is reported that Dr. Wagner died in a concentration camp where he was brought after the armistice because of his being a

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ber of the National Socialist Party. I was told before his death he was engaged in a German slation of *Srikanta*. Many Bengali visitors to will miss this lovable man whose modest flat Tempelhof was always open to them and who had ated his life to the study of the Bengali language. larly, Dr. Beythan, the well-known student of t, died after the war, as well as Prof. Bernhard her of the Berlin University who had made able researches in the study of Kautilya.

On the other hand, Prof. Waldschmidt, a great hority on Indian and Buddhist art, has begun his rses at the University of Goettingen and his tures are very well-attended. The old Prof. Kirfel Bonn is still active and has just published a new k called *Die Dreikoepfige Gottheit* based on his dies of the Puranas. Prof. Lommel had remained Frankfurt throughout th war and he is now hing the Vedas and Avesta at the University re. Prof. Weller who is in Leipzig says that the ssian authorities are giving him all facilities and is now lecturing on Buddhism. Dr. Hoffmann has been permitted to resume his lectures on Tibetan ddhism at the University of Hamburg and I found t Prof. Nobel of the University of Marburg was ding his classes on *Alankara* and Chinese Bud- ism with great success. Prof. Von. Glasenapp was ointed the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at e University of Tuebingen (French Zone) and after ing lost his home and famous library of Indian manuscripts at Koenigsberg, has now settled down in this town. He has built up an Indian Seminar out of practically nothing and has already published another book called, *Die Weisheit des Buddha.* I also came to know that Prof. Otto Schrader is teaching "Vaisnavism" at the University of Kiel.

Some of the Indologists have of course been not allowed to take up their former jobs. Among them is Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf, who was a close collaborator of Netaji during his stay in Berlin. He is engaged on his own in a study of *Apabhramsha* literature. Similarly, Prof. Hauer of Tuebingen and Prof. Wust of Munich have been debarred from rejoining their posts owing to their memberships in the Party.

Everywhere, however, people complained that the shortage of books and magazines was very great. For nearly twelve years, the Indologists have not been able to have contact with India and they are very eager to develop them again. But the postal system is primitive and as the German money is valueless they are not able to subscribe to Indian papers and magazines nor can they buy new books. They look upon former Indian students of German Universities to remedy this defect and any book or magazine sent, will be thankfully acknowledged. It is my belief that we ought to do everything in our power to be of help to these eminent men who are carrying on the torch of Indian learning in spite of hardships, the extent of which is almost unimaginable in India

——:O:——

SCHOLARSHIP IN JOURNALISM

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"It is not the quantity, but the quality, of knowledge which determines the mind's dignity. A man of immense information may, through the want of large and comprehensive ideas, be far inferior in intellect to a labourer, who, with little knowledge, has yet seized on great truths . . . A good mind is formed by a few great ideas, not by an infinity of loose details."—W. E. Channing in *Lectures on the Elevation of the Labouring Classes.*

I

This is just the sort of subject that suits me—inasmuch as I am, thereby, enabled to ramble at my sweet will and pleasure, to branch off into any tempting by-path or side-lane that crosses my pre-arranged path. Discursiveness is of the essence of essay-writing, and what was good enough for Dryden, Lemaitre, and Walkley—and, coming down to our own time, for that doyen of English dramatic critics, the late Mr. James Agate—is, without doubt, good enough for me, too. All the same I must, in the interests of historical accuracy, hasten to disavow any claim to scholarship—even "north-north-west." It is true, of course, that I have always had (ever since, in a manner of speaking, I could lisp in numbers) a vague hankering after that priceless jewel; but a concatenation of circumstances, over which I may rightly protest that I have had no control, effectively prevented that vague hankering of mine from realising itself to the fullest extent, of "expanding" itself, in Walter Pater's celebrated phrase, "to the measure of its intention."

A stronger mind than mine would, in all probability, have scorned to be defeated by the mere caprice of events; would even, on the contrary, have been spurred on to redoubled efforts just because of that formidable obstruction in its way. But it is useless to cry over spilt milk and to cast a longing, lingering, look over the "might-have beens." Had such and such a thing *not* happened I might (who knows?) have soared, on the wings of my innate ambition, to such and such a height. Vain consolation! In the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, however, such and such a thing *did* happen; and the Lord of Hosts Himself cannot put back the hand of the clock and start me—or, for that matter, anyone else—afresh on my brief sojourn in this most transitory of all the worlds. As Sir Thomas Browne puts it, "The iniquity of oblivion

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blindly scattereth her poppy." The past is now a closed book, there is no known process by which we can remould it nearer to our hearts' desire.

"The Moving Finger writes ; and, having writ,
Moves on : nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it."

II

I have not, then, any pretensions to scholarship. But this bitter pill is not without its sugar-coating, in that though I may have no pretensions to scholarship I am yet not unaware that there *is* such a thing as scholarship and that the man who possesses it has an immense advantage over the man who does not possess it. As Walter Bagehot observed shrewdly :

> "While a knowledge of Greek and Latin is not necessary to a writer of English, he should at least have a firm conviction that those two languages existed."

(The profound truth of this observation will be brought home to us when we remember Gibbon's magnificent saying that the Greek language gave a soul to the objects of sense and a body to the abstractions of metaphysics).

Scholarship, indeed, is never wasted anywhere : least of all in journalism, which, in my humble opinion, is immeasurably enriched by it, being, in fact, transformed beyond recognition by the additional graces that it never fails to lend to anything that it touches. It is not given to everyone of us to be a scholar : this kind of thing cometh not out but by prayer and fasting. But, at any rate, we should not be guilty of the supreme sacrilege of looking askance at scholars and scholarship. The scriptures enjoin us to love the Highest when we see it If we cannot do even that we write ourselves down as no better than mere clods, as no better than hewers of wood and drawers of water. This may seem obvious ; but it is far from being so.

III

We have arrived at a point when there are none so poor as to do reverence to scholarship ; and especially is this evident in the field of journalism, that Cinderella of the professions. But, to quote the words of the immortal Sam Weller, this is wrapping it up in a small parcel. At the present juncture not only is scholarship conspicuous by its absence in journalism : it is severely frowned upon when it makes the slightest show of raising its head from the abysmal depths to which Fleet Street (and, even more so, whatever stands for Fleet Street in our hapless country) has, in the plentitude of its ignorance, consigned it. This is, pre-eminently, the Age of the New Journalism ; and New Journalism and scholarship are as poles apart. As far as the New Journalism, at any rate, is concerned it is safe to say that no

". . . brighter Hellas rears its mountains
From waves serener far,"

and that no

". . . new Peneus rolls its fountains
Against the morning star."

Scholarship, indeed, can find no "abiding city" in the world of the New Journalism. If this is the case in England it must, *a fortiori*, be the case in India as well; for whatever passes for journalism here takes its cue from the journalism that flourishes there. We are not pioneers but imitators ; and imitators have, as a rule, a *penchant* for copying the *worst* features of the thing imitated rather than the best.

There is that in the New Journalism which is inimical to the encouragement of scholarship; and those who would follow Apollo and the Nine would do well to apply elsewhere for admission. Matters had been different, of course, before the late Lord Northcliffe, the Father of the New Journalism, took Fleet Street by storm. *Then* scholarship had a place in the sun: to the practitioners of the art in those days it was, as Dr. Johnson said of Greek, "like old lace—you can never have too much of it."

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
And to be young was very heaven."

IV

If a slight exaggeration (pardonable in the circumstances) may be permitted, to be a journalist then was to be a scholar : the two terms were almost interchangeable. Those who were aspirants to the journalistic purple generally made sure that they had the requisite qualifications. Quite apart from the fact that they were not, like their successors, dead from the neck up, as the saying is, they invariably came to their tasks with the proper intellectual equipment as well as with a firm determination to leave their patrimony, like the old Athenian, not worse but something better than they found it. In other words, they took pains to be splendid. They regarded themselves as the inheritors of a *fulfilled* renown and, therefore, saw to it that they gave of their best to the noblest of all professions. You could never catch them napping. In especial, they were adepts in the *instrument* of their calling. In their hands English prose

". . . became a trumpet: whence they blew
Soul-animating strains."

They knew perfectly well that scholarship, by itself, cannot carry a journalist very far : he must learn how to put it to the correct use. That was why they took endless trouble to prune and to polish. In the matter of the mechanics of their trade they had a sort of sixth sense, as it were, that brightness does not fall from off the air ; that, instead, brightness has to be cultivated—and cultivated, too, with assiduous care. Book-lore should never, it is true, be despised, but it would be all the better if it could exist side by side with the ability to write well : else it would turn no wheels and grind no corn.

V

The journalists that I have in mind were not only ripe scholars but excellent penmen; they were alive to the pregnant truth that literature should never be divorced from life. They did not subscribe to the

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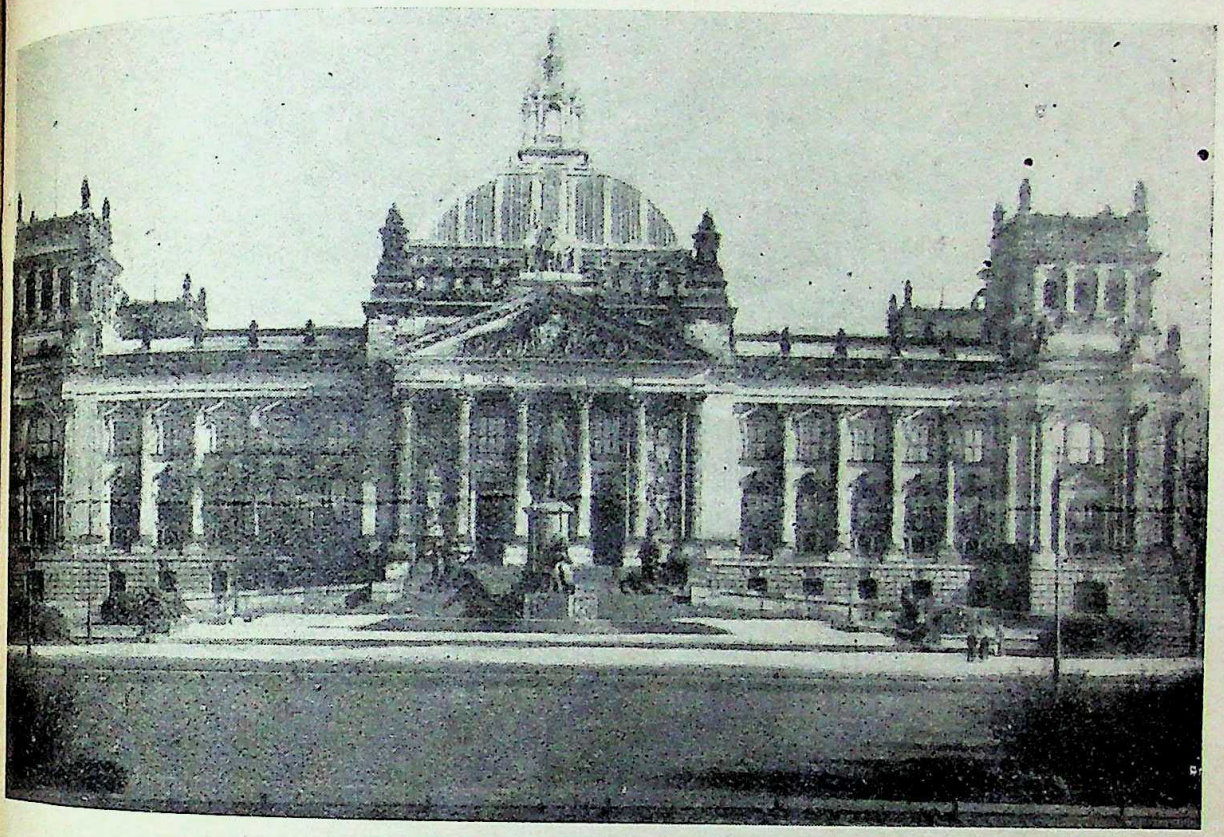
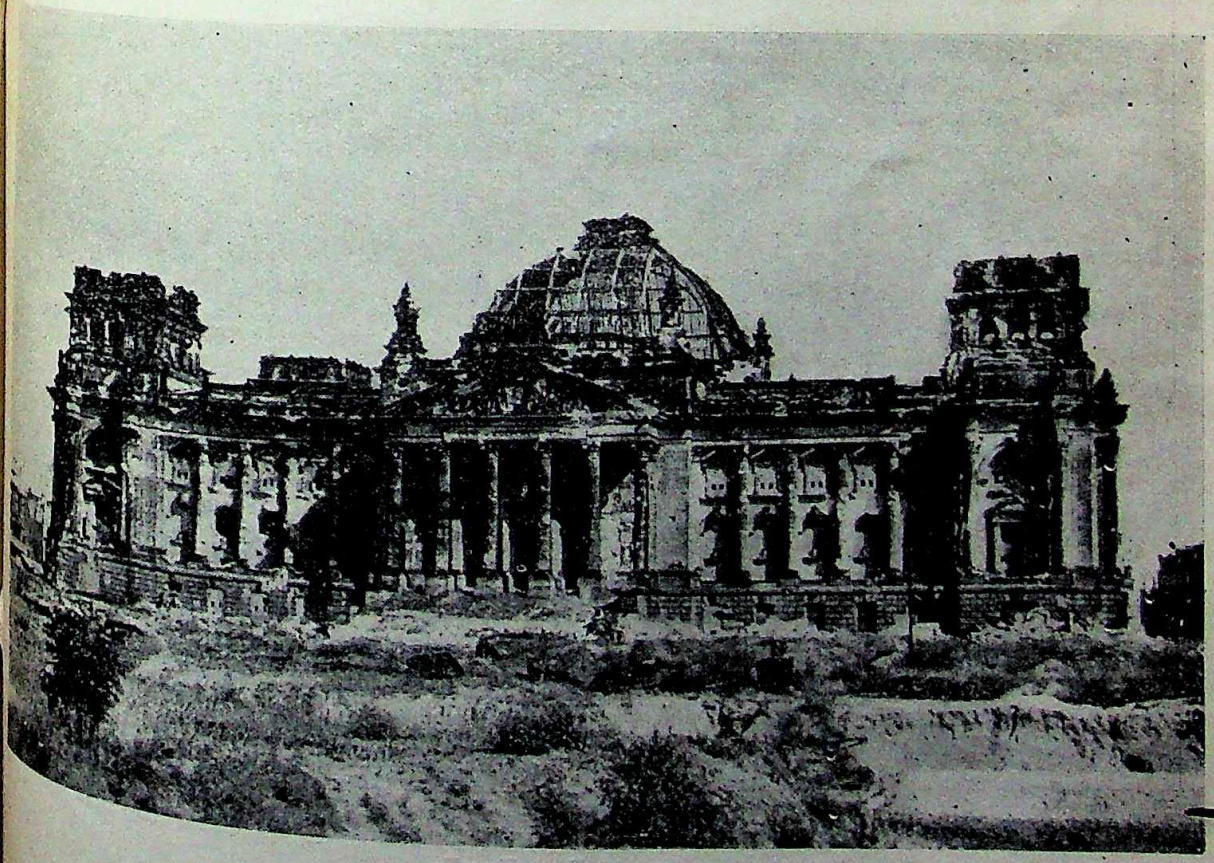


Reichstag before the war



Reichstag after the war

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King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia (*left*) and King Farouk of Egypt conferring in a tent at Port Tawfik

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that literature is only for the "high brows." They held, on the other hand, that it should be the possession of the common man no less than that of the dilettante. It was said of Socrates that he brought down philosophy from heaven to inhabit among men. The same can, with equal truth, be said of these giants of the different realm of the "humanities." They harnessed them to the fleeting needs of journalism. Such was their high endeavour it was no wonder that they touched nothing that they did not adorn. The tiniest paragraph that they wrote had distinction stamped upon it, was invested with a sort of plenary inspiration. Reading their articles was a liberal education in itself. You were not fobbed off with the crumbs from their table: you were served with a full meal, as delicious as it was wholesome. You expected a toothsome thing and you got it.

Who were these masters? In the main they were Scott, Spender, Massingham, and Gardiner. They formed a quartette that has never been surpassed anywhere. They have had no single successor. It was, probably, not quite an accident that all of them belonged to the great Liberal party. During that period there was an efflorescence of the human spirit in that party that was wellnigh unique. In politics as well as in the arts it "flamed in the forehead of the morning sky." Look where you would it was a Liberal that dominated the scene. It was from that cultural Pamir plateau that all—or nearly all—the rivers and rivulets of genius flowed and "winded somewhere safe to sea." That illustrious savant, Lord Morley himself, drew inspiration from the same prolific source. Naturally, these four figures whose names I have mentioned were had no option, so to speak, but to tread the same path of intellectual development.

It would be unprofitable to go into the question who was the tallest among them. There can be no comparison where superlatives are concerned. The mountain-peaks are all snow-clad. Scott was, undoubtedly, the doyen among them. He had also the advantage of being associated with the best daily in England. That, of necessity, gave him a "pull" that was, unfortunately, denied to others. He was the foremost among them. His noble example could not have been an invaluable asset, acting, as it must have done, as a sort of beaconlight to the younger set. He was an institution by himself: the *Manchester Guardian* a veritable "school" of journalism. In English journalism Scott was, indeed, a landmark; and when he died the whole country rose as one man to render homage.

VI

In so far as comparisons are possible among giants, however, it has always seemed to me that Massingham towered above them as Mount Everest towers above Kanchanjangha and Nanga Parbat and the rest. Massingham was in a class by himself, as Cowley said of Pindar, "He formed a vast species alone." His soul was like a star and dwelt apart. He was the biggest man of them all, though an unkind fate denied him the chance of becoming an institution in the same manner as Scott. His was a more fiery spirit: nor had he the knack of suffering fools (and knaves) gladly, as anyone must have who is determined to make the best of both the worlds. Even idealists, if they do not wish to be "caught out," usually contrive to have a streak of materialism deeply embedded in their composition: if it escapes public detection it is because it is cunningly camouflaged and is made to form an inextricable part of the general colour-scheme. The lack of this protective principle, of this "safety-first" device, was Massingham's undoing.

Spender had neither the idealism nor the brilliance of either Scott or Massingham. He was not an out-and-out Radical like them and was noted for adapting "the middle-of-the-road" policy in most matters. He brought everything to the touchstone of practicability. The words of Sir William Watson about Matthew Arnold are equally applicable to him:

". . . for though with skill
He sang of beck and tarn and ghyll
The deep authentic mountain thrill
Ne'er shook his page,
Somewhat of worldling mingled still
With bard and sage."

This is not to belittle Spender's contribution either to politics or to journalism; but I am here dealing with the imponderables, and Spender, consistently displaying more of the diplomatist's skill than of the idealist's fervour as he was wont to do, has, obviously, no place in this "galley." Even his literary style was not comparable to that of the other Three Musketeers.

VII

As for A. G. Gardiner there is not a lover of journalism or literature who does not mourn his death, which occurred last year, though it had not been entirely unexpected. He had long passed the psalmist's span of three score years and ten. That, however, does not mitigate the sense of our loss to any appreciable extent; rather does it serve to heighten it. We had been so very much accustomed to take his presence in our midst for granted that now we cannot bear to contemplate the void caused by his demise with any degree of equanimity. His was, indeed, a name to conjure with. The initials, "A.G.G.," were known and honoured wherever they were found: they were an instantaneous passport to our affection. We read every line of his that we could lay hands on, and, like Oliver Twist, asked for more. His writings were suffused with charm. No wonder that even his worst enemies could not resist their lure. It is no exaggeration to say that, once you come to him, you could not leave him without a pang of regret. I can still remember many a dinner that was allowed to get cold because I happened to be in the middle of an article, or essay, of his. It is equally true that I often neglected my more serious studies for the same reason. It can be said of him, as it was of someone else before him, that he "beguiled

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children from play and old men from the chimney-corner." His death is a loss in another respect also, as he was the last of a race of journalistic giants.

Scott in the *Manchester Guardian* and Massingham in the *Daily Chronicle* (and, later, in the *Nation*) and Spender in that "old sea-green incorruptible," the *Westminster Gazette*, and Gardiner in the *Daily News* "magnoperated," in the late Mr. James Agate's beautiful phrase, as no "foursome" had ever been privileged to do. It was the grandest symphony that anyone could have hoped to hear. For nearly two decades Gardiner preached the Liberal doctrine from the pulpit that the *Daily News* provided for him. I am not prepared to aver that he was a match for the other three in point of political lore. Politics was far from being his first love. He did not come to it *con amore*. Pride of place in his mind was always given to literature. But, with all his limitations in that line, he managed to make up by unwearied diligence for what was lacking in primal impulse.

VIII

To the public Gardiner is known more as an author than as a journalist. It is probable that now many have forgotten his editorship days but still remember with inexpressible gratitude the pleasure his printed pages gave them. When the late C. E. Montague resigned from the *Manchester Guardian* in order to dedicate himself entirely to the service of literature a farewell dinner was arranged in his honour at the Reform Club in Manchester at which Scott presided. While proposing the guest, and after speaking of the affection in which he was held, Scott proceeded :

> "We want to thank him for all he is and all he has done, the unswerving stand he has ever made for liberty, his deep and critical understanding of literature, the drama, the finer arts, for the crystal clearness of his style and its wonderful vigour and vividness, for the model he has set before them of English pure and undefiled."—*C. E. Montague: A Memoir.* By Prof. Oliver Elton. Chatto & Windus, 1924, p. 266.

We may transfer this well-spoken eulogy word by word to Gardiner himself. Scott then refererd to Montague as an author :

> "Only in his books does he become completely himself. Montague has lived both lives, the life of the journalist and the life of the author—he has lived them hard, and he has lived them together. The paper of the day must die with the day, but its work, if well done, as Montague has done it, does not die ; it enters into the life of the nation and helps to direct its mind and shape its destiny." —*Ibid.*, pp. 266-7.

This tribute also can be applied to Gardiner *verbatim*. Gardiner lived in his books much more than Montague did. Montague's passion was at white heat even while writing the day's leading article in his paper or the notice of the previous night's play in the theatre. This cannot be said of Gardiner. He had always an eye to the future and practised a wise economy in his day-to-day work. While not stinting his service to the *Daily News* he looked farther ahead than most working journalists do. He was an author first and a journalist afterwards.

IX

I have brought in these names—of Scott, Spender, Massingham and Gardiner, that is—with a view to pointing a moral and adorning a tale. They were journalists as well as scholars. Journalism, we may concede, is a lesser thing than authorship. In addition, it has the supreme disadvantage of being evanescent : it has its hour and then ceases to be. It is as fleeting as the raindrops on a widow-pane or as dictators in a South American Republic. Yet, because these four possessed minds that could transcend the hour they built for themselves monuments, not, indeed, of "storied urn or animated bust," but monuments much more permanent—monuments that reside in the recesses of thankful hearts. These names, however, do not, by any means, exhaust the list. Brave men lived before, as well as since, Agamemnon, and the ranks of English journalism were never devoid of illustrious personages, though they might not, intellectually speaking, have attained quite "the thewes, the stature, bulk and big assemblance" of the Big Four aforementioned.

There was C. E. Montague, for instance. He was, if not "the noblest Roman of them all," a Roman, nonetheless, "of the same like," as the Scots would say. When he retired from the *Manchester Guardian* he left a legend behind him, a legend of his journalistic accomplishments. He was eminent both as a scholar and as a journalist. His writings were masterpieces of composition. The esteem in which he was held by his brethren of the craft can be glimpsed from the exquisite tribute paid to him by his father-in-law, C. P. Scott, which I quoted a few paragraphs earlier. Thus does Royalty salute Royalty. Montague was passionately in love with good writing and never grudged the time he gave to it. He was, by the example he set to others, responsible in no small measure for the general raising of the standard of journalism in his day.

X

Next to Scott himself the *Manchester Guardian* owed the greatest debt to him. It was a rare privilege, indeed, for anyone to be able to boast that he learnt journalism at the feet of such acknowledged masters as Scott and Montague. The late Mr. James Agate never tired of bestowing his meed of praise on "C. E. M." He would break off in the middle of a sentence and sing a hymn to the greater glory of that inimitable artist in words. And Mr. Agate could, in this matter, "tell a hawk from a handsaw."

In his *Ego* (the first of the series) Mr. Agate gives us this delicious vignette of Montague :

> "One went into Montague's little room at the *Manchester Guardian* office and found him standing at a sort of writing pulpit, apparently, in view of the intensity of his attention, to you, utterly idle. Yet he was probably in the middle of a piece of pyrotechnics in comparison with which the virtuosities of concert performers are mere rushlights. Next morning, when you read your paper, you

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realised that you had broken into the middle of some Liszt-like but purely English rhapsody, that the Great Man had stopped in the middle of his soaring octaves, suspended his performance to listen to your futilities, bowed you out, and resumed his passage at the demisemiquaver of his leaving off."—*Hamish Hamilton*, 1935, p. 45.

XI

I have mentioned the name of H. W. Massingham. my mind he was the greatest journalist that Eng- d has ever produced, the like of him we shall never again. His fondness for literature was a by-word ong his colleagues. As for his prose style mere words not describe its matchless beauty : the panting pen s after it in vain. About his sense of literature his eague, the late Mr. H. W. Nevinson, tells us :

"As I said, the creation and steady maintenance of the literary page on the old *Chronicle*, and of the strong literary side upon the *Nation*, so long as he remained editor, were characteristic. He never tolerated the fashionable separation of literature, or of any other form of art from actual daily life. His mind was keenly alive to beauty in nature, in pictorial art, in the drama, and especially in literature ; but he detested the conception of an exclusive and cloistered beauty as a peculiar privilege of aesthetic and literary circles."—*H.W.M.*, Cape, 1929, p. 154.

XII

I have written enough to indicate how a journalist is the better for at least a modicum of scholarship. All the great figures of English journalism were scholars, at any rate to a larger extent than we in our hapless country have any idea of. The journalist who comes to his profession *via* literature is any day bound to be head and shoulders above the journalist who comes *via* something else. Even when writing on the sterling balances or on that fantastic "Plan" to which Lord Mountbatten has given his august name a sense of literature never comes amiss. The share that the world's masterpieces have on that queerest of all trades, journalism, is incalculable. It is not the extent of one's knowledge that is the criterion but the wise assimilation of the little that one has contrived, in a busy life, to amass. It is not necessary to be a walking encyclopaedia. The gist of the matter was put by Milton thus :

" . . . . Who reads
Incessantly and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior
(And what he brings, what need he elsewhere seek ?)
Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
Deep-versed in books and shallow in himself."

——:O:——

ENCROACHMENTS ON PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY IN THE NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

By Prof. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt.,
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is the Government of India Act of 1935 that for the t time definitely laid the foundation of federation India and for the first time in our history, we ked and enjoyed 'Provincial Autonomy' during the ten years (1937-1947). Provincial autonomy and eration mean that the provinces or the constituting s would enjoy complete self-government within the me-work of the constitution, that is with regard to ain subjects that are specifically allotted to the inces. In technical language, federation would gnise the splitting up of the sovereign power ween the Centre and the Units, each being entirely al to and entirely independent of the other in their ective spheres. Whatever might be the merits or erits of this type of government, Indians have pted this since 1937 and worked it enthusiastically the last ten years and even zealously fought for it enever the Centre tried to interfere with it. (The st notable case was when the Premiers of U. P. and r threatened to resign when the Centre tried to erfere on the question of the release of detenus 1938).

Having seen the taste of such autonomy, the people India are now expecting only a sort of a federal ernment for India. This was the principle accepted the Constituent Assembly and we expected the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly to keep 'Provincial Autonomy' safe while framing the new constitution. But unfortunately the Drafting Committee have not cared to bear it in mind, and, wittingly or unwittingly, they have produced a constitution that would give the Centre ample power to interfere in provincial matters, so much that the right of the people of the province to rule themselves according to their own wish within their sphere and by an executive of their own choice has been completely taken away from them. I want to give a few such instances with the hope that it will attract the attention of the members of the Constituent Assembly.

Such encroachments on Provincial Autonomy could be seen in the following instances and articles :

(*i*) The name of the State.
(*ii*) Selection of the Governor.
(*iii*) Declaration of the 'Emergency' by the Governor.
(*iv*) Impeachment of the Governor.
(*v*) Amendments to provincial constitution.

THE NAME

Article One of the Draft Constitution says that "India shall be a Union of States." The Draft Committee assure us that there is nothing in the name and it does not in any way interfere with India being a federation. But if there is nothing in the name at all

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why suggest a suggestive name and tell us it means nothing. From the general comments made in the Press on the Draft Constitution, the intention of the Committee seems to suggest that India should have a strong centre. Now among the federations of the world, some are strong and some are weak, in the sense that in a strong federation the bonds of union are tight and inelastic, *i.e.*, the respective spheres of activity are rigidly laid down without any possibility of encroachment by either, any dispute about the interpretation of any point being left to be decided by the Courts. In such a category come the United States of America and the Commonwealth of Australia. Among the weaker federations could be mentioned the Union of Canada and the U.S.S.R., if the latter could be called a federation. Another feature of a strong federation is that the residuary powers should be left with the units as it is done in the U.S.A. In Canada the residuary powers are vested in the Centre. Is it an accident that where the units are weak when compared with the Centre, the country is called a Union? The residuary power in India vests with the Union.

The Selection of the Governor

Article 131 of the Draft Constitution prescribes the way the Provincial Governor should be selected. Either—there is an option here—he is elected by the adult voters of the province directly, or he is appointed by the President of the Indian Union from among a panel of four candidates elected by the Provincial legislature by proportional representation with a single transferable vote. In either case the Governor need not belong to the province itself, it is enough he is a citizen of India and otherwise not disqualified. The Governor is the chief executive of the province and all acts of the government shall be carried out in his name, though, except when he could act under his discretion, he is to be guided by the advice and aid of a cabinet of ministers. The Governor, though the authors of the 'model constitution for the provinces' (a sub-committee of the Constituent Assembly with some of the Provincial ministers as members) intended to be a mere 'nominal' or 'constitutional Governor' like the English King or the French President, has certain powers with regard to some 'emergency' situations and tribal areas. That he could be an outsider to the province, and, if the second alternative is accepted, that he could be indirectly elected and then selected by the President, is the first encroachment on provincial autonomy. Why not make the provision that the Governor should belong to the province itself. The authors of the original scheme suggested that an outsider would be impartial; but would he not be indifferent also? Another suggestion was that, though the provision was there, the adult voters of the province would not ordinarily elect an outsider, nor the members of the legislature. But this is not a safeguard. If a central party in power selects a name for the Governorship and the province does not elect him, there might be all sorts of troubles for the province, as evidenced by the experience of Madras when Prakasam was elected Premier against the advice of the Congress High Command.

If the Governor is really a 'nominal' one, then it does not matter if he is an outsider or not. But the Governor in the future constitution is not at all nominal. He is the watch-dog of the provincial peace and tranquillity and when 'a grave emergency' arises he has to act promptly and, in this connection, he has sweeping powers, as we shall see presently. There are three kinds of nominal executives in this world today. One is the hereditary king of England who remains nominal by historical necessity and expediency. The second is the Governor-General of the Dominions appointed by the King of England and made nominal by law. Another is the elected (by the legislature) President of France who is also made nominal by law. He is given no powers and, though the Government is carried on in his name, every decree of his should be counter-signed by the concerned minister. Now the Indian Provincial Governor is not nominal in this respect and that is the real beginning of all trouble. Hence it is that he should be a citizen of the province and should be chosen by the province itself. Why should, if the alternative is accepted, the nominal and indirectly-chosen President of India have any power to select the Provincial Governor? This is not democracy.

'Emergency' Powers

Now let us see the provisions relating to 'emergencies'. Article 188 of the Draft Constitution says as follows:

> "If at any time the Governor of a State (the provinces are also called states in the new Constitution) is satisfied that a grave emergency has arisen which threatens the peace and tranquillity of a state and that it is not possible to carry on the Government of the State in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, he may, by proclamation, declare that his function shall, to such extent as may be specified in the proclamation, be exercised by him in his discretion, and any such proclamation including provisions for suspending in whole or in part the operation of any provisions of this constitution relating to any body or authority in the State.
>
> Provided that nothing in this clause shall authorise the Governor to suspend either in whole or in part the operation of any provision of this constitution relating to High Courts.
>
> (2) The proclamation shall be forthwith communicated by the Governor to the President who may, thereupon, either revoke the proclamation or take such action as he considers appropriate in excercise of the emergency powers vested in him under Article 278 of this constitution.
>
> (3) A proclamation under this article shall cease to operate at the expiration of two weeks unless revoked earlier by the Governor or by the President by public notification.
>
> (4) The functions of the Governor under this Article shall be excercised by him in his discretion."

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We do not know what kind of 'emergency' the ors of the original 'model' constitution had in r mind when they gave this power to the ernor which they ordinarily hope to be revoked in two weeks. This Article is the counterpart of ion 93 of the Government of India Act 1935; and s left to the discretion of the Governor to declare 'emergency.' We are familiar with the abuse of 93 in India so far. In a democracy and under pendence, we cannot imagine a situation when majority would have refused to shoulder power form a cabinet, the only contingency which was er contemplation when Sec. 93 was added to the 5 Act. It would be impossible to imagine a mal situation that would compel the Governor to this Article, but that is not my point here. My t is that when he uses that power under his cretion', he is made responsible to the President the Union. One may say that this is a safeguard inst the misuse of power by the Governor but might also lead to abuses under certain circumces similar to those that existed in the N.-W. F. vince after the 15th of August, 1947. Suppose the ernor and the President happen to belong to one ty and the majority in the Provincial legislature pen to belong to another. Will it not give ample er to the Governor to coerce the majority in the embly?

Unfortunately the future of the party position in lia gives enough scope to the Governor to play chief. I visualise a situation in certain provinces, ecially those with more than one provincial lange to have many parties in the Assemblies, with party having a clean majority. So the Governor ld easily take advantage of this fluid position and h the help of the so-called 'independent' or unached members make or unmake ministries accordto his own convenience, as it happened in Sind Bengal many times. But my main question is y should the Centre have any power to interfere provincial politics? If the normal constitution fails, re is ample provision in the Draft for the Governor act. If the crisis is a minor one, he can dismiss Ministry and appoint another and face the legisla-, or, if the crisis is a major one, he can dissolve Assembly and order fresh elections, in a demoy. The electors are the final arbiters in such a tter. It is their business to select their provincial ecutive; but, instead of recognising their final and vereign power, the authors have given that power the President of the Union, who is another minal' institution that is indirectly elected. And at happens to the province if the President agrees th the Governor is covered by Article 278 of the aft by which the President may assume to himself powers of the Governor and the Ministers and Parliament (the legislature of the Union) may ume the powers of the provincial legislature. With s the picture is complete and any party that has a majority in the Centre can easily coerce a Provincial Ministry run by any other party. Even if this may not be normally used, this is a mischievous contingency which we have to reckon with under conditions like those existing in the N.-W.F. Province after partition as I stated earlier. This reduces Provincial autonomy to a farce. Of course, it is true that there is no provision in the Draft for the President to take the initiative in the matter, but the authors welcome a Governor who does not belong to the majority party in the Assembly and then give him this power so that he would himself be interested in taking an initiative. It is ridiculous that under any conditions a province should be administered by the President and the Parliament and this should be remedied by the Constituent Assembly.

Impeachment

Suppose a Governor misuses his powers and resorts to emergency powers and so on, the Draft provides for impeachment of the Governor for violation of the constitution. It is the business of the legislature to judge whether the Governor has violated the Constitution or not. Article 137 deals with this problem and it runs as follows :

> Art. 137 (1) When a Governor is to be impeached for violation of the constitution the charge shall be preferred by the Legislative Assembly of the State.
>
> (2) No such charge shall be preferred unless—
>
> *a.* the proposal to prefer such a charge is contained in a resolution which has been moved after a notice in writing signed by not less than thirty members of the Assembly has been given of their intention to move the resolution, and
>
> *b.* the resolution has been supported by not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the Assembly.
>
> (3) When a charge has been so preferred, the speaker of the Assembly shall inform the Chairman of the Council of States and thereupon the Council of States shall appoint a Committee which may consist or include persons who are not members of the Council, to investigate the charge and the Governor shall have the right to appear and to be represented at such investigation.

Look at the cumbersomeness of the procedure and the delay that might be caused. Dirty linen is washed in public at least three times during the process, first before the Assembly presumably by the Ministers, and next before the Council of States (who washes there is not known and also is not known whether such a resolution passed before by the Assembly should make the Council of States automatically to appoint an enquiry committee or the Council will again sit in judgement) and before the final committee. Nobody suggests that an impeachment should be a cheap one and should be resorted to as often as the Ministers and the Governor quarrel ; but, if it is found that the Governor is really violating the constitution, some effective remedy that will act as early as possible is required, because, otherwise as it is, it is not likely that

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any impeachment proceedings would be finished before the lifetime of a Governor. Again the question of violating the constitution is a legal matter that deserves to be examined by a committee of legal experts, but our Draft Constitution has made it a political matter throughout, unless the Council of States is wise enough to appoint a few legal experts on the committee. Why not refer the matter to the Supreme Court and, if necessary, appoint a few jurors also for the hearing?

Another question which is much more of importance for us now is why bring in the Council of States? The Council of States in India by no means corresponds to the Senate in America, nor does it possess the powers and functions of that body. To what extent the Governor of a province has violated the constitution is a matter in which primarily the province alone is interested, and as long as the Governor has got at least one more than a third of the members of his party in the Assembly, he need not be afraid of any impeachment at all! I will picture to you some circumstances and you tell me what yau can do if you are the chief minister of a province. There is a Governor in a province appointed by the President of the Union and the Governor has a third of the members of the House belonging to his own party. Now he begins behaving in an unconstitutional manner with a view to end the ministry and bring his own party to power. Now what will you do to remedy the situation? The Chief Minister cannot go to court as under the constitution whatever advice he gives to the Governor or whether the Governor is acting accordingly or not is not matter for the courts to investigate. Look at Article 143 which runs as follows:

(1) There shall be a council of ministers with the chief minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under this constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion.

(2) If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter as respects which the Governor is by or under this constitution required to act in his discretion, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in his discretion.

(3) The question whether any and if so what advice was tendered by ministers to the Governor shall not be enquired into by any court.

Clauses 2 and 3 are copied from the Government of India Act 1935. They were incorporated there in the 1935 Act by an alien government ruling over India to strengthen the hands of its Governor, who was endowed with extraordinary powers and 'special responsibilities' against a popular ministry hostile to the Governor. Our Governor now is not an alien nor has he any 'special responsibilities.' Then why blindly copy these provisions from the 1935 Act? A straight enunciation of the functions of the Governor 'in his discretion' (which should be as few as possible and should be the normal constitutional requirements like the appointment of a ministry and its dismissal, etc.) and provision of a constitutional requirement that every other decree of the Governor should contain the countersignature of the concerned minister as in France, or the chief minister, would be a better arrangement than give the Governor ample discretion to act 'in his discretion' and then make it impossible for any court to sit in judgment.

What is, then, the constitutional remedy for the Chief Minister of a province if the Governor exceeds the provisions of the constitution? He cannot go to a court nor can he think of impeachment. Now impeachment is not a normal remedy and should not be resorted to ordinarily. And again for a sufficient case to be made up the cup of sin must be filled sufficiently, *i.e.,* the Governor should have violated the constitution many times. This means that the Governor could easily over-ride the ministers in some cases till his cup is full, and, even then, he is safe if by doing so he is pleasing more than a third of the disgruntled members of the Assembly. Even if the Chief Minister is able to cross over these hurdles, then he has to please the Council of States who also should be satisfied with his case. We do not know who represents the case of the Chief Minister in the Council of States and who the case of the Governor. But there is every likelihood of the Council of States taking a different view, either on grounds of indifference (as provincial matters, specially of small provinces, may not evince much interest to the Council) or on political grounds. If that hurdle also is crossed, then comes the final enquiry, and meanwhile either the term of the Governor is over, or that of the Ministry, and again meanwhile the Governor could have done enough mischief.

The truth is that it is dangerous to give so much discretion and emergency power to the Governor, make it impossible for a Court to enquire and make a puppet second chamber of India to sit in judgment whether a committee should or should not be appointed! The best and democratic way is different. In a real democracy it is the people of the province that should decide whether they want the Governor or the Chief Minister if there is a tussle between them, and so the appeal from the Assembly should be to the voters of the province but not to the Council of States. The Drafting Committee have not taken into consideration such democratic devices as the initiative and the referendum. The Draft creates a dual executive in the province in the Governor and the Chief Minister and also a number of opportunities for quarrel between an undemocratic and ambitious Governor and a powerful Chief Minister with a majority in the Assembly, and, if there is a real tussle for power between them for leadership and differences soon arise, the sooner one is removed the better and option to choose between them should be left to the people of the province and to nobody else.

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Amendment

In a real federation based upon democracy, the ple of a federating unit have full sovereignty as far the provincial sphere is concerned, and, as such, y should have the full power to decide the way y would like to rule over themselves. Article 304 of Draft Constitution deals with the problem of ending the constitution and provides the following :

i. Where the question of amending the constitution of India or the provinces as far as the Executive and the Legislature is concerned, the passing of the amendment in the parliament is enough.

ii. If it is a question that involves the allocation of subjects between the provinces and the centre, or the representation of the provinces or States in the Parliament, or the powers of the Supreme Court, the amendment should be passed, in addition, in at least a half of provincial legislatures and a third of the Chief Commissioners' provinces.

iii. Where the question of only the method of choosing a Governor is concerned or the number of houses of legislature, an amendment could emanate in the province and then it should be passed by the Indian Parliament.

Here again there is an encroachment on provincial tonomy. Why should the Centre have the right to end the constitution relating to the provinces ? One y say that it is to ensure uniformity. Now there is special advantage in having a uniform constitution the whole of the Indian provinces. We have ready reconciled ourselves to three kinds of 'States' the Drafting Committee call all the units of the deration,—to what are now called Governor's provinces, Indian States, and the Chief Commissioners' vinces and a fourth one if their suggestion for the le of the merging states is accepted. The Constitutions the Indian States are not uniform and not subject the will of the Indian Parliament. Why should there uniformity among the provinces. Suppose the people a province are dissatisfied with this cabinet system government (where there cannot be a stable ministry want of clear majority as in France) they should ve the power to amend their constitution within the neral framework to suit their purpose ,to choose the nerican presidential type or the Swiss federal type. any case it is better to leave it to them as it is they at feel the inconvenience of a bad constitution.

Again the Draft Constitution is not clear if the rliament could amend the constitution of the provinces or not on its own initiative and, more important an that, if the Parliament could initiate amendment the constitution of any single province. If the provision is so sweeping, and there is nothing to prevent from interpreting it so, then it means complete bordination of the province to the Centre which is ain undemocratic and 'unfederal,' if I may call it so. ain it may be used to coerce 'rebel' provinces.

Conclusion

I have come to the end of my article. I have tried to prove here that the Centre has been given too many over-riding powers over the provinces and provincial autonomy has been encroached upon in many respects. I agree that there should be 'checks' and 'balances' in a constitution, but the Drafting Committee have tried to get them from the wrong direction. The proper check and final arbiters in any constitutional matter are the voters. Instead of looking in that direction, the Drafting Committee are looking in the direction of the Centre which is a negation of the principles of democracy and federation. Such encroachments on the spheres of the provinces by the Centre, though normally intended to cover extraordinary situations, might also be used for political ends and that is a contingency which we cannot ignore, for, after all, morality and politics do not always go together. I do not for a moment deny that India should have a strong Centre or that it should not have the power to make the provinces follow its policy in extraordinary situations like war, etc. But for these purposes we can make other constitutional provisions. Already the Seventh Schedule (the schedule dealing with the list of Provincial and Central subjects) is strongly in favour of the Centre and there is also the provision that the Centre could declare an emergency. That is enough for an emergency. But under normal circumstances, and within the limited and clearly defined provincial sphere, the Centre should not have any voice. There is no justification for it and it is undemocratic.

My careful study of the working of Provincial autonomy in India under the Act of 1935 and the study of the Draft Constitution in the light of that makes me suggest the following to be incorporated in our future constitution:

i. The Governor to be elected by the majority of the Legislature. He should have no 'special responsibilities' and his powers 'in his discretion' should be limited to the normal constitutional requirements like the appointment of Chief Minister, etc., on strict democratic lines.

ii. The Governor could be recalled by the people on the initiative of the legislature.

iii. The emergency powers should be used by the Governor for only a short period to enable him to dissolve the Assembly and appoint a fresh Ministry. The appeal should therefore be to the Provincial voters and Article 278 that gives powers to the President and the Parliament to assume control over the Province should completely be dropped. Excepting this and other of the limited discretionary powers, every other act of the Governor should be countersigned by the Chief Minister.

iv. The Centre should not have the power to amend the Provincial constitutions without their consent and in pure provincial spheres, every province should have the power to amend the constitution by direct democratic devices like the intiative and referendum.

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COMMUNISM IN MALAYA

A Menace to Indian Labour

By Dr. C. SIVA RAMA SASTRY,
Ex-Medical Officer, Congress Medical Mission to Malaya

The Present Situation

A wave of unprecedented indulgence in murder and loot by politically inspired terrorists has created a new situation in Malaya. The terrorists are believed to be Chinese communists exclusively. Perak and Johore areas are the worst affected by these gangs. The total number of murders of businessmen (Chinese) and estate managers (British) has mounted up to over twenty since the beginning of May.

Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South East Asia, has stated that international communism is playing an important part in this unrest. From what I studied at close quarters, I have no reason to disbelieve his statement.

Mr. Creech Jones, the present British Colonial Secretary, stated in the House of Commons on the 16th of June, 1948 that the Colonial Office was considering the use of troops to restore order in Malaya.

To combat what is described by the police as 'Chinese gangster members of a communist strong Arm-Corps, out to destroy the rubber and tin industries,' Sir Edward Gent, the British High Commissioner, has granted to the local authorities very extensive and arbitrary powers. What is the background for all this explosive situation? How far does it affect Indians in Malaya?

Though Indians have no hand in any of these crimes, it is unlikely that the Indian labour can escape the dire consequences that will follow the closure of plantations in Malaya which is inevitable if terrorism continues.

Indian Labour hit most by Communists

Of the 7½ lakhs of Malayan Indians, 3½ lakhs are engaged as rubber tappers. Many others are working as wage-earning labourers in plantations and mines. In September, 1946, I brought it to the notice of the Government as well as to the A.-I.C.C. the impending communist menace to Indians in Malaya.

The Indian labour did not yet fall by then into the communist trap. The reasons were not far to seek. Communists were controlling the better organised Chinese labour. On several occasions previously, these Chinese Communists dragged the Indian labour into strikes and managed to dump Chinese labour in their place at the most opportune moment. Further, most of the Indian workers were I. N. A. sympathisers and would not give up their nationalist sentiments. The Indian labour soon started to organise themselves into separate Indian trade unions. Thereupon the communists tried new tactics. This time they tried to buy off the Indian labour leaders with bribes, failing which they even wanted to use any force to win them over. If the communists did not actually harass by force any of the Indian labour leaders successfully, it was because of the fear of any possible reactions by the Indian labourers.

There were still many Indian labour leaders with character who believed in compromise as the bliss of life. They used to organise strikes, where inevitable, and whenever these people settled strikes amicably and justly, taking into consideration the investments, returns, produce and other factors, the communists used to dub these people as the agents of the British planters and instigate the Indian labourers to finish them off. The labourers are illiterate and are apt to believe this.

To the communist, conflict and not compromise is the basis of life. He does not care whether the immediate annihilation of his own people and that of his own State takes place. If all States die, and Russia alone lives, world communism will be a reality and he will be happy. Every word and action of his is tuned to the foreign policy of Russia and the every principle of Stalinism for export are planned for this purpose.

The communists hitherto hoped to bring about revolution by making labour demand wages beyond the means of capital to pay. Now they seem to have chalked out a new plan. Murder of industrialists and businessmen and the consequent effects of terrorism are the surest and the easiest ways of creating anarchy and chaos. Out of anarchy and chaos, the communists hope to wade through to power. They must be made to realise that crime does not pay.

General Conditions in Malaya

In Malaya most of the agriculture is industrialised. This capitalisation of agriculture is a step preceding socialism (of the Russian brand) according to Stalinism. Fragmentation is uneconomical from labour's point of view. The murder of managers and businessmen will mean closure of the estates with the consequent unemployment of millions of labourers.

Further, the future of rubber is very shaky in view of the development of the synthetic stuff. Plantations and mines in Malaya require huge sums for remodelling so that they may recover completely from war damage. Malaya is entirely dependent upon foreign imports for the supply of foodstuff, clothes and other basic amenities of life. Any dislocation of the economic life of Malaya at this stage will bring about untold miseries not only to the industrialists but also to the common men, if Malaya fails to produce more.

Every planter knows that the Indian labour wedded as it is to ethics and morality, has no hand in the ugly gangsterism now prevalent in Malaya, yet it will be the lakhs of Indian labourers alone that will be wiped out first, if the plantations are closed and business comes to a standstill. The communists (Chinese mostly) will be safe. It is high time labour

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organised on a sound basis to save itself from the tches of international communism.

IGHT-WING EXTREMISM RESPONSIBLE FOR LEFT REACTION

Capital tends to squeeze. The European planters ould have been more liberal after war than what ey were before. Several regional planters' associa- ons unanimously passed resolutions to starve and bdue labour by prolonged lockouts where labour ught for the redress of their grievances. Labour did ve serious grievances. Where appeal to reason and rplay fails, labour will have no other alternative n to go on strike. The remedy for this is liberalism the part of planters and not vindictive antagonism. e niggardly attitude of the planters drove labour o the other extreme. Ever since Lord Mount- tten left Malaya as a Supremo, the administration Malaya fell into the hands of the most sinister ht-wing rulers. Neither Mr. Gent nor Mr. Mac- nald are the persons capable enough to view labour evances dispassionately and with sympathy. In June I received a letter from a lady controlling over enty thousand labourers in Perak area stating that labour policy of the Government was disruptive the labour organisations in Malaya. Disrupted by Government and oppressed by capitalists, labour, educated as it is, is very likely to fall an easy y to the unscrupulous communist propaganda.

The Chinese labour has already fallen into com- nist hands. The Indian labour would have escaped can still escape if it is allowed to organise on a sound basis. The Indian political leaders are mostly the agents of Malayan Indian Chettiars. These Chettiars joined hands with the European planters to declare lockouts in isolated estates and starve labour if they demanded anything. As a rule the amenities offered by Chettiars to Indian labourers are less than those granted by other planters. They even planned to press the Indian Government to repatriate Indian labour so much so that the commercial interests are the exclusive Indian interests in Malaya. The Malayan Indian Congress, whose founder-president is today the Indian Representative in Malaya, is the *defacto* organisation of the commercial elements of Malaya. The Malayan Indian labour could not find either in this man or in other local Indian leaders people whom they can count as friends and guides.

THE PATH OF SAFETY

The path of safety for an Indian labourer lies in moderation and compromise and not in conflict and chaos. If Indian labour is allowed to drift with the wind, it is no use to repent at leisure for the dire consequences that will threaten his very existence.

The British Government must replace Macdonald with a more liberally minded man. The India Govern- ment must appoint a liberally minded man as its Representative in Malaya, one who can win the confidence of labour and lead them in the right path.

Malaya requires as no other colony does a group of trade union workers to organise its labour on sound lines. Will the socialists take up their cause?

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THE PARTITION OF GERMANY

By SUBRATA ROY CHOWDHURY, M.A. (CAL.), B.A. (CANTAB), BARRISTER-AT-LAW

the Crimea and Berlin Conferences that were d in 1945, the Allied Nations in their exuberance triumphant victory displayed a remarkable degree unanimity that has since ebbed, disappointing tions. Broadly speaking their German policy was bodied in four "D"s—demobilization, disarmament, azification and deindustrialization. Since then a ildering mass of conferences have been held in s, Moscow and London, but each one ended in a dlock. Eventually on December 16, 1947, there e from London the big news of the final parting ays between the East and West. The division Germany became an accomplished fact. It is on basis that the occupying authorities of the onia—the U.S.A., British and the French—along the Benelux Powers, have lately agreed in don on the creation of a state in Western Ger- y, which is destined to play a decisive role in the nomic rehabilitation of Western Europe.

Ever since this tragic failure of the Russians and ericans to agree, the ordinary man in Europe, as where, has been dismayed at the disquieting ver of vituperation and vilification, bickerings and recriminations, undignified abuse and bellicose propa- ganda, that are too frequently hailing from responsible sources in Moscow and Washington. Both sides are to share the blame. Marshall has obstinately refused a fair deal to Molotov in his reparation demands—the principle of which Roosevelt had so generously con- ceded. Molotov, on the other hand, would not budge an inch to make reparation removals compatible with the economic revival of Germany. Anyone ideologically separated from a Communist or fellow-traveller, even though a staunch anti-Nazi, and inclined towards democratic Socialism, is marked out in Russian eyes as a dangerous Fascist, and hence his liquidation is the indispensable price for Russian co-operation for a United Germany. The Americans have reacted equally violently and are bent on shielding a Govern- ment of the right, led by the Christian Democratic Union, which is avowedly capitalist in outlook, and inspired by the near-Fascist industrial bourgeoisie of Germany. Schumacher's Social Democrats who predo- minate in the British Zone are too impotent to change American policy which, as it appears, will eventually prevail over the Trizonia.

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Barring the resurgence of a militant Germany is admittedly the declared aim of all the occupying Powers. But the gulf is widening every day between what is professed and what is performed. Four major symptoms are already visible which seem to indicate that once more in European history, German militancy may throw a menacing challenge to human civilization. These are, failure of the re-education programme, discarding the plan for decentralization, and survival of an industrial potential far in excess of peace-time needs, unchanged pattern of business ownership and the constitutional shape of the West German State.

Re-education in democratic ways is only a make-believe slogan, and rather more apparent than real. Drastic economic reforms in the Russian zone have made the path towards socialism an easy one, but it is socialism without democracy, as one pattern of totalitarian regime is being replaced by another. There has been no appreciable changes in the psychological set-up of the Germans in the Western Zones, and it is the experience of many recent visitors that the average man there still remains a Nazi at heart. What Hitler taught for years went deep into his mind, and a few splashes of democratic white-wash will not help him in his political re-birth. He now feels he has to play the role of a major partner in the Allied Camp, in case there is an armed conflict with the Soviet Union. This eggs on his military instinct, and that is a task after his heart's desire, for which he does not require much persuasion. He therefore asks for *quid pro quo*. The semi-official document prepared by Senator Harmssen for circulation in the Western Zones contains an emphatic assertion that the Germans are already being unjustly treated and that, as a matter of right, they should not pay reparations. This is the same tune as piped in *Mein Kempf*, and little Hitlers, obstinate, arrogant and entirely unrepentant, are just biding their times.

There survives in Germany an industrial potential far in excess of peace-time needs. The popular impression that the country is so devastated that she will take many years before she can reach her peace-time production level is not true. This is what Mr. Jacques Rueff, President of Inter-Allied Reparations Agency, observed, "The over-industrialization of Germany for military purposes has created conditions in which, despite destruction and the exceptional wear-and-tear of war, there remains an industrial potential which in any case and no matter what may be the outcome of the present controversies, is vastly superior to the requirements of peace-time economy." The U.S.A. is bent on building up a strong industrialized Germany that will, on the one hand, help to check the Westward offensive of Russian Communism, and on the other, act as integral part in the economic recovery and military planning of Western Europe. This will, of course, augment American business prospects and has therefore obtained the blessings of John Fosler Dulles, the big brain behind the State Department. What is commonly known as Dullesization of Germany really means a programme of thorough rehabilitation of the Ruhr industries, so faultlessly thorough that even the French have started quaking in their shoes at the thought of its dangerous inplications. The French are aware of what happened under Dawesization of Germany when, at the end of World War I, American, British and Dutch capital poured in to strengthen the German monopolies and international cartels which served as massive pillars of Hitler's regime. The political motive is now, as it was then, the creation of an anti-Russian front.

It seems therefore that there is no room for surprise that in the Bizonia, one of the agreed D's—deindustrialization—has been silently dropped. Many of the war plants scheduled in 1946 for immediate destruction have been preserved. Even the reduced dismantling plan is almost abandoned although, in Eastern Germany, the Russians have carried it out pretty thoroughly. Western Germany has a population of 45 millions as against 17 millions in the East. In the West are concentrated 86 p.c. of German steel, 80 p.c. of her coal and 61 p.c. of industrial production. The industrial resources of this part are only second to that of Britain in Europe, and it is mainly here and not in the Russian Zone, that one shall locate the potential danger of revival of a militant Germany.

The French have already given way on practically every issue. They wanted separation of Ruhr and Rhineland from Germany. This was not conceded. They asked for international control of the chief industries of the Ruhr. Here again they were disappointed. Now they are pressed by the U. S. to give up the idea even of an adequate control over the distribution of the Ruhr's output, except perhaps the allocation of exports of coal, coke and steel, and this takes away, as the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* observed, the last guarantee that the greatest industrial area in Europe shall not again become the anvil on which is forged a new aggressive German war machine.

International control of the Ruhr is meaningless without establishing a sort of balance of power inside the coal-iron-steel area of Western Europe, as suggested by Andre Geraud, which alone can take away German monopoly and equally distribute the productive power between interested countries in the West. The Germans will probably lose a number of blast furnaces and steel mills, but then, should they really need more steel for legitimate purposes, they can always get it from their neighbours. One great merit of this scheme is that it makes effective provision for international control of German industrial resources without however retarding economic recovery of Western Europe. This is not acceptable to the Americans and the French cannot be blamed if they smell a rat in dollar-financed rehabilitation of war

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otential of the Ruhr. I gathered the impression of eir extreme uneasiness when I visited Paris last year.

The old pattern of ownership is still there in Western Germany. It is true that North German eel Control is decartelised. In other words, twenty mpanies have been detached from the parent steel ion. But individual ownership still remains private d there is hardly any bar for them to recartelise ce there is a little slackness in Allied pressure. oreover, German assets abroad have been veiled d protected in order that the vested private terests may remain intact. It seems therefore that evin does not really mean what he says about cializing heavy industries in the Ruhr. The situation it prevails has been well depicted by the special rrespondent of the *New Statesman and Nation,* Heavy industrialists and financiers served in the ghest posts of Hitler's Germany. They ran the untry, they owned the State. In Western Germany day it is not a great exaggeration to say that they r their strawmen) still own the state. The only ference is that they are not running it yet. Or not ite."

The constitutional shape of the West German ate is a matter upon which every Frenchman I me across held a strong view. In the interest of eir security the French are desperately trying for loose federation of separatist and semi-independent nders (Provinces or States) with a Centre holding e minimum of powers. It is their intention to pre- nt the Germans from waging another war—even ough a war that it may again lose. The Americans, wever, believe that economic progress is impossible unless there is a fairly strong Central Government within the federal structure of the new State, and they are inclined to dismiss French apprehension as 'hyper-sensitive' in the same way as Lloyd George did after the end of the First World War. This is broadly speaking also the British view. The problem no doubt is one of degree, as the *London Times* recently observed, "An endowment of the Germans with full authority would risk the early emergence of persons and policies that belong to the heritage of Hitler; the stinting of authority beyond the point at which the Germans feel themselves genuinely responsible for Self-government can only ensure lassitude and inefficiency."

From September 1, the Constituent Assembly of the projected West German State is expected to commence its function. An occupation Statute is likely to be introduced which will provide for Allied control in matters of defence and foreign policy. Be that as it may, the Russians have cleverly contrived to throw the burden of dividing Germany on to the shoulders of America and Britain. The Soviet-sponsored Peoples' Congress has already launched its unity campaign which in all probablity will stir the imagination of the vanquished Germans. The Russians are also in a position to put unbearable pressure on the Western Powers to quit Berlin. They will probably make Berlin the seat of their 'real' German Government with powers actually confined to the East, but with an eye towards the West. Anyway, it is hard to believe that the political technique of partition which nowhere has worked satisfactorily will succeed in the case of Germany.

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NOTES ON THE MASANJORE DAM

By GOPIKABILAS SEN

he Masanjore Dam forms a part of the proposed r Project. For some reason or other, the execution the Project seems to have been held up for some e. There are however certain facts relating to the a in question which the public should know, so t they can realise why the work should be under- en at the earliest opportunity.

The facts presented below will prove that the rtion of the Santal Parganas which will be involved, the Project is undertaken, is economically tied e closely with Birbhum than with the northern ricts of Bihar which lie adjacent to it. The per- s of Belpata, Muhammadabad or Karaya-Kunda- have very close trade as well as social relations the district of Birbhum. This is true particularly the original inhabitants of the area and not of the tals, who are immigrants. The language of this ticular region has been classified as a dialect of tern Bengali by Grierson himself. Historically too, area under review formed part of the territory of Pathan Rajas of Birbhum, and was only torn from the District for administrative reasons after the rising of 1855.

The present trouble due to which the Project is being delayed seems to be due to the fear that if a region which is now under the administration of Bihar prospers by association with Bengal, then the latter Province may one day claim the area as its own. The present writer is however interested in showing that, whoever may rule over the land in the present or in the future, there are various urgent reasons why the work should be executed as early as possible. Then Birbhum will prosper, (not at the expense of anyone else); and at the same time, the contiguous area in Bihar will share in that prosperity, as it is already sharing in the economy of the former district.

Origin of the Santal Parganas

1. The first thing to note about the Santal Parganas is that it is not their Pargana; they are neither the original inhabitants of the district that today bears their name nor do they constitute the majority of the population there even now. In the

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District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (Edited by Mr. O'Malley, 1910) it is written :

"The Santals seem to have settled first in the district between 1790 and 1810, having made their way northwards from Birbhum where they had been brought in to clear jungle and drive out the wild beasts which then infested the country. The exact date at which the first body of immigrants came is not known, but the unpublished manuscript of Buchanan Hamilton shows that a number of them had settled in the Dumka Subdivision by 1819. . . . Between 1815 and 1830 there appears to have been a further advance of the Santals. In 1818, Mr. Sutherland found them busy clearing the forests below the hills in the Godda Subdivision ; in 1827, Mr. Ward noticed that they had settled in the extreme north of the Subdivision ; while a report of Mr. Dunbar, Collector of Bhagalpur, shows that by 1836 no less than 427 villages had been established in the Damin-i-Koh 'inhabited by Santals and Bhuyas but chiefly by the former.' Under the administration of Mr. Pontet, who was directed to give them every encouragement in clearing jungle, the Santals spread far and wide without much opposition from the idle Paharias, and even penetrated to the Burhait Valley in the heart of the Rajmahal Hills."

The aforementioned Mr. Ward wrote :

"There are within this described line two or three villages established by the race of people called Santars. These people are natives of Singbhoom and adjacent country ; their habits and customs are singular ; they are of no caste, extremely hardy and industrious, and are upon the whole considered an extraordinary race of beings. They emigrate from their own country to those districts which are known to abound most in forests, and where they are welcomed by the zamindars who invite them to settle. From choice they select the most wild spots, and so great is their predilection for the wildest places, that they are seldom known to remain at one station longer than it takes to clear and bring it into cultivation."

The migratory habit of the Santals is noted in the *District Gazetteer* :

"The tribe is still spreading east and north, and the full effect of the movement is not exhausted in the districts that adjoin the Santal Parganas, but makes itself felt even further away in those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda the elevated tract of semi-laterite known as the Barind. Dinajpur alone contains more than 48,000 persons born in the Santal Parganas, and Rajshahi and Bogra more than 8,000."

Mr. Carstairs who was Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas from 1886 to 1899, in his memoirs entitled *The Little World of an Indian District Officer*, writes thus of the Santals :

"But what of the Santhals ? Where were they ? That is the wonderful part of the story. So far as we know, at the time of the Permanent Settlement there was not a single Sonthal in the whole of this [illegible] Bhunyas, Khetowries, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Highlanders—yes, but Sonthals—no."

But even after the great migration, the Santals did not at any time form a majority of the population of the district. In 1901, they were only 36·6 per cent of the population (*vide* Census Report, 1901). The ancient aboriginals, the Malers and Mal-Paharias, of the Rajmahal Hills accounted for 4 per cent. The balance of 60 per cent or so was made up of Hindus and Muslims, Bhagalpur people in the north and Birbhum people in the south.

2. In 1855, the Santals rose in rebellion which was put down after an extensive military campaign. Among the causes that led to it were exaction of money-lenders and oppression of petty officials. Immediately after, as a measure of pacification, a new district called Santal Parganas was created. Out of its area of 5400 sq. miles roughly 3500 sq. miles were taken from Bhagalpur District, 1500 sq. miles from Birbhum, and 400 sq. miles from Murshidabad. The Bhagalpur portion went to form the Subdivisions of Godda, Rajmahal, the northern part of Dumka and a part of Pakur. The Birbhum portion (consisting of parganas Sarath-Deoghar, Pabia, Kundahit-Karaya, Muhammadabad and part of pargana Darin Mauleswar) went to form the Subdivisions of Deoghar, Jamtara and the southern portion of Dumka. The Murshidabad portion went to form a part of Pakur Subdivision. In the newly created district a special Non-Regulation system of administration was set up by Act XXVII of 1855 whose principles are summarised as follows :

"To have no intermediary between the Santal and the Assistant Commissioner ; to have complaints made verbally without a written petition ; to have all criminal work carried on with the help of Santals themselves."

Mr. Carstairs who worked this system for thirteen years in his memoirs comments thus :

"The Sonthals were a minority of the people. They owned none of the land ; they did not trade; they were looked down upon by the other inhabitants as little better than beasts. They had not even a reputation as fighting men : and if they had any, they lost it in the rebellion. They had been living for fifty years under the ordinary law of the land. Yet for their sakes a new constitution was devised, to which not only they but all the other inhabitants were made subject. I call this a wonderful turn of events. There is nothing like it in all history."

But the legal cordon thus drawn round large tracts of Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts for the benefit of the Santal minority did not fundamentally alter the lives of the indigenous non-Santals, *Dikus* as they were called by the Santals, who continued to have trade and social relations with their friends and kinsmen across the new boundary.

ORIGINAL HISTORY OF THE AREA IN QUESTION

3. For centuries Birbhum was a semi-independent principality on the border of the jungle country with its capital at Nagar (Rajnagar) first under Hindu, then under Muslim rulers. The Raja of Nagar took up arms against the British but was defeated in 1760. In 1770 was the great famine of Bengal. When the Permanent Settlement came in 1793, the Raja could not meet its demands and his extensive domain fell away. Birbhum in those days was much larger than the present district of that name. Major Rennel's map, based on his survey of 1767-71, which is accepted as authoritative by the highest law tribunals, shows that

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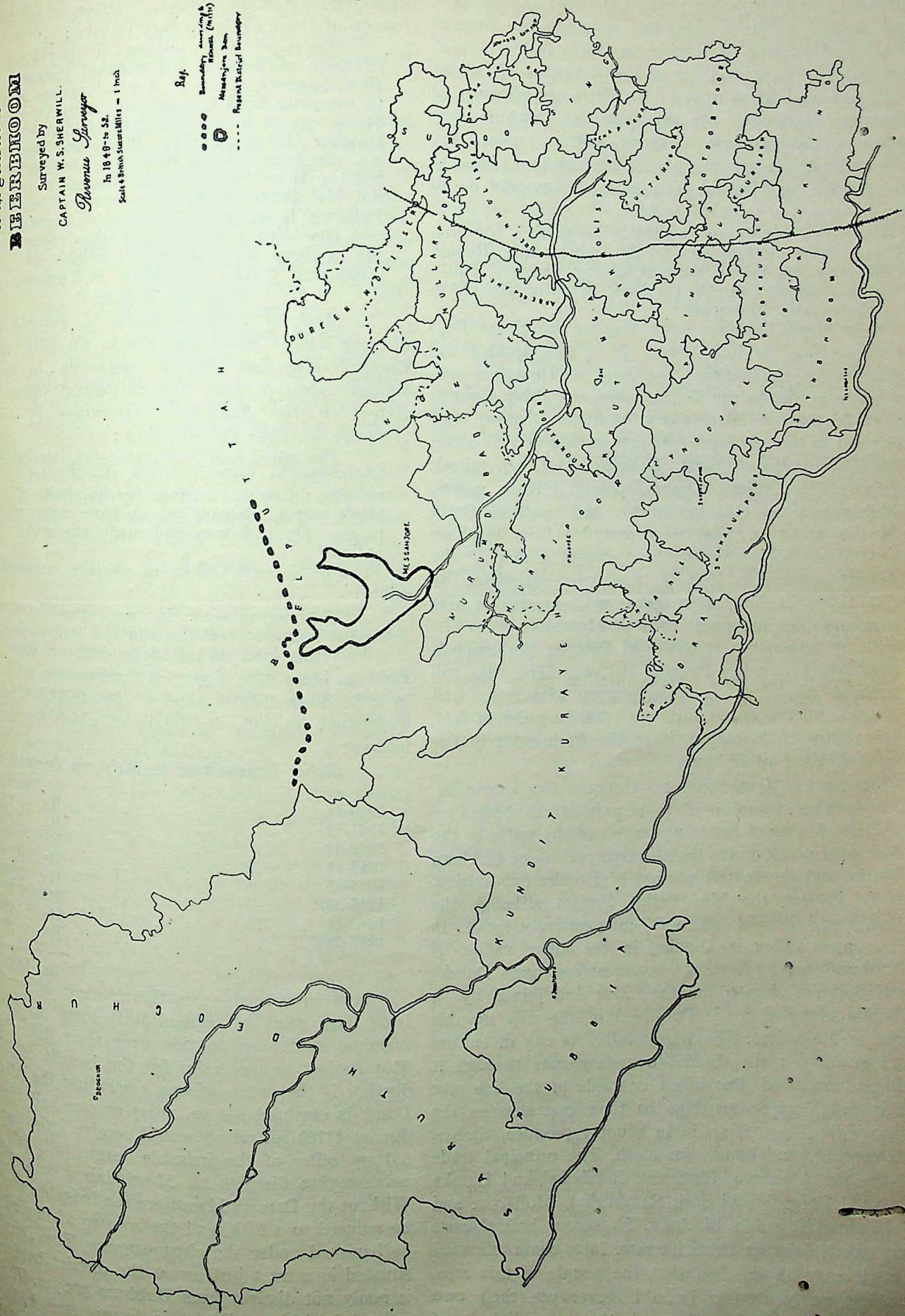

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Birbhum extended in the west to Deoghar and Jamtara, and on the north to Dumka including the pargana Belpata. According to Sheristadar Grant in his *Historical and Comparative View of the Revenues of Bengal*, published in 1788, quoted in the *Settlement Report of Birbhum* (*1924-32*), the zemindary of Birbhum consisted of 22 parganas covering 3858 sq. miles and assessed for the revenue-paying portion to a *jama* of Rs. 366,509 by Murshid Kuli Khan. Grant goes on to say :

> "The remaining two-thirds proportion of territory were composed of the pergunnahs Roony, Kehtky and Selvor, Sarhaut, Gotby, Jamtara, Paunraw, Akerah, Ceeryah, Couhurt, *Belputta*, Buharrow, Noney and Malarpore."

There were *ghatwal* tenures under the Nagar Raja for guarding the hill passes. In a suit decided not many years ago between the Raja of Hetampur and a tenure-holder in the Dumka area, the Privy Council has held that the latter was a "Birbhum Ghatwal" and entitled to the privileges that appertained to that office. That the parganas Sarath-Deoghar (1114 sq. miles), Pabia (179 sq. miles), Karaya-Kundahit (406 sq. miles), Muhammadabad (133 sq. miles) and part of Darin Mauleswar (*x* sq. mile) were excluded from Birbhum as late as 1855 has already been stated. A map of the district prepared in 1852 by trigonometrical survey by Capt. Sherwill shows 38 parganas with an area of 3114 sq. miles. The proposed dam at Masanjore is to be built at the north-west corner of Pargana Muhammadabad where it meets Pargana Belpata. The dam will flood an area of 43 sq. miles between Masanjore and Dumka. All this is old Birbhum land. In point of fact, the village of Masanjore is in the Permanent Settlement Register of Birbhum.

The Area in Question : Its Culture and Language

4. The Masanjore Dam is part of the Mor Project which aims at better utilisation of the water of the Mor river which drains the northern portion of Birbhum district and the central portion of Dumka Subdivision. It is, in fact, the Mor Valley Project although the Valley and Project are both comparatively small. In the upper valley is Dumka, in the lower valley is Birbhum proper ; both the headquarters towns Dumka and Suri are situated on the Mor and joined by a 28-mile metalled road. Two-third of the way up this road is Masanjore. The whole valley is one in culture and economy ; the district boundary runs through it almost unnoticed. People on one side of the line give their daughters in marriage to their castemen on the other side. There is trade in country produce, timber, silk-cocoons, and hand-spun cloth. The principal trade centres are Asanboni, Raniswar, Ranibahal and Dumka in Santal Pargana and Suri, Rampurhat, Mollarpur and Mahammad Bazar in Birbhum. Numerous bullock-carts carry goods between these bazaars. Inter-communication is made easy by the fact that the people of this area, including many Santals (who however use their own Mundari tongue at home) speak the same dialect of Bengali which Grierson has termed Western Bengali. Speaking of Western Bengali, Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. V, Part I) says :

> "Similarly, it is spoken in the Eastern and Southern portions of the Sonthal Parganas. . . . Here, however, it has no Aryan language with which to compete, as is the case in the Orissa Native States, except in a small tract south and east of Deoghur (Deoghar) where Bihari and Bengali overlap, the former being spoken by natives of Bihar, and the latter by natives of Bengal. . . . Finally, the Mal Paharias of the centre of the Sonthal Parganas have, like the Kharias, abandoned their own Dravidian tongue, and speak a corrupt form of the language of their Bengali neighbours."

Birbhum, where the Earth is Thirsty, and Men are Hungry

5. Much of Birbhum district is covered by undulating laterite ridges that rise in the hilly region of Chota Nagpur and extend eastwards to meet the Gangetic alluvial plain. The Settlement Officer in his *Report on the Settlement Operations in Birbhum* (*1924-32*) describes the soil thus :

> "The soil is mostly covered with laterite nodules, while granite veins traverse the district at places running up on the surface for hundreds of acres in bleak barren plateaus which have not yet yielded to the efforts of man and made amenable to cultivation."

The Settlement Officer in another connection has said :

> "If improvement in agriculture is to be expected irrigation will demand the largest attention."

With this kind of soil depending on chance rain, Birbhum has a long history of famines, the latest being in 1943. Since 1940, a total of Rs. 18,64,978 has been distributed as relief, the details of which are shown as follows :

Relief Expenditure in Birbhum District

Year	Amount
1940-41	Rs. 2,04,762
1941-42	Rs. 1,90,476
1942-43	Rs. 3,300
1943-44	Rs. 8,79,614
1944-45	Rs. 2,98,122
1945-46	Rs. 2,27,294
1946-47	Rs. 26,856
1947-48	Rs. 34,548
	Rs. 18,64,978

Even in normal years Government is required to issue large sums in agricultural loan to allow the marginal cultivators to tide over their difficulty. The Mor Project is essentially for the benefit of Birbhum district. If the entire scheme (including the Masanjore Dam) is executed 853 sq. miles or one half the entire district (1752 sq. miles) would receive irrigation. Only 387 sq. miles of the irrigable area will fall in the neighbouring districts of Murshidabad and Burdwan. Without the Dam at Masanjore the irrigable area would be reduced to a fifth, and the spectre of famine cannot be banished under the circumstances. The Dam site is situated in a tract just across the district border which is really not distinct from Birbhum proper. The population of Birbhum district is over ten lakhs : the number of people who would be displaced by the

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struction of the Dam is estimated at 21,000 souls luding only 9,000 Sontals). The Bengal Government understood to have made proposals for the re-bilitation of the displaced persons at considerable penditure.

History of Pargana Belpata

6. Belpata is a large *pargana* or *tappa* with an of 452 sq. miles in the southern part of Dumka division. Low hills run from west to east. The river flows across it from north to south and breaks ough the barrier of the Belpata range at the southern of the *tappa* near Masanjore. Before the ent of the Santals in the 19th century and the ition in 1855 of a special administrative jurisdiction their benefit called Santal Parganas, what is now mka was in two parts, one, Pargana Handwe, with nomic and cultural affiliations to the north in nghyr and Bhagalpur, and another, *tappa* Belpata, h similar affiliations to the south in Birbhum. The iding line between them ran a little to the north of present town of Dumka. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* endowy" is listed under "Sircar Mungeer" while bhum is shown under "Sircar Mandarun" (Gladwyn's nslation, 1897). Belpata was included in the Birbhum mindary. Sheristadar Grant in his *Historical and mparative Views on the Revenues of Bengal,* published in 1788 (Fifth Report of the Select Committee, minger's Edition, Vol. II) gives details of the tlement made by Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan with Raja of Birbhum (Nagore). He says :

"The remaining two-thirds proportion of territory were composed of the pergunnahs of Roonhy, Kehtky and Selvor, Sarhaut, Gotby, Jamturrah, Paunraw, Akerah, Ceeryah, Couhurt, *Belputta,* Buharrow, Noney, and Malarpore."

Mr. (later Sir) Hugh McPherson in his classic *port on the Settlement Operations in the Santal rganas (1898-1907)* has thus summed up the position the Dumka area in the pre-British days :

"That Godda-extra Damin together with tappah Handwe of North Dumka were mostly dependencies of Kharakpur in Akbar's rent roll, but rarely paid tribute to the Moguls as the parent estate was constantly at war with itself, or its neighbours or its overlords ; that the southern half of Dumka and the whole of Deoghar and Jamtara formed that portion of the zamindari of Birbhum which was unassessed till Kasim Ali became Subadar in 1760."

In Major Rennel's authoritative map (1767-1771) ata is shown as part of Birbhum.

7. When the Permanent Settlement was introduced 793, Belpata was recorded as one of the estates of Raja of Nagore. The original register has been erved in the Birbhum Collectorate. Soon after, in 5 Belpata was separated from Birbhum in connec- with the pacification of the Maler hill tribes in neighbouring Rajmahal Hills. The transfer is tioned in the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* ited by Mr. O'Malley, 1910) :

"Mr. Fombelle also succeeded in obtaining nction in 1795 to the proposal that pargana Bel- ata should be transferred from Birbhum and brought under the hill system—a proposal made by Cleveland some years ago—and also the hill portion of Pargana Nuni in the south-east."

The connection of the *tappa* with the Nagore Raj family, however, did not cease immediately. There is a document in the Birbhum Collectorate that certain lands in Belpata held revenue-free by the Raja of Nagore were resumed in 1800. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton has left a note written in 1810 on Belpata which is quoted in McPherson's Settlement Report. He wrote :

"Tappah Belpatta, originally part of Virbhum, on the sale of the Raja's estates, was purchased by Uttam Kumari, his widow, who is a sister of Raja Kader Ali. She is a lady much to be pitied as her husband's irregular and dissolute conduct prevented her from living with him and as his extravagance has ruined the family affairs."

8. Although Belpata was transferred from Birbhum to form part of a hill tract (now included in the Santal Parganas), in the final survey conducted by Mr. Ward in 1824-28 Belpatta was left out of it. Mr. McPherson in his Settlement Report has discussed Mr. Ward's Survey. He says:

"What Government wanted was a compact estate covering the general hill tract occupied by the hill people. The same considerations were applicable in the case of Belpatta and Noony. Mr. Sutherland had said of Belpatta that with a mere nominal exception of Soondardih, where a few hill people had huts, there appeared to be no real hill inhabitants. . . . Pargana Noony had been added to the hill system in 1795 at the instance of Mr. Fombelle who discovered that some of the Ramgarh Hills in that pargana were inhabited by hill men, but both Belpata and Noony were integral parts of the Birbhum Raj, a fact recognised by Mr. Sutherland in 1819 and by Government in its Resolution of 1823."

Thus although Belpata did not serve the purpose for which it was separated from Birbhum, once the transfer had taken place it continued to form a part of Bhagalpur district, till 1855 when both Bhagalpur and Birbhum were partitioned to create the Santal Parganas. Capt. Sherwill's map of 1854 shows the position at that time. Belpata were included in the Santal Parganas, and the major portion of it, after many vicissitudes, passed into the hands of Rai Kamaleshwari Prashad Bahadur of Monghyr.

9. But the people of Belpata remain what they were, very similar to those of Birbhum. The Suri-Dumka road passes through Belpata. As one travels along the road, one sees similiar cultivation and the same type of faces as in Birbhum. The large village of Kumrabad halfway between Masanjore and Dumka is hardly different from a village of the same size in Birbhum. Probably there are more Santals about, more *sal* trees, and the hills are nearer, otherwise it is much the same. And one hears all round the Western Bengali dialect of Birbhum. All the settlement records are written in Bengali. Mr. Gantzer who conducted the last Settlement Operations (1925-32) writes in his Report:

"The proprietors of the Belpatta estate in Dumka subdivision applied to have the records of their South Dumka villages written in Hindi. All these applications were rejected."

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STORY OF A GREAT BETRAYAL

By SURESH CHANDRA DEB

The Home Department of the Government of Assam addressed the following communication to all their "Gazetted Officers" on the 25th June, 1947. It is reproduced *verbatim*.

HOME DEPARTMENT
Branch—Confidential
No. C. 175-47-20

Dated Shillong, the 25th June, 1947.

From—Sir Harold Dennehy, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam.

To—All Gazetted Officers of the Government of Assam.

Sir,

I am directed to say that in view of the partition of India and the formation of the Governments of Pakistan and the rest of India in the near future, the Special Committee of the Partition Office, Government of India, New Delhi, appointed to work out the machinery for implementing the partition of India, has decided as follows :

(1) Every Government servant, Indian or European, should be given an opportunity to elect the Government he wishes to serve ;

(2) Each Government servant should be asked to state at the same time whether he wishes to be given an opportunity to reconsider his choice within a period of six months from the date of the transfer of power.

2. I am to request the favour of your furnishing Government with your replies, *within one week of receipt of this letter* to the attached questionnaire in your own handwriting.

3. I am to make it clear to you that the representatives of the two future Governments mentioned above guarantee your existing terms and conditions of service.

Questionnaire
(*All answers to be in Block letters*)

1. Name in full : . . . . . .
2. Service and/or Department : . . . . .
3. Substantive appointment : . . . . .
4. Present appointment : . . . . . .

Answers to all questions asked below should be in a simple affirmative or negative :

(All Government servants are assured that their existing terms and conditions of service are guaranteed by the representatives of both the future Governments).

1. Do you elect to serve Pakistan ?
2. Do you elect to serve in the rest of India ?
3. Is your choice final ?
*4. Is your choice provisional ?

The provision made for exercising such a choice on the part of Government servants, from the highest to the lowest, is the acme of democratic self-determination. But this provision has been twisted by the Assam Government to serve its narrow purposes of securing the monopoly of services and contracts for their supporters of the Assamese-speaking community of about 25 lakhs in a population of about 70 lakhs; their *bete noir* have been the Bengalee-speaking community of about 35 lakhs belonging to the districts of Sylhet and Cachar attached in 1874 to the Brahmaputra Valley to constitute the administrative province of Assam with a view to pay its way. There was nothing unreasonable in this ambition if kept within proper limits; Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, rationalized it for us when he had said that "backward communities and groups are coming up in education and demanding their fair share in them." But what the Assam Administration and the cabal which upholds it have been up to has been demonstrated in and through what happened at Pandughat about five months back and at Gauhati in May last.

So, when the Bardoloi Ministry issued on behalf of the Central Government their intimation to their officers, the highest in the I.C.S. and the lowest as policemen and postmen, to exercise their "option" for one of the States—Indian Union and Pakistan—they, perhaps, did not realize the full implications of this device. But it did not take them long to grow to a consciousness that here was an opportunity to get rid of the Sylhetees in their services after the Sylhet Referendum had gone against the Indian Union; they welcomed it as a God-send to realize their purpose. So, we find them issuing a Cabinet Decision (August 13, 1947) through the member of the "Steering Committee" of Assam. It has to be remembered that the decision was taken after the Bengalee Ministers—Shri Basanta Kumar Das and Shri Baidyanath Mukherjee—had come out of it as a result of the Sylhet Referendum ; the only other Bengalee Minister left being Janab Abdul Matlib Mazumdar of Cachar whose status in the Ministry was almost negligible. This new circular trampled under foot the spirit of all the assurances given on June 25, 1947. This decision was intimated to all concerned in a letter dated August 22, 1947. In it occurs the following:

"The Government decision is that any Government servant who is a native of or domiciled in the Sylhet district and is posted on 14th August, 1947 in Sylhet, should remain there irrespective of his choice to serve in any dominion and not be exchanged against an officer outside Sylhet who may have opted for Pakistan . . . . *The Government of Assam will take no responsibility for such officers after the 15th of August.* Those officers who are natives of or domiciled in the rest of Assam and who may have opted for Pakistan will not be allowed for the time being to exercise their option to join Pakistan" (Separation office Letter No. SS 11 dated the 22nd August, 1947).

In Paragraph 3 of this letter the Government of Assam took occasion to describe their "policy" in respect of this personnel:

(*a*) Temporary personnel: The Government of Assam cannot give any guarantee as to continued retention. The Government of Assam will not appoint to permanent posts temporary Government servants who are natives of or domiciled in the parts of Sylhet district which form part of East Bengal.

(*b*) Permanent personnel: The Government of Assam do not undertake to retain in service

* If your choice is provisional, you will have an opportunity to reconsider and indicate your final choice within a period of six months from the date of transfer of power. The provisional choice will not in any way prejudice your seniority or other conditions of service.

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Government servants who are natives of or domiciled in the parts of Sylhet district now forming part of East Bengal in excess of their requirement and create blocks for local recruitment. The Government of Assam will, however, take up strongly with the Government of East Bengal the case of all Government servants of the above categories, both temporary and permanent, who opt for East Bengal so that the East Bengal Government may employ them and guarantee them the existing terms and conditions of service

In the order requiring Government servants, tives of or domiciled in Sylhet, and posted on the h August, 1947, in Sylhet, that they "should remain ere irrespective of his choice to serve in any domi-on," particular care was taken to transfer m other parts of Assam as many Sylhetee ployees as possible to Sylhet, so that they y be axed the more easily. We have known of ses where they were transferred to Sylhet as late August 13, 1947. And the cup of their ter disappointment was filled when the East Ben-l Government refused to honour the pledge given their Central Pakistan Government-to-be to vernment servants as indicated in the letter of the ief Secretary of Assam dated June 25, 1947. In e result, 1496 employees (including 422 temporary) re released from Sylhet by the Government of East ngal. When at last, by their letter No. SS 11|94 ed December 6, 1947, the Assam Government ided to release the Pakistan choosers, their number e to 1812. But 465 Assamese Muslims were not eased, though choosing Pakistan *originally,* as they ised their choice in favour of India. No such revi-n from the Sylhet personnel in favour of Pakistan s accepted by the East Bengal Government.

This was not all. The Central Government of the dian Union was misled by the Assam Government make statements in this matter from which those de by the Premier of Assam, Srijut Gopinath rdoloi, varied. Pundit Hriday Nath Kunzru asked rtain questions to which the Home Minister, Sardar llabhbhai Patel replied as follows on March 19, 8:

1. "547 permanent and 185 temporary employees were released by the Government of East Bengal." —(Ans. to Q. 906).
2. "It was not a guarantee given to the ployees of any Provincial Government . . . This is, therefore, a matter for the Government of Assam to deal with."—(Ans. to Q. 905).
3. "Government of India understand that the orders issued by the Government of Assam on 6th December 1948, (*i.e.* releasing Pakistan choosers at last) satisfactorily solved the problem created by their previous somewhat inconsistent orders." —(Ans. to Q. 905).

Srijut Gopinath Bardoloi gave a different story of se transactions in his reply dated April 3, 1948, to stions put in regard to these.

1. (a) Released by East Bengal—1496, including 422 temporary.
   (b) Released by Assam—1812. 1553 Muslims and 259 Non-Muslims.
   (c) 465 of these officers revised their option for the rest of India after they were given the right to do so.
2. Government of Assam carried out certain instructions of the Government of India in this behalf and asked officers . . . . the nature of option they would exercise on the basis of agreement between Pakistan and India whereby guarantees of service were given (Ans. 218(a).).
3. As a *result of discussion with the Government of India* this Government have accepted the principle that (*i*) vacancies created by options to Pakistan would be filled up by the permanent officers of Sylhet opting for India. (*ii*) The rest must be considered an excess to requirements in the province and would be dealt with under normal rules appertaining to retrenched personnel. —(*Emphasis mine*) (Ans. 221).

The opinion expressed by Sardar Patel that the problem has been "satisfactorily solved" appears to have emboldened the Assam Government to go forward more enthusiastically in their "evictions." Letter No. F.G. 45|48|1, dated Shillong, April 1, 1948, informed all concerned that, "Under Article 80 of the Assam Pension Manual, 3 months' notice of discharge with effect from 1st January, 1948, should be served on all the permanent released personnel who have not yet been permanently absorbed, stating clearly that due to the transfer of a major portion of Sylhet with its institutions their services will not be required on and from 1st April, 1948." And letter No. FG. 45|48|6 dated 5th of June, 1948, dashed the hopes of those who had been "temporarily absorbed."

> "I am directed to say that as already instructed in this department letter No. FG. 45|48|1 dated the 1st April '48, permanent released personnel who were not permanently absorbed on or before 31st March '48 *should be deemed to have been discharged* on compensation, pension or gratuity as the case may be *with effect from 1st April '48 irrespective of the fact that they were temporarily absorbed at that time,* as they had no lien on any permanent posts on that date due to retrenchment of their substantive posts".—(*Emphasis mine*).

The story related thus far goes to prove that the assurance carried to Government servants in the letter of June 25, 1947, quoted in the first part of this narration, has not been honestly fulfilled by the Assam Government. And the Central Government submerged by the problems precipitated by Pakistan in West Punjab and in Kashmir have not found it possible to pull up "the men on the spot" on the other extremity of their Union. It may be that when the problem of 10 million people displaced from their ancestral homes, west and east, confronts the Union authorities and confuses them, the problem of a few hundred employees unjustly treated by a single unit of their Union appears to be small. But the betrayal of their hopes constitutes the drops that wear out the stone of the patience of many millions. And the Nehru Government has been ignoring the principle involved at peril to their own integrity. Dishonest or recalcitrant units should be called back to the decencies of social conduct. Otherwise disruption of morale is inevitable, leading to confusion unimagined today.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

NEW ASIA: *By Dr. Kalidas Nag. To be had of the Prajna Bharati, 72, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is an opportune publication. Mankind must move towards greater and greater unity. That is a need which will be brought into more and more prominence with the march of time. The Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in March, 1947, has prompted Dr. Nag to bring out before the public his thoughts and ideas on the different aspects of the problem of this large-hearted movement—thoughts and ideas which have already, to some extent, appeared as articles of various journals. Still, it is delightful to realise once again that our relations with Malayasia extend over so many hundreds of years or that Champa and Kamboj had inscriptions in Indian languages even as early as 3rd century A.D.

Advocates of Basic Education will note with pleasure Dr. Nag's views on their scheme which seeks to bring about a revolutionary chapter in the history of education in Asia. "The food and clothing industry for the 400 millions of Indians, properly co-ordinated with elementary and secondary education may evolve tremendous expenditures of energy and resources; but may, at the same time, repay in human dividends beyond calculation" (pp. 75-76). This is viewing things in their proper perspective. We wish our educational experts could take to such a human way in tackling their problems.

Additional attraction is provided for in the prefatory essay which appears under the name and style of Rabindranath Tagore but which is in fact a record of the symposium between the great poets and leaders of Iran and Iraq and our poet, near about 1932. There we find the *raison d'etre* of this book: "In the East we must never forget to link up our educational institutions with the fundamental values of our undivided spiritual life; because that has been the great mission of our ancient universities, which, in spite of political vicissitudes, never allowed their vision of humanity to be darkened by racial considerations. Asia owes it to humanity to restore her spirit of generous co-operation in culture and heal the suffering peoples of the modern age, now divided by cruel politics and materialistic greed which vitiate even the citadels of education." Great words, uttered by our greatest mind: the subject is provocative, and the book serves to bring it forward to our notice.

P. R. Sen

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN PHILOSOPHERS: *By Benoy Gopal Ray. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 5-4.*

In this book we have an account of the life-history of some of the great men that the last century produced in India. In about eight to ten pages each, the life, activity and thought of such great men as Rabindranath and his father, Vivekananda and his preceptor, Rammohan and Swami Dayananda, Keshab Sen and Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi have been condensed. Naturally the accounts have been somewhat meagre and superficial, if not scrappy. The author's merit consists in the fact that he has brought together a galaxy of great names.

In the restricted and technical sense of the term, none of them were philosophers. That implies no disrespect to the illustrious names. A great man is great in spite of the fact that he is not a scientist or a mathematiican. Christ was not less than Einstein because he did not know the Law of Relativity and Buddha was great in spite of the fact that he showed no knowledge of the Differential Calculus. So Rabindranath is a great man and Gandhi is a *Mahatma* even though they cannot be called philosophers in the narrow sense of the term. Still, words have their fixed meanings and we should remember them when we use them.

We wish the author had devoted more space to the discussions of these great lives he has selected. And for the sake of accuracy and to avoid raising a wrong expectation in the reader's mind, we would also suggest a change in the appellation of the book.

DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY: *By Shulley Rahameem. Distributors (not Publishers): New Book Company Ltd., 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 124. Price Rs. 3-14.*

The author has given a shape to his name which obscures his race and nationality. And he has given such an appearance to his book—it is printed and got-up so well—that the inanities contained in it are strongly barricaded.

The book is a complete misnomer. It is neither a dictionary nor is there anything approaching philosophy. There are, however, a number of words chosen, more or less at random, with an ostentatious show of wisdom; and sentences are placed under them sometimes of two words, sometimes of three and sometimes of four, which purport to explain them. Thus we are told that an *Architect* is a "stone poet", a "chisel aristocrat" and so on. In the group of three-word sentences we have "global uncommon sense", "world civic sense" etc., as example of thoughts in three words. Thoughts in four words give us "The march of isolation", "The march of Purdah", etc.

Portions of the book are written in prose and portions in verse. And sometimes the sentences contain verbs and sometimes they do not. The whole book is a curious miscellany, a hotch-potch of thought and non-sense, a rabid display of hyper-activity of brain. The author expects that his book will have a tremendous sale in America. It is an atomic age and atomic sentences, *i.e.*, sentences not fully expressed, will have the patronage of the country which holds the atomic secret. We wish him success. He invites all thinkers of the world to unite and to put down their thoughts on paper. If paper is

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rce, they are advised to put down their thoughts in the nk pages of our author's book, and he purposely left ne pages blank. We wish all the pages were blank. at would have been more profitable to his purchasers well as his reviewer. From what we have said above, reaction of his readers after glancing at the pages of book can better be imagined than described.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

INDIA'S NATIONAL PLAN: *By K. T. Shah; Vora Co., Publishers, Ltd. 3 Round Building, Bombay 2. rst Edition: May, 1947. Price Rs. 3-12.*

Prof. K. T. Shah, Honorary Secretary, National Plan-g Committee, has discussed in this book the nature, pe and administration of a National Plan for India. The sent volume has been published not on behalf of the tional Planning Committee but on his own authority. has history behind it.

The N. P. C. had begun formulating plans and schemes fore government of the country came in Indian hands. e Interim Government took up the matter and appointed Advisory Planning Board consisting of 14 members—cials and non-officials in equal proportion. Prof. Shah s also on the Board as Honorary Secretary. According him, 'The approach of the Board to the problems ferred to them was fundamentally different from the es laid down by the National Planning Committee. eir conception of the scope, nature and purpose of a tional Plan, the technique of its preparation and the chanism of its execution and administration also differed dically from those which had influenced the Planning mittee on the problems of machinery.' The present iter differed in these matters from the majority of his leagues and recorded his views in a Minute of Dissent the Board's Report. This volume contains the sub-ce of the Minute.

Prof. Shah, an economist of repute and an acknow-ged authority on the subject, has discussed the problems administration and machinery of National Plan in details. the political and economic conditions of the country e undergone great and unprecedented changes since gust 14, 1947, plans drawn up before that date need be dified in the light of later events and adjustments.

For clarity of ideas, thoroughness of details, sound-s of views and minuteness of schematic presentation present volume will be of great help when appropriate ministrative organisation and machinery will be set to put the National Plan into execution. A Schematic rt at the end of the book has greatly enhanced its e.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

INDIA'S LEADING COMMERCIAL PROBLEMS: *lished by the Secretary, All-India Commerce Associa-, Allahabad. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 8.*

The All-India Commerce Association was formed in 7 with Sir Padampat Singhania as its President and A. N. Agarwala of the Allahabad University as etary. The first Conference of the Association was d under the auspices of the Lucknow University in ember last and papers were read on the following ects: (1) The Indian Taxation Policy, (2) the ning of India's Foreign Trade, (3) the abolition of ndary and (4) the Indian Railway Transport.

All the subjects discussed at the Conference are of reme importance to modern India, free as it is today shape and mould her destiny. Altogether there are e papers on Taxation Policy all equally good in their ner of approach: Prof. S. N. Agarwala wants to make investments tax-free with a view to encourage indus-to solve unemployment. Prof. Bireswar Ganguly wants gular and substantial 'Capital Budget' of the state to the problems of industrial development and employ-ment. Dr. K. C. Sarkar aims at no taxation of necessaries of life and comforts. He also wants protection as a whole. On the Planning of Trade there are six papers. After the attainment of freedom our Foreign Trade must be reconstructed with a view to contribute the maximum benefit to the wants of the country. 'Favourable balance' with an export of raw materials should be a thing of the past and 'invisible imports' in any shape and form must be kept at the minimum. In one word Planning of India's Foreign Trade must be for India's interest and all state machineries, Exchange, Tariff and Taxation, must be applied to achieve this end Prof. B. N. Chatterjee's and Prof. Om Prokash's paper deserve special mention. On the subject of Zemindary there are six papers. There are a few suggestions about the reconstruction of India's economy, particularly agriculture, after the abolition of Zemindary system. Agriculture is a great problem of Free India and on its proper solution depends the happiness and prosperity of millions. During British rule India had been forced to be an agricultural country for the supply of raw materials to Foreign Capitalists at the cost of industrial development and this state of affairs must now change and a new adjustment brought about in the economic structure of the country. Most of the writers recommend peasant proprietorship in the new order as socialization in fullest sense of the term may not be practical in our country. On the subject of Indian Railway Transport there are three papers. Indian Railways were not constructed for the economic development of the country for the benefit of Indians but for political and economic purposes in which British Imperialism was interested. So from the very beginning we have anomalies not only in the layout but also in the financing and administration of the Railways. However, now almost all the Railways are State-owned, thanks to the Great War and the adverse finances of the British Government. Now is the turn of India to utilize the Railways for her own economic development. Management, production of railway materials and equipments, tariff, all require thorough overhauling and a programme has already been laid down for improvement. All three papers prepared by Prof. V. V. Ramanadham, D. Pant and Sri Rama Murty deserve mention for dealing nicely with the different aspects of such an important subject.

We are confident that this volume will interest all students of economics and commerce and also the general public who are interested in these vital subjects.

A. B. DUTTA

THE BOMBAY INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES ACT (Act XXV of 1938): *By Prabhudas Patwari and Prasannadas Patwari. Published by Chandrakant C. Vora, Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad. 1944. Pp. 191. Price Rs. 8.*

SUPPLEMENT *to the above by the same authors. 1946. Pp. 88. Price Rs. 6.*

This Act was enacted by the then Congress Ministry. It has proved a great success in keeping the relations of Labour and its employer harmonious, by settlement of industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration. The Act has been annotated not from the lawyer's point of view, but from the point of view of those who have to administer it, or those who are governed and are to be guided by its provision. In this object the authors have succeeded admirably.

BENARES AND SARNATH : PAST AND PRESENT : *By Prof. A. S. Altekar. Benares Hindu University. Pp. 80. Price Re. 1-4.*

This small guide-book with many authoritative historical details of the temples and shrines will surely meet the needs of cultured visitors to Benares. The printing and get-up can easily be improved.

J. M. DATTA

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BENGALI

BANGLA SAHITYA KATHA: *By Srikumar Bandyopadhyay. Saraswati Library, C18-19, College Street Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6-8.*

The author's erudition and critical acumen are widely admired and respected. This book contains thirteen essays in literary criticism, *viz.*, Folktales, Vidyapati, The Poems of Vidyapati in Grierson's collection, The Newly Discovered Manuscript of Chandidas, Characteristics of the Novel and the Method of Its Judgment, Bankim Chandra as a Novelist, Shelley and Rabindranath, The Dreams of Rabindranath, Rabindranath's Prose-poems, Rabindranath's Last Series of Poems, Raja-laxmi and Kamal-lata, The Growth of Bengali Prose, The Nature of the Bengali Novel and Its Future. The index shows that topics cover a wide range. They are all marked by keen perception, catholocity of taste and balanced judgment. The discourses on Bankim and Sarat Chandra are profoundly interesting and the estimate of Vidyapati's *Kirtilata* throws light on an important, but little-recognised work. To all serious students of literature, this work will undoubtedly prove useful.

D. N. MOOKHERJEA

CHOTODER DABA KHELA: *By Swami Santananda Bharati. Calcutta Photo House. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1-12.*

There is a paucity of books in Bengali on chess, and this small book, written for the beginners, removes a want. The printing and get-up is good. The author should have added a chapter on Bengali games of Aswa-chakra, Gaj-chakra and the diagrams are very useful for understanding the different moves especially to a beginner.

J. M. DATTA

HINDI

MUKTI KI MASHAL: *By Tej Narain Kak. Universal Publishing House, Shivcharanlal Road, Allahabad. Pp. 46. Price Rs. 2.*

Here is a sheaf of songs of the downtrodden and the defeated in life, and also of those who are filled with dark despair. But the poet inspires them, in the ringing verse and voice of faith, with cheer and self-confidence, telling them that in the spirit of Man there is something of the unconquerable hero who ultimately shall hew his way through bondage to freedom, through darkness to light, through poverty to plenty, and through misery to prosperity. This faith, therefore, should be revived and re-integrated in action so that the torch of freedom, handed down to him age after age, be passed on to posterity. The songs are marked by moving sincerity and spiritual strength. The get-up and printing are a credit to the publishers.

BHOJPURI LOK-GIT MEN KARUNA-RASA: *Compiled by Durgashankar Prasad Sinha. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad. Pp. 496. Price Rs. 6.*

Folk-songs have an abiding insight, emotion and interest. And there is in them that innocency of the eye and the heart which has preserved them from the ravages of time. Therefore, they will ever remain a source of inspiration as well as information to all alike—singers, scholars, saints and sons of the soil.

The present collection consists of Bhojpuri folk-songs, that is, folk-songs sung for centuries past in Bhojpur in the district of Shahpur in Bihar. The compiler, who has been engaged in the task of collecting them for nearly two decades, has now edited and annotated them with an ability and efficiency which are well worth emulating by others working in the same field. If the folk-songs of each province were published in this manner we shall have a people's history of Indian civilization and culture. The *Karuna Rasa*, in which most of these folk-songs are keyed, is a synthetic sentiment; as such, it has overflowed into every human attitude and activity, specially of those who, like our villagers, have still kept up their spontaneity and sympathy of reaction to their environment and intuition. The compiler has done a great work and has so earned the gratitude of all lovers of the people. The publishers too, have achieved an unusual distinction in performing their particular part.

G. M.

GUJARATI

HAMARI JIBAN KAHANI: *Translated from the English original into Gujarati by Mahadev Haribhai Desai. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Revised 3rd Edition. December, 1947. Price Rs. 6 only.*

It would be as much ridiculous excess to try to appreciate Pandit Nehru's autobiography at this time of the day as to paint a lily and to gild refined gold. His autobiography, which gives a history of contemporary times and is at the same time a history of Indian Nationalism, has been hailed with acclamation by his contemporaries, and, deservedly, Mahadeb Bhai Desai, whose literary abilities were not in any way inferior in quality to his devotion to a life of sacrifice, had been the fittest person to render the English original into Gujarati. More than 20 thousand copies have been in demand. The book will be treasured not only by students of politics but also by students of Indian cultural life. The copious index will help the reader to use it as a work of reference as well. The Gujarati translation has marched hand in hand with the English original.

Every Gujarati would be proud of Mahadev Dasai's legacy in this particular respect.

P. R. SEN.

DEENBANDHU: *By Rasulbhai N. Vohra, Baroda. Published by the Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, Baroda. 1946. Thick card-board. Pp. 340. Price Rs. 2.*

Rev. Charles Andrews, who had dispensed with his religious orders and become a layman, had, as every Indian knows, devoted his life to lift up India in every way and for that reason, earned the surname of "Deenbandhu" *i.e.*, brother or helper of the poor. Every Indian language should possess his biography. This is a translation into popular Gujarati by a Mohammedan writer of a Hindi version. It should be well received, we think, by the ordinary reader as the story of his life is very well told.

THANDE PAHORE: *By Muni Kumar M. Bhatt, Bhavnagar. Published by Padma Prakashan Ltd., Bombay. 1946. Thick card-board. Pp. 192. Price Rs. 3.*

"In the Cool of the Evening" is the title of this humorous book. People are inclined to relax at the end of the day and indulge in pleasantries. That is why this collection of 22 prose and 10 verse writings is named as it is. Humour, quiet and biting, subtle though laughter-provoking, peeps at one from every line of these writings and adds to the fame of the writer, as a humourist both in the platform and at the desk. A companion of his, an able first in the line, Jyotindra Dave, has written a Foreword, which brings into relief, both his own and Muni Kumar's latent powers of depicting wit and humour.

K. M. J.

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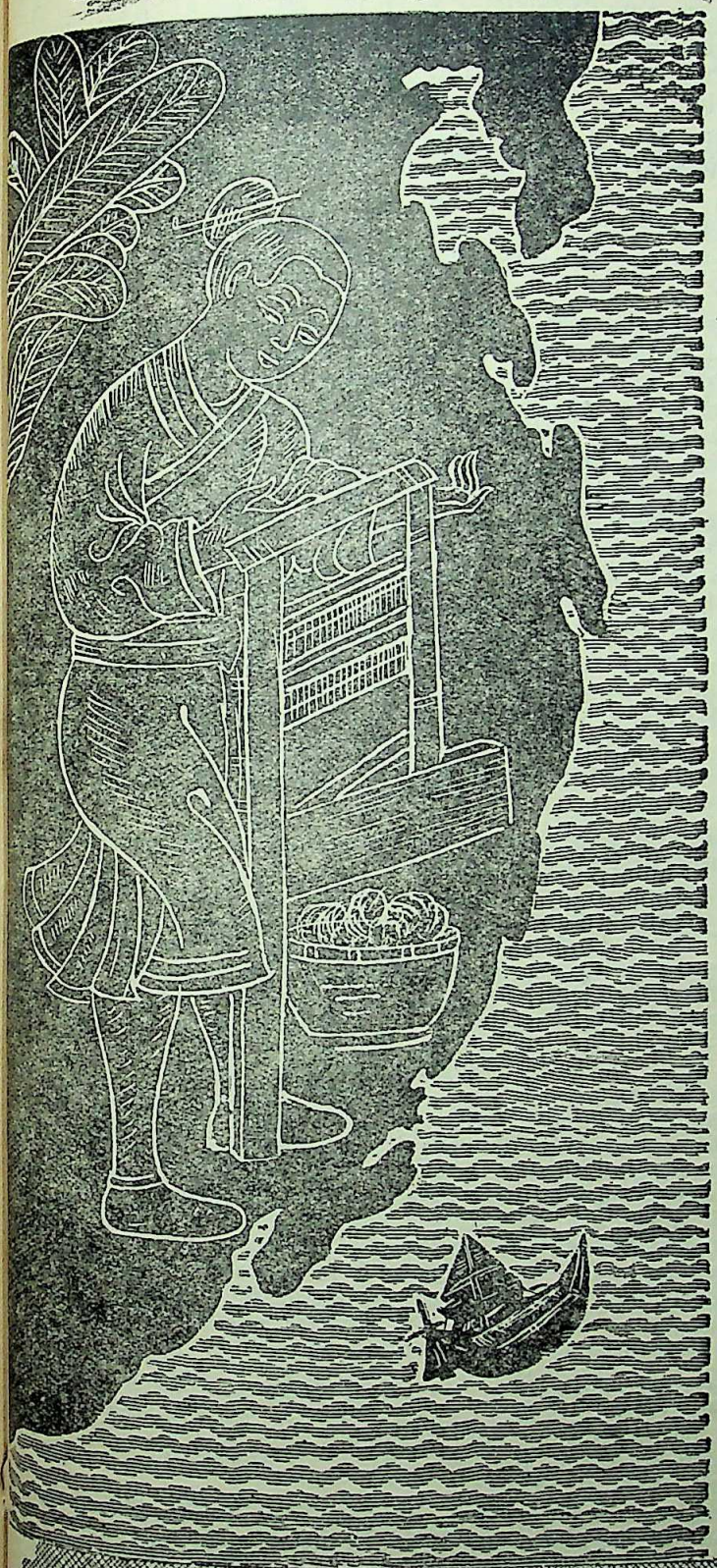
China - Indias cotton market of the 4th century



There is plenty of historical evidence to show that China was one of India's principal cotton markets in the fourth and fifth centuries. But the brainy Chinese were not satisfied with the trade; they also imported India's Churga Gin and improved it by replacing the hand crank with a foot treadle. The illustration, taken from a 15th century Chinese Encyclopaedia, shows the Chinese Gin in operation.

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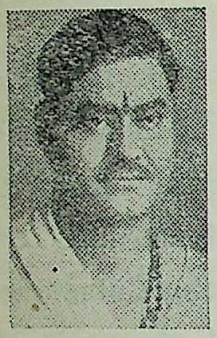

RAJJYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, M.R.A.S. (Lond.), has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (*e.g.*, in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

What is Culture

P. S. Naidu writes in *The Visva-Bharati arterly*:

The spirit of our age is at war with itself, tearing own body to pieces and paving the way for the final ruction of civilisation. When the situation is examined fully, it is found that the disaster that threatens the le world is due to the conflict of cultures. Aryan ure is arrayed against Semitic, White against Coloured, erican against Negro, and Brahmin Aryan against Non-hmin Dravidian. The war of cultures is threatening to ome unmanageable dimensions. What, then, is this ure under whose banner so many peoples are pre-ing to take the field?

Cultural objects, that is objects that are believed to the expressions of the culture of individuals or ups that have produced them, are diverse in their ure and wide in their extent. From the cave drawings d the stone implements of primitive man to the amids of Egypt and the Ajanta paintings and frescoes is a far cry indeed. Yet all these objects are equally resentative of the respective cultures of their creators. d the Futurist and Impressionist drawings too! They resent a very significant aspect of contemporary ure. Philosophy, art and science, language and rature, music and dance, painting, sculpture and n food (according to an eminent sociologist) are ressions of culture. What is the significance of gnating this bewildering mass of objects by a common e? There must be some unity among them justifying common name. They express an inner something of ch they are but different products.

Treatises on cultures—and their number is legion—not very illuminating. They fail to orient us properly the midst of the vast mass of facts of culture gathered painstaking research workers. Taylor, the great hority on primitive culture, says: "Culture includes wledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any er capabilities and habits acquired by man as member society." There is utter confusion here between ure and civilisation, and between such widely differing ects of experience as art and knowledge. Moreover, re is an implication that culture can be acquired by only as a member of society. When we turn from lor's *Primitive Culture* to the well-known Encyclo-dias, we find that they are not any more illuminating. *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* tells us the most essential element in the psychology of ure is that which relates to the intellect and the with the accompanying contrast between the life of ure and that of activity. This definition neglects pletely the effective aspect of human life which is the basis of culture; and exalts the intellect which s only a subordinate part in cultural life. *The cyclopaedia of Social Science* has a long article on ure full of brilliant suggestions. At times we feel we are being taken to the centre of the problem, at the critical moment a sudden halt is called, and eafter there is a steady sliding down. "Culture com-es inherited artifacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, habits and values. . . . The real component units of culture are the organised systems of human activities called institutions." This article recognises the need for a psychological analysis of culture, but lacking the proper psychological foundation it is not able to come to grips with the problem.

The New English Dictionary defines culture as "cultivation, tending, cultivating or development of the mind, faculties, manners etc., improvement or refinement by education and training." Apart from the suggestion regarding cultivation, this definition is the least illuminating of all the definitions given so far.

Our need at present is an orienting concept, which will reduce to some pattern the vast mass of cultural facts and objects, just as a magnetic field reduces to a comprehensible pattern the widely scattered iron filings within the magnetic field. In the light of a simple orienting concept we should be able to grasp the meaning of cultural objects, and their proper relationships to one another and to the mind that created them. Any simple cultural formula is bound to be psychological for the very obvious reason that culture is the ordering of the mind in its endeavour to reach or create a better order of things than that which it finds in its environment. We propose to frame the simple psychological formula needed for understanding and interpreting human culture in its broad outlines. This formula will be tentative in its application, and will bear modification and expansion indefinitely, but, it will be sound in essentials, and will be a very safe guide for exploration.

Culture and Civilisation: A Contrast

It is necessary to make a slight digression at this stage in order to point out the difference between culture and civilisation. The two terms are really opposed to each other in connotation. Civilisation stands for a certain aspect of life in the west which is the antithesis of culture. In the proper type of mental organisation there ought to be complete harmony between the inner mental cultural objects. True culture consists in this harmony between the inner and outer aspects of the organisation of sentiment-values. When such harmony is absent, or when disharmony is introduced out of set purpose, then culture ceases to have any meaning. In the so-called civilised life of today, lived according to Western standards there is complete lack of harmony between inner mental structure and the outer expression of it in the conduct. One may boil inwardly with fierce hatred or anger, but one should not express these feelings. One should put on an appearance of calm and friendliness. Insincere conduct is tolerated, nay even prescribed for keeping up appearances. This is civilisation, and such civilisation is not culture. Civilisation demands a certain type of conduct in society whether such conduct is or is not in conformity with the motive which animates the person concerned. Culture on the other hand demands strict conformity of conduct with motive, of outward expression with inner sentiment. Civilisation is the means of getting on in this outer world of mundane values while true culture is the means of getting on in the inner world of spiritual values.

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State Language

Is it derogatory to adopt foreign ideas and institutions if they are found to be more conducive to progress and happiness than those found in one's own country? Writes S. S. Ali in *The Insurance World*:

Was it derogatory to have replaced our indigenous bullock-carts by motor buses, or railway trains? Or, the age-old patriarchal form of government by democracy? Or, in case of dog-bites, to use the Pasteur system of treatment in place of charms and incantations, even now in use in some of our backward villages? Did China harm or humiliate herself by embracing Buddhism? Again, did Europe insult her native genius by giving up paganism in favour of Christianity, a religion of foreign origin?

If the answer is no, then why should it be derogatory to retain English as our State language, if it be found to be conducive to the progress and happiness of our people than Hindi which is being recommended by some. Let us examine this question from every possible angle.

Hindi certainly is known over a wider area in India than any other local language; but except in two or three provinces, where it happess to be the mother-tongue of the people, it is not known well enough to serve any useful purpose. In the rest of the Indian provinces, its knowledge represents no more than the ability to articulate a few words or sentences, preposterous in respect of both grammar and pronunciation, and that also amongst a certain section of the urban population only. Its claim to be regarded as the Lingua Franca of the country, therefore, is without any foundation whatsoever. In order that it may be used as such, it will have to be taught the same hard way as English is now taught.

Now, it may be argued that since learning of both English and Hindi involves the same amount of time and energy, why not teach Hindi, which is, after all, an indigenous language?

The counter-argument is that whereas Hindi is a purely local medium, English is almost a universal one. Once one has mastered this latter language one is no longer a citizen of India only, but a citizen of the world. And today, whether one realises it or not, we are all citizens of the world, it being no longer possible for a civilized nation to live in water-tight isolation in a specific geographical unit. For the first time in the history of the world, realization is beginning to dawn upon mankind that the world is one; that a diseased spot in one part of it affects the health and welfare of the rest; that it cannot settle down to peaceful and progressive conditions, if even one part of it remains diseased, or neglected, or is subjected to selfish treatment by another.

This being so, knowlelge of an international language is essential, and since English is the only language which can claim that status, for us ,who have the 'open sesame' to it, to give it up willingly and deliberately would be a highly retrograde step. It would be like an island nation giving up its navy at the instance of a set of clamorous thinkers who have arrived at the conclusion that for creatures of the land, it is derogatory to use maritime transport or seek naval protection.

It may be protested that it is not our intention to give up English altogether, but to retain it as an optional second language, together with such other European languages as German, French, and so on. That I am afraid, will not take us very far. Second languages are never learnt properly, as we all know who have had Persian, or Sanskrit, or Arabic in our schools and colleges. If we are to learn it well enough to benefit from its virile literature, and to hold our own in markets and conferences of the world, it must continue as our State language. Human beings are essentially lazy, and the only way one can ensure their proper learning of a language is by way of reward through State recognition.

Is it possible to have Hindi as our State language, and at the same time learn English as proficiently as we do now? I am afraid not. The average man's time and opportunities are limited. He has first to learn his mother tongue. Then Hindi, if it be adopted as the national language. Then, after having learnt these two, he will have to turn his attention to a third language. Now, where will he have the time for all these?

To adopt Hindi, therefore, as our State language is to impose upon a vast majority of Indians an added unnecessary burden.

From a purely cold-blooded business point of view, therefore, it would be a national economy to prescribe only two languages: First the language of the province, which one must learn; and then English, which will serve as an inter-Provincial, as well as an international medium. A Province can, if necessary, have two official languages, as in some parts of Canada: the local language as English.

Assuming it is a little more difficult to learn English than Hindi, does not the reward justify the additional labour? The learner is certainly acquiring a more useful equipment. It will always involve more labour to make a motor car than a bullock-cart, but does not the product justify the extra labour?

Then comes the question of adequacy. Is Hindi, as it stands today, adequate to meet the requirements of a highly developed modern State which include, not only a comprehensive political vocabulary, but also vocabularies for the Army, the Navy, Civil and Mechanical Engineering, Botany, Biology, Geology, Mining and so on and so on, in a never-ending array. A motor car alone has over four thousand different components, for each of which there is a specific or a generic name. Hindi not only has no names for these, but also, so far as I am aware, it has not even a recognized name for the motor car itself. This means new words will have to be coined in hundreds of thousands, probably in millions, to cover the entire gamut of the highly complicated modern life. Exactly how many years it

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l take to complete the feat, and how many more these newly coined words and phrases to acquire equivocal meanings, through usage, through court gments, and other processes, it is indeed difficult forecast. And when, if even all this has been done, language that will evolve will not be the homely di we know, but a new language, probably very ch more foreign to us than English. Is it worthwhile taking all this trouble, and suffering so much nvenience just to satisfy the over-sentimentalism a few?

I say "a few" because except for some in the in- or provinces, the people of the rest of the Indian vinces simply dread the idea of having to replace glish by a primitive language like Hindi. If a gallup were taken, I have not the slightest doubt that glish would win, but unfortunately, the supporters this language lack the powerful political magnetism bigotry and intolerance. Politicians of the interior vinces, who seldom come into contact with foreigners generally more intolerant than others, and there- e also more popular. This is indeed unfortunate, through their reversion to the ways and habits of past, their avowed attachment for everything in- enous, good or bad, and their blind antipathy ards everything foreign, regardless of merit, they e built up around themselves such a halo of riotic glamour that it will be a long time before y can be dislodged from power by the more rant leaders from other more progressive provinces, through constant contact with the British and er foreigners, have developed a more cosmopolitan look.

It is hotly argued that now that we are a e people, to continue to use a foreign language uld be slavish.

This is, of course, rank nonsense, for language nothing whatsoever to do with either freedom or lishness, which are attitudes of the mind, and one develop either under any set of conditions. I think m right in saying that never was a freer man born n Mahatma Gandhi, and yet he lived all his life der foreign rule, and was a product of foreign edu- ion, received in a foreign country. On the con- y, I am inclined to think that it was his foreign cation that was to a great extent responsible for irrepressible urge for freedom. Take, again, the of the unscrupulous "bania" who would sit hours the door of a petty official, ready to pay any price honour, dignity and bribes for a little monetary Well, he will always remain a slave, whatever be government he is under.

When we find that almost every leader of India's freedom movement was a product of English education, to say that learning of this language warps the mind, is sheer perversity.

On the contrary, it may be laid down almost as a general truth, that those Indians who have not had any English education are not by any means the most inspiring specimens of our countrymen. Our so-called Pandits and Moulvis are not only like children to talk to, but are also, as a rule, undependable, and can easily be swayed one way or the other. Black market and other anti-social activities are carried on more by people innocent of English education than their more modern counter-part. English education at least improves them in this sense, that even when they do indulge in such activities, they are not altogether free from a sense of guilt.

Foreign education is again discountenanced on the ground that it tends to mix cultures. This is no doubt true, but it is a point in favour of such education rather than against it. I do not see any virtue in wanting to grow up along a rut shaped by men hundreds, and thousands of years ago, and who, in knowledge and experience, could not as a whole but be inferior to us. We claim affinity to them in such pride and affection because they are not here for us to see. If it were possible to see them, we would probably find them more foreign to us than our most distant contemporaries. A modern Englishman would, I am sure, feel more at home in the company of a contemporary Indian, than in that of an ancestor of his who lived a thousand years ago, never bathed, dressed uncouthly, fought brutally and interminably with neighbouring clans or political parties, and dug his teeth ferociously into huge chunks of half-burnt meat.

The world that we live in today is very different to the world of hundreds and thousands of years ago, when people, living in narrow unsurpassable areas, not only did not have to come into contact with others, but did not even know of them. Their requirements were simple and limited too, so that they could live in blissful independence of one another. Fortunately or unfortunately, that world is no more. Science has annihilated distances, and crushed down all geographical barriers. The result is that our conception of units is becoming more ideological than geographical. We are beginning to identify ourselves not so much as Americans or French, British or Italians, but as socialists or capitalists, communists or democrats, and so on.

Science has also placed in our hands destructive

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weapons of such terrible implications, that unless we hurry up and demolish our mental barriers and distances as well, in keeping with the exigencies of the times, we shall soon end by completely annihilating ourselves. It is necessary, therefore, that we take stock of things as they are now, and mould our outlook on that basis, rather than slavishly follow past ideologies of patriotism, nationalism, culture and so on.

If by the word foreign is meant something that did not originate in a particular geographical area, to have antipathy towards it is sheer childishness.

To judge the merits of a commodity, or an idea, or an institution, the only tests to be applied are—does it beautify life? Does it help to establish better relationship between man and man? Is it conducive to general human welfare? If the answer is yes, it is no longer foreign, but belongs to the whole world.

To get the best out of nature, one must utilise whatever one finds good or useful anywhere.

It is the same with regard to everything else such as language, literature, ideology and so on. If a nation is to grow to it full stature, it must be ready to assimilate whatever useful or civilising it finds anywhere in the world.

Every country has evolved something beautiful about art, science, religion, business methods, material things, methods of living, and so on. To get a really full life we must learn to co-ordinate all these. This is not slavishness but common sense.

People cry themselves hoarse on the subject of preservation of national cultures. But when you come to think of it, what is culture but habits of thought and action adopted by our forefathers to exist and thrive under certain geographical and other conditions, such thoughts and actions being naturally influenced by their knowledge and experience of things at the time? Also include in this list, if you like things created to give expression to the yearnings of the soul. These, again in their turn, were influenced by the physical and other conditions around them. As these conditions change and our knowledge of things improves, if we still want to mould our thoughts and aspirations after those of our ancestors, then we are just retarding growth.

What is the function of a language? To express ideas. Nothing more and nothing less. Now the language that does it most effectively and to the largest group of people is certainly the most desirable language.

This is cold logic.

We have before us the choice of one of the two languages—Hindi and English. Now let us see which is the most desirable.

Hindi is, firstly, utterly inadequate to meet the requirements of a highly developed modern State. Secondly, it is purely a local medium, not spoken or understood anywhere outside of some parts of India. Thirdly, from a literary point of view, it is primitive. If my information is correct, nothing original of a worthwhile character, has been written in this language since Kabir wrote his poems about 500 years ago. It has no literature which can profitably inform, educate, or inspire a modern man or citizen. Its past history of prolonged literary and intellectual barrenness does not inspire one with great hopes as to its future potentialities.

English, on the other hand, has the richest collections of words and phrases with accepted meanings on all subjects, such as physics, chemistry, medicine, engineering, politics, civil, criminal and constitutional laws etc., etc. It is secondly, the only language in the world that can claim an international status. Thirdly, its literature is rich, virile, comprehensive and up-to-date, and in all worldly matters more idealistic than any other. Close connection with this literature gives us an opportunity to imbibe the high efficiency, idealism, civic consciousness, the high sense of integrity of the world's most constitutional race—qualities without which no venture, social, industrial, commercial, or political can attain any marked degree of success.

These being the points for and against the two languages, the choice should not present any difficulty. And after all, English is not quite as foreign as some of us try to make it out. Two hundred years of association has robbed it of its newness, and Indians of all provinces have developed a peculiar aptitude for learning it.

The ability to absorb a beneficient foreign institution is not slavishness. On the contrary, not to be able to do so is slavish. It is slavishness to the past which retards growth. And to cease to grow is to head for destruction.

If it is a good thing to be patriotic to a portion of the world we call our country, it must be a better thing to be patriotic to the whole world—to humanity in general. To achieve this greater good, our narrow desire to grow up as a distinct entity must be discarded. Instead, we must face the world with an open mind, ready to adopt whatever helps progress of the world as a whole. One of the most powerful factors for bringing about a better understanding between the diverse elements of the world is language, and since there is no other language which is so widely spoken and understood as English, we should have no hesitation in retaining it as our State language.

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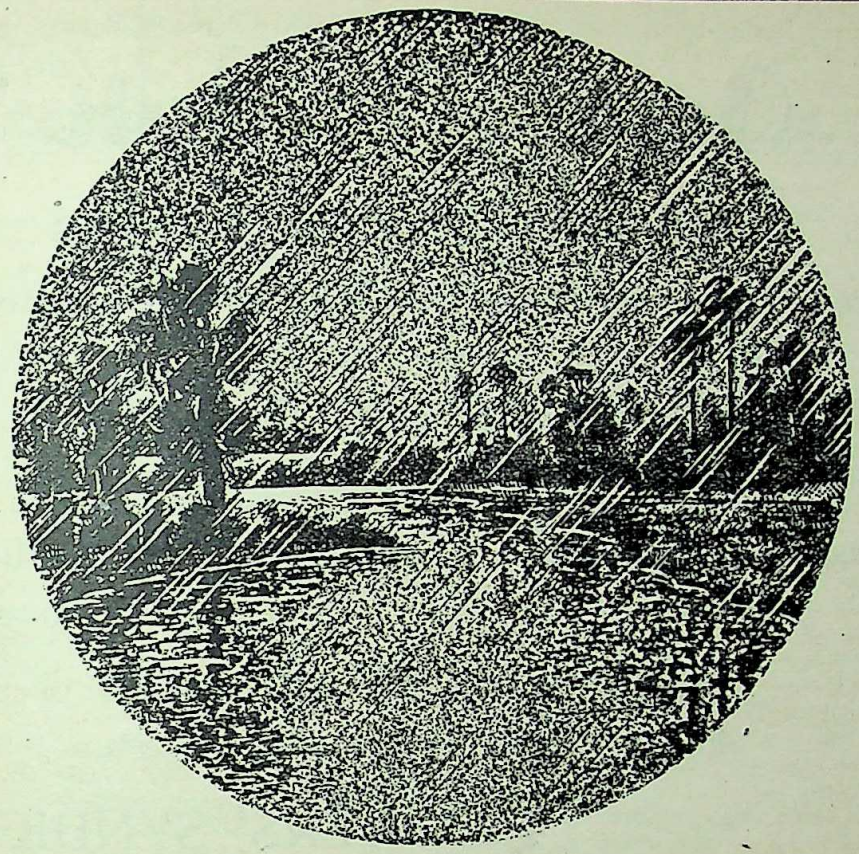

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

National Movements in Indonesia

Dr. O. B. Tio writes in the special number of *Merdeka*, May 1948, on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of Indonesian struggle for freedom:

May 20 this year is a significant day for our Indonesian people. Why? It was 40 years ago, when the first organised national movement was founded in Indonesia. This does not mean that before 1908 no struggle took place in our country against the Dutch rulers. On the contrary!

A continuous wave of struggle for national independence was and has always been carried on against Dutch colonialists despite the white terror.

The Java, Atjeh, Bali-Lombok wars and others in the past were events of struggle, which signified the class-movements in our country to get rid of foreign rule. Unfortunately these were led in an *unorganised* and *spontaneous* manner.

To celebrate our 40th anniversary of national movement and to provide the reader with some idea of our Indonesian struggle in the modern organised way against Dutch imperialism, the writer would like to divide our national movements into 3 (three) periods:

I. 1908-1918: Beginning of the foundation of organised national movements in our country. National consciousness and organised struggle against Dutch imperialism for national independence.

II. 1918-1945: Period of mass-struggle, revolts, strikes against Dutch and Japanese imperialism for national independence. White terror and mass deportation to concentration camps by Dutch and Japanese imperialism against our Indonesian people.

III. 1945-till present date: Foundation of our Indonesian Republic. Continuation of our national anti-imperialist struggle for *full* independence, democracy, peace and prosperity of our masses.

I. The Period of 1908-1918

The beginning of our organised Indonesian national movements dated from the year 1908. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 and the defeat of the corrupted Russian army opened a new page in world history. Here for the first time in the modern era, the "superior" white race was beaten and defeated by the "inferior" coloured race.

This event reflected itself not only in our country, but generally speaking in all Asiatic, colonial, dependent countries and oppressed peoples. It was the beginning of the awakening of national consciousness and organised national movements in our country.

In the year 1908 a group of Indonesian students and intelligentsia in our country established a national organisation with the name of *Budi-Utomo*. (Noble Endeavour). The organisation had formerly no political aims. It had no deep roots among our masses. It was founded for the purpose of demanding better educational and social conditions from the Dutch rulers and was for a long period the organisation of the Indonesian educated class and restricted to Java only.

Shortly after the foundation of the *Budi-Utomo*, another national organisation was founded in the year of 1911. It had some political aims, but based on religious grounds. This national-organisation was known as the *Sarekat Islam* (Moslem League). Since the majority of our people are Moslems, the *Sarekat Islam* gained popularity and influence among our masses.

The third national and political organisation, which brought about consciousness of nationalism was founded in the year 1912, and known under the name of *Indische Partai* (East-Indies Party). Based on the principle of *one* people belonging to *one* nation and not on any religious belief, the East-Indies Party embraced all parts of Indonesia. The East-Indies Party then changed its name to *Nasional Indische Partai* (Indies National Party).

The strong Islamic ideological principles of the *Sarekat Islam* could not avoid the penetration of the new idea of nationalism which was growing up daily in our country. Our people at that time were not yet politically-minded, but strong national feelings found deep roots among our people.

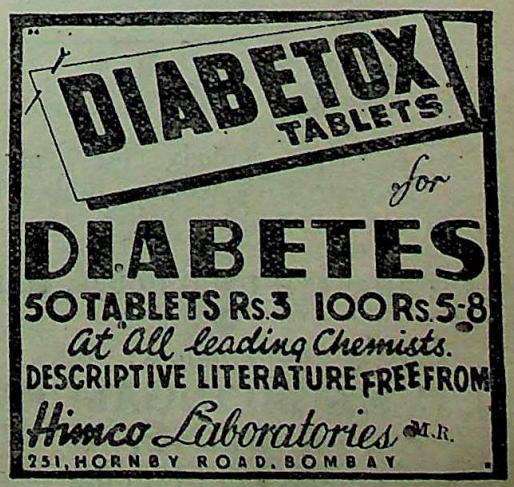
The *Sarekat Islam* had to consider the dialectical march of events in our country. Henceforth the organisation had to base its line of action not purely on religious, but also on more liberal and nationalistic principles.

In 1914, just before the first World War, a new organisation was founded with socialistic principles. The founders were Dutchmen and the new organisation was called *Indische Social Democratische Vereeniging* (East Indies Social Democratic Association). At the beginning only our intelligentsia joined this new movement, because our masses were just in the infant period of politics. Nevertheless the nationalistic ideal which had so far urged us for the attainment of national independence, from that moment onwards, gradually, took over to it more democratic and socialistic ideals. On account of these new political and ideological developments in our country a new period was ushered in the history of our national and mass-movements.

World War I was raging in the West. In Russia the revolution broke out in the year 1917. The Russian masses smashed the power of imperialism and established a people's Government. In the same year of the Russian revolution the Communist Party of Indonesia was born.

The historic year 1917 paved the way to a Russian victory in the class-struggle against imperialism and found an echo everywhere in the world.

The eyes of our people were opened. New forms and methods of class-struggle have been since then introduced and adopted in our national struggle for independence against Dutch imperialism.



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II. THE PERIOD OF 1918-1945

During World War I, Dutch imperialism remained neutral. Due to the change in the international political situation and being afraid of losing their rich colony, the Dutch colonialists promised, under the pressure of our national movements, to give more liberties to Indonesians.

A well-known fact of imperialism is that it does not fulfil the promises made by it to improve the lot of the masses. The same happened with the Dutch imperialists. As soon as the dangerous period of 1918 was over, the Dutch rulers forgot the promises made to our people. The promised liberties and reorganised constitutional government in Indonesia for our people materialised merely in the establishment of the so-called "Volksraad" (People's Council). It was nothing else than a bogey institution. More than one-third of the members were niminated by the Dutch and the remaining members were not popularly elected and had absolutely no political power. Political power and administration remained in the hands of the rulers. It was a bitter blow for our national movement and was due to lack of experience. In the meantime repressive measures against the liberties and democratic rights of our people were introduced and increased.

Exploitation, poverty and repressive measures were carried to such heights that they became almost unbearable for our people. A revolution broke out in the year 1926-1927. For two months our heroic people gave resistance to the Dutch rulers and during this period the masses kept power in their own hands. It was the first experience in modern times for our people to stage an open battle against the Dutch exploiters. After the revolution which failed in the year 1926-27, Dutch terror raged in Indonesia directed against the masses and the national movements.

Several hundreds of the best sons of our country were hanged and several thousands of the best sons and daughters of Indonesia, the flowers of the nation were sent to upper Digul in New Guinea. In this way the Dutch rulers took their revenge against our people who fought for liberty, justice and humanity. The Dutch colonialists tried to break the revolutionary spirit and struggle of our people, but in vain. Despite the horrible terror of the Dutch colonialists the struggle for freedom went on. In Europe, especially in the Netherlands, our students were very active. In the Netherlands Indonesian students had their own organisation the *Perhimpunan Indonesia* (Indonesian Association.) Originally established as a cultural and social organisation, the Indonesian Association turned over into a political national organisation and formed the nucleus of a struggle for our masses outside our country. It had close contact with the national movements and masses in Indonesia who were forced by the rulers to work underground in our struggle for national independence. In Holland Dutch imperialists took revenge against our students. Indonesians were arrested and their houses searched and raided.

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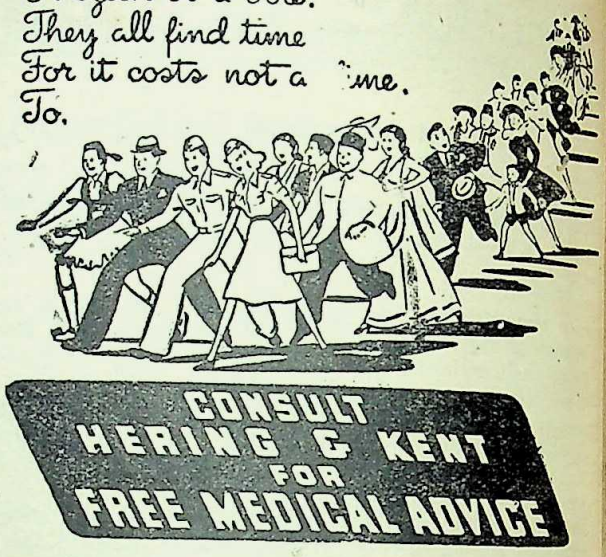

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The Indonesian students' prosecution took place in the ar 1928. Dutch imperialists accused the *Perhimpunan donesia* of having the aim of overthrowing the Dutch vernment! Lies of imperialism are well known facts in story. After detaining them for six months the Dutch vernment was forced to release the Indonesian students, cause nothing could be proved against them.

No concentration camps, death sentences and white rror could break the will of our people fighting for a st cause.

In 1934, despite the work of Dutch agents in Indonesia, revolt broke out among the crew of the Dutch cruiser, e *Seven Provinces*. Under the leadership of the Indosians, with the co-operation of the Dutch hands, the ew bound their officers, took the command of the cruiser to their own hands and raised the red flag. That was a ow on the face of the Dutch rulers. Never in their story, had the Dutch capitalists experienced this. Before ey were finally killed in battle, the crew were for two ys the masters of the cruiser.

(The blood which our people shed on the battlefield r freedom bears fruit on the soil of our country). The tch colonialists claim in their propaganda to the outde world that there is "quiet" everywhere in Indonesia. he frequent uprisings among the peasants, during this eriod, are facts which the Dutch rulers cannot deny. o amount of censorship, terror, etc., against our masses d national movements from the Dutch side can bring our ople to their knees. We will not bow to the Dutch ho are trying to deceive general opinion abroad with eir slanderous propaganda, concerning our people, national ovements and country.

The cowardly and treacherous policy of imperialism as demonstrated again when the autocratic Dutch governent in Indonesia collapsed without resistance in the ear 1942 at the time of the Japanese invasion. They ed with their entire belongings. These gentlemen left r people and country helpless and defenceless against e Japanese invader. Our people however despite lack f armaments and under the most difficult circumstances efended our country against the Japanese invader. The ruggle for national independence went on during this eriod.

Not less than three millions were killed by the Japase and four millions more were crippled during our sistance movement against foreign invasion.

Immediately after the surrender of the Japanese our ople disarmed the Japanese invaders and proclaimed the epublic of Indonesia in August, 1945.

III. The Period of 1945-Till Present Date

After the proclamation of our Republic a new danger threatening our people and country. The former Dutch rulers with the help of their British and American friends have been able to despatch to Indonesia well-equipped troops to fight our Republic and people. Readers are informed by our *Merdeka* news of what has been going on during the existence of our Republic. The Dutch colonialists wish to regain their power of pre-war days and launch a colonial war against our Republic.

Whatever the outcome of the negotiations between our Republic and the Dutch one thing is certain, that our people will defend our Republic and country with their lives against the Dutch colonialists to achieve full national independence, democracy, peace and prosperity. In building up a happy and prosperous Indonesia, let our people and leaders take lessons from the past and present.

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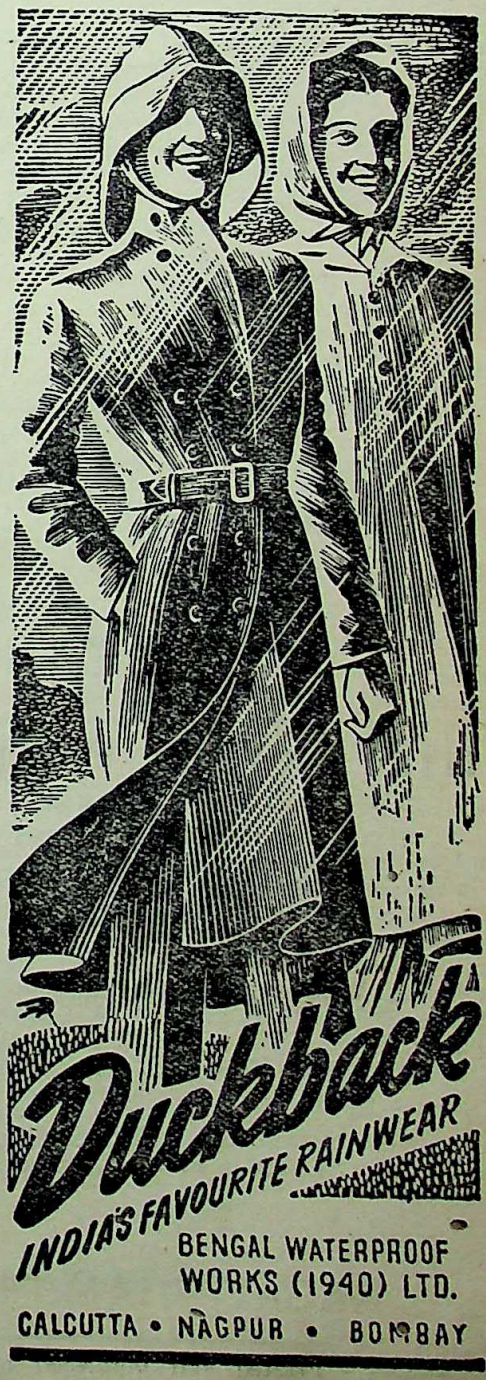

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Women's Awakening in Indonesia

Dr. Mrs. Soekanto writes in *Merdeka*, May, 1948:

With the birth of the National Movement in Indonesia 40 years ago, the necessity of giving better education to Indonesian girls was also felt. Hitherto, the task of Indonesian women had been to take care of the household and their children. In spite of the fact that women were often treated by their husbands as mere servants, getting married was then considered to be a great privilege. R. A. Kartini, a daughter of the Regent of Japara, was the first Indonesian woman who realised that better education must be given to Indonesian girls in order to improve the position of Indonesian women. She started a model institution for Indonesian girls, thus paving the way for the Indonesian women's awakening.

After her demise in 1905, several local Indonesian Women's Organisations came into being. Though they were only housewifery organisations, yet, at that time, it was a remarkable progress towards women's emancipation.

Now Indonesian women could hold their own meetings, speak in public as did the men. Then, several women organisations aiming at improving the position of Indonesian women grew gradually. In 1912, several national elementary schools for girls, known as 'Kartini Schools' were established. Though most of them did not go beyond the elementary schools, more and more girls went to school.

After the first great war, gradually more and more girls attended secondary schools. But it was still uncommon for a girl to go to college.

An American lady, who was in Indonesia in 1925 and returned to Indonesia 10 years later, could hardly believe the great change that had taken place during the intervening period. It was not strange any more for a girl to go to college. Now they were as keen as boys in studying law, medicine, teaching, etc. They even went abroad for higher studies—all alone. The lady would even be more surprised if she could see the present Indonesian women.

After the proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesian women have become much more advanced. This can be attributed to the favourable conditions created by the Republic and the change that has taken place in the minds of the parents who used to object to their daughters going out freely. Now, the parents allow their daughters to go everywhere to help the villagers, teaching the people to read and write and about hygiene, and supplying them information on important current events. During the fighting against the Dutch, the nurses risked their lives at the front in order to lessen the pain and the burdens of wounded soldiers. As in the new constitution of the Republic of Indonesia it is already provided that women have the same rights as men, women's organisations are no more at present fighting for the right of equality with men, but for making women conscious of their task as good citizens of the new Republic.

Now, there is no more objection to women taking to any profession. It depends entirely upon their ability. There have been women ministers in the Republic. There are women representatives in the Republican Provisional Parliament and local Councils, though the number of educated women is much smaller than that of educated men.

It is a common thing now to see girls, even married women working in offices. They are happy doing work for the Republic. The young Republic with a high percentage of illiteracy cannot afford to let educated citizens do nothing. At least educated women can utilize their knowledge in teaching others who have been deprived of the opportunity of acquiring the arts of writing and reading. For this purpose they collect neighbouring women three times a week for an hour's course each time. This course is called the 'A.B.C. Course' and usually takes three months to complete. This course enables women to acquire the elements of reading and writing. Of course, much depends upon their practice in order to be able to read simple books and newspapers, and thus inform themselves of the outside world. The more advanced the women are, the lower is the rate of polygamy. Polygamy has not yet been abolished in Indonesia because its abolition goes against the Islamic religion. Some women organisations have fought for it, though without good success. But it is proved now that by educating the people, women will achieve what they want. Indonesian women are helping to build up the country. They have fought for a better position and are fighting for the benefit of all, towards a happy and prosperous, independent and sovereign Republic of Indonesia.

—

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Editor: **Sophia Wadia**

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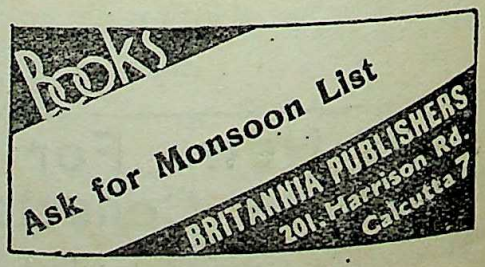

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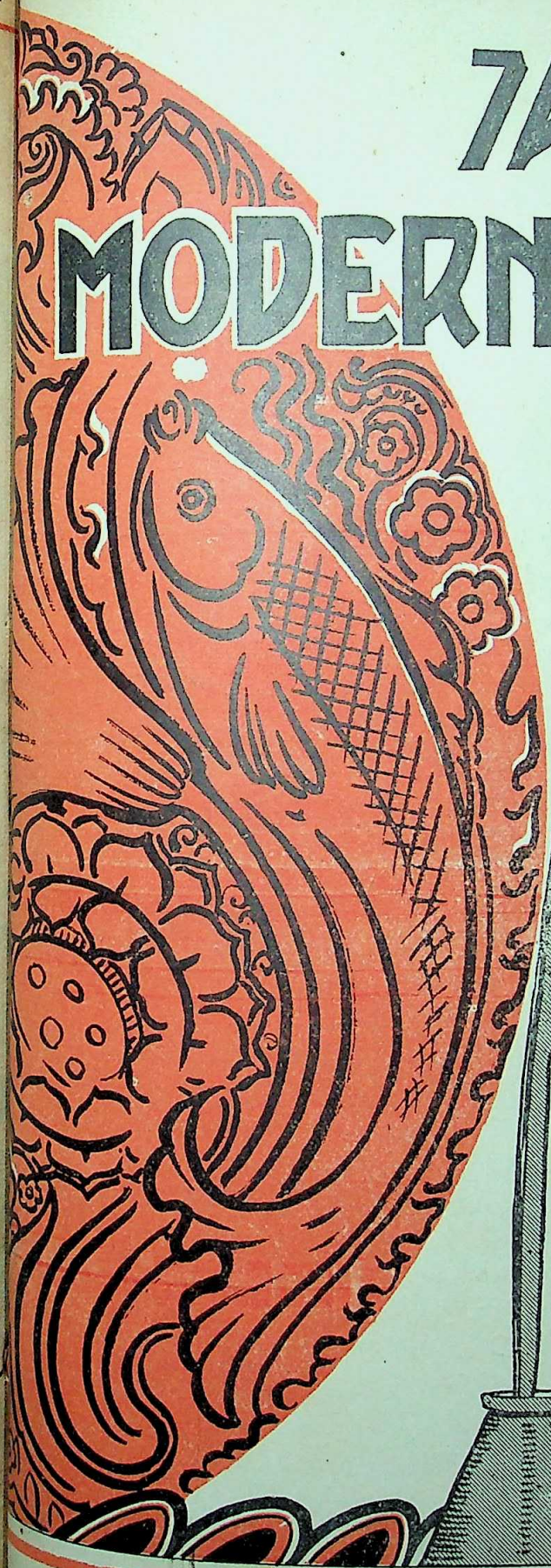

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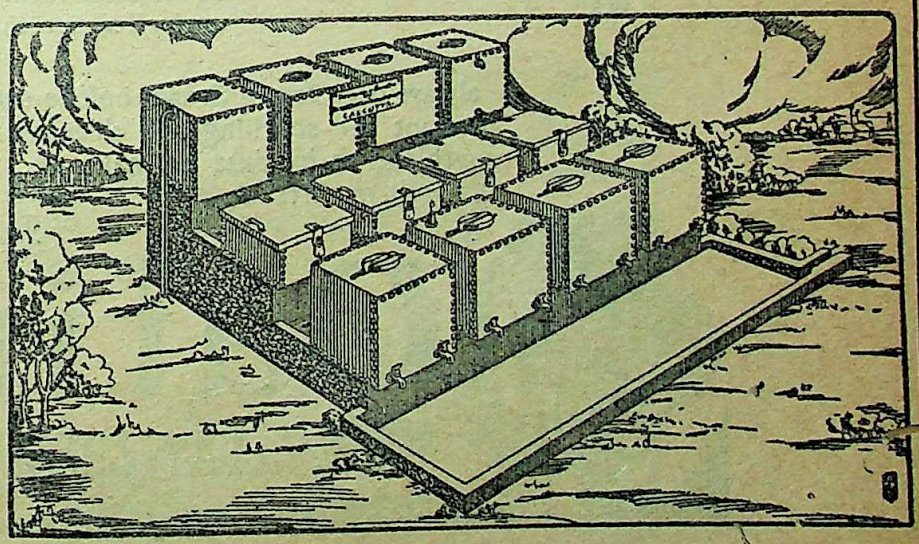

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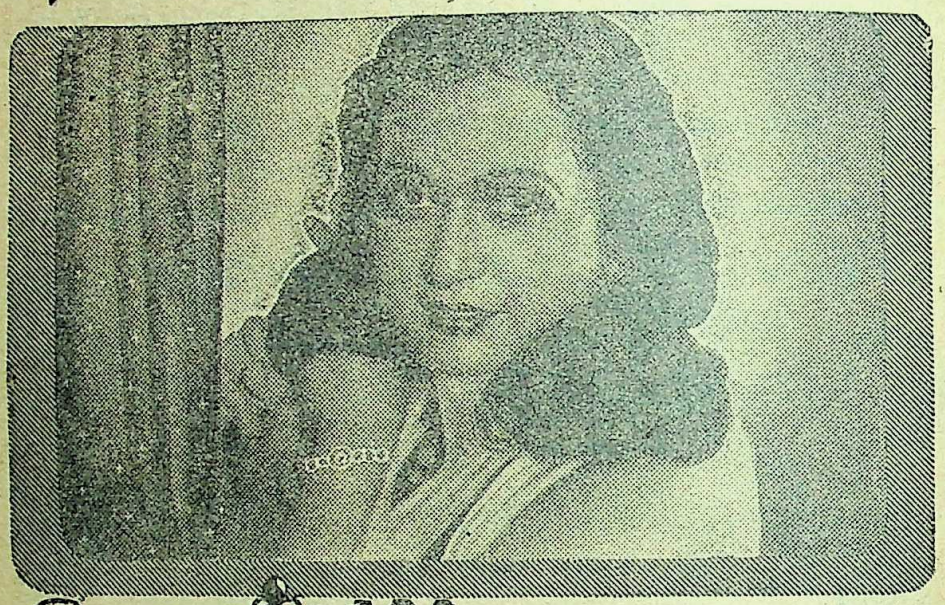

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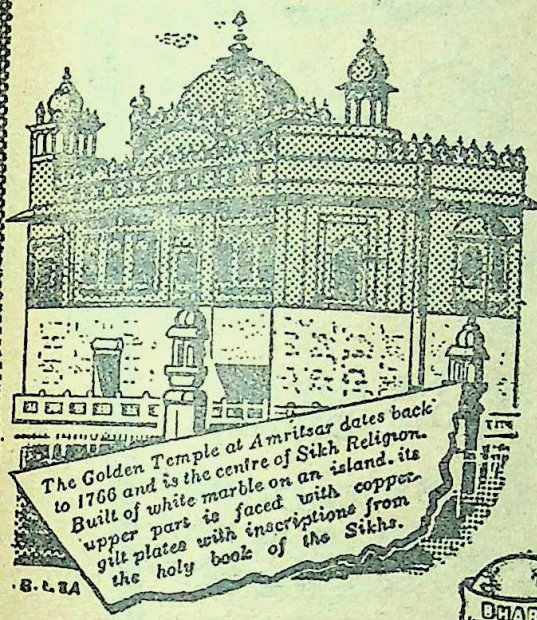

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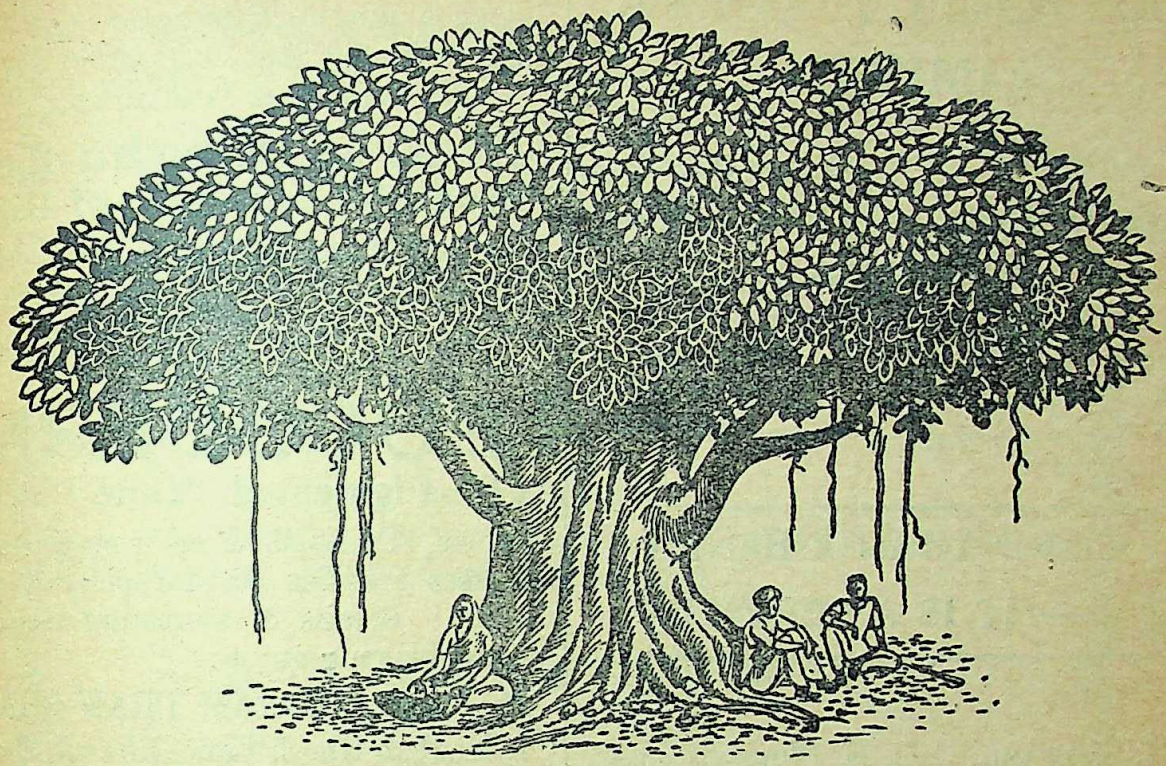

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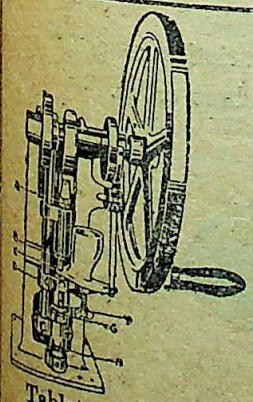

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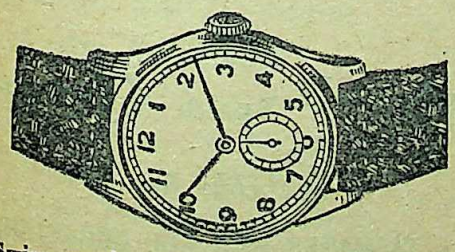

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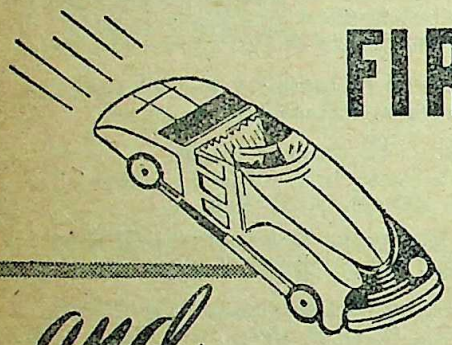

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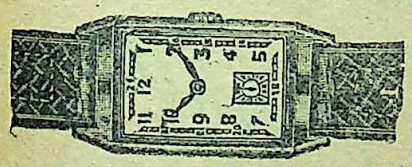

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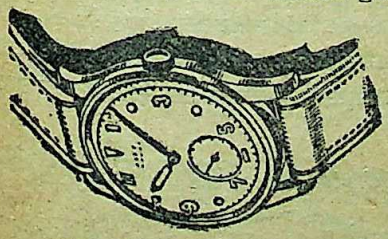

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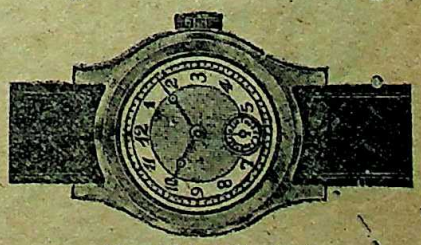

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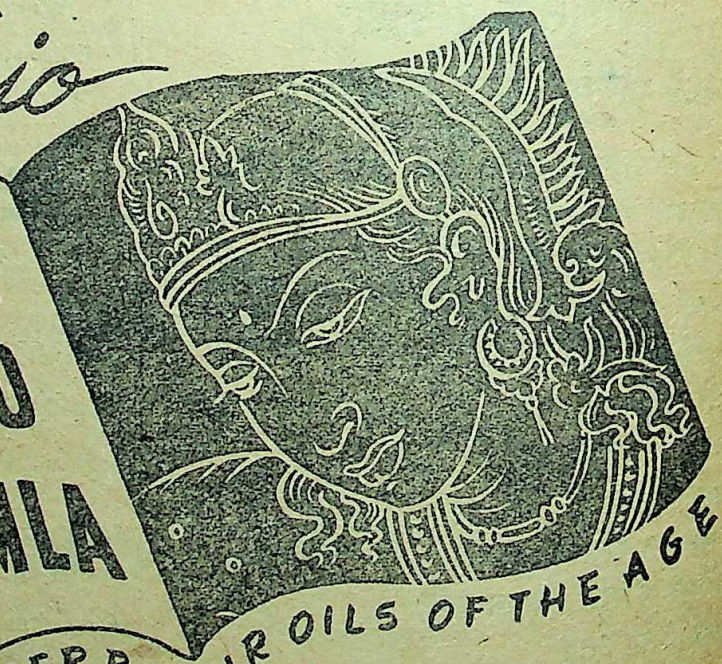

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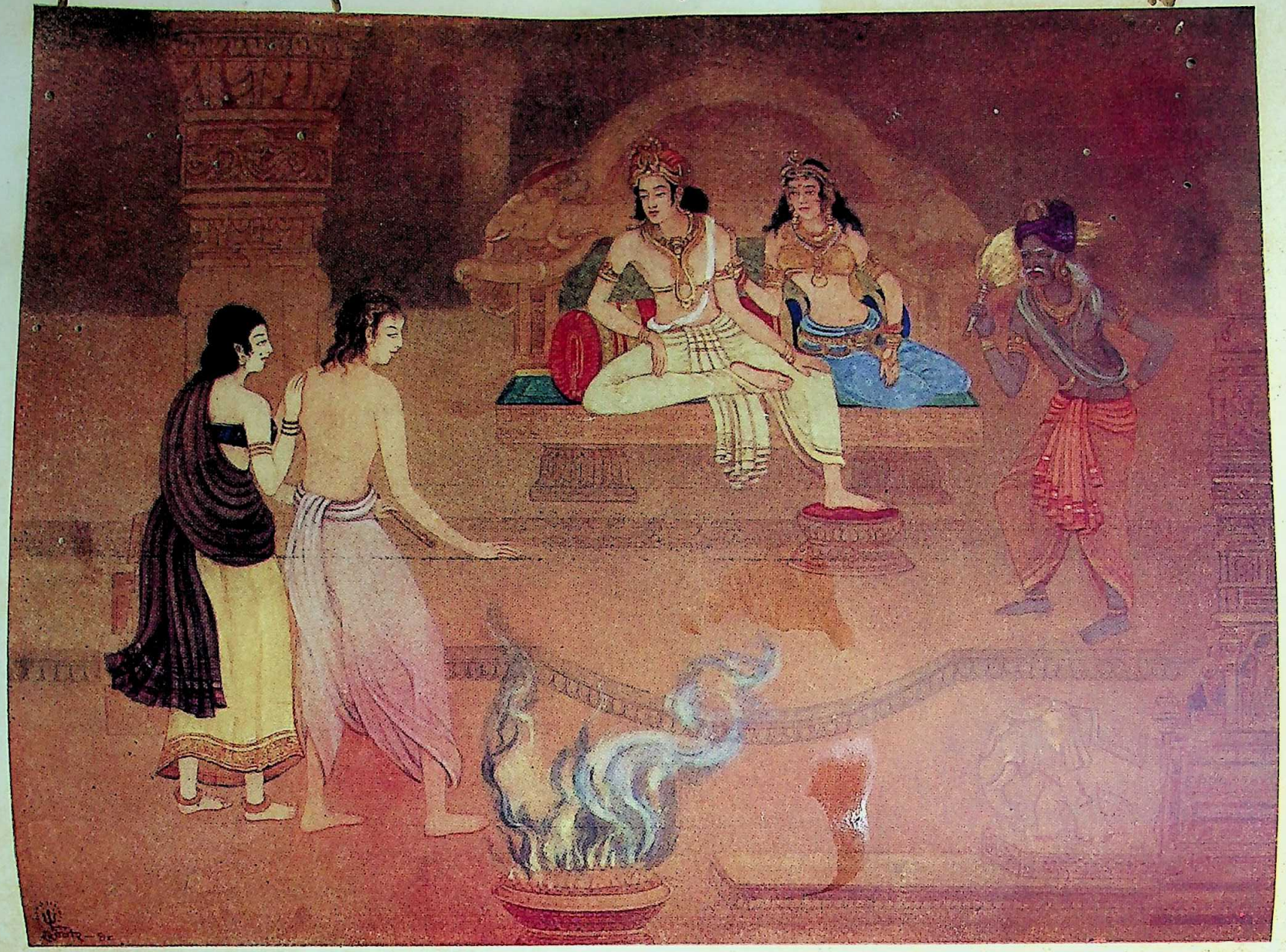

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THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1948

VOL. LXXXIV, No. 4 WHOLE No. 502

NOTES

The "United Nations" and India

The International tangle is getting more and more complex. The Indian Union's position is still very anomalous. Though we have shown a desire for peace and amity all round, the two groups into which the U.N.O. is becoming pronouncedly divided are both making moves to force the Union of India to declare itself as a partisan of one or the other. Political black-mail is being resorted to against India, at the U.N.O. by the democratic group, while Russia is maintaining a sphinx-like silence, being well-aware of the fact that these blundering moves on the part of the democracies are tending to force the Indian Union into the orbit of Moscow.

But all the same it cannot be denied that in the diplomatic sphere we have as yet attained nothing or little to our advantage. On the contrary, we have made certain blunders, mostly minor, which have been interpreted by the world outside to our disadvantage. The sending of Vijayalakshmi Pandit to Moscow and Asaf Ali to Washington gave an impression to the democracies that was quickly utilized by our enemies in the U.N.O. Further, the unauthorized declarations, by Asaf Ali at Washington and Syed Hassan at Cairo, that in the Palestine affair India was backing the Pan-Arab confederacy, gave needless offence to the Zionists and their sympathisers, without bringing any benefit whatever to our cause. For, it must be apparent to all but the densest that the Pan-Arab leaders have no intention whatsoever to throw their weight on the side of India, at any time.

Pandit Nehru is going to the Commonwealth Conference. He will have an opportunity to assess the position at first hand. The International tension today stands at almost the critical point of explosion. Our Foreign Minister, needless to say, must be well-aware of the fact. And further, by now, he must have realized by bitter experience, that blissful faith and innocence alone cannot enable us to keep clear of the traps and pitfalls laid at every step in our path through the agency of our enemies. Caution is the prime essential now, for India must not get herself entangled willy-nilly in the International imbroglio. No nation today is being actuated by purely altruistic motives to come to the aid of another and as such we must not either be fooled by empty promises nor should we be stampeded by black-mailers.

Our problems as yet are mainly domestic, though enemy aggression has made deep inroads on our resources. And by the same token, we must look to ourselves alone in the main for the solution. If we ask for outside aid, as we did in the matter of Kashmir, the price paid will have to be heavy beyond measure, and we may find ourselves far more involved in the end than what we were at the outset.

We must open our eyes to realities. We must understand that "Comity of Nations" is an empty phrase, excepting at the lowliest level. Hyderabad is an object lesson, as is the case of Kashmir. The rise in the tempo of anti-Indian propaganda abroad, the gun-running exploits of Sydney Cotton and other soldiers of fortune, the mock-heroics of Zafrullah Khan, were not isolated phenomena. It all indicated concerted action by the enemies of India, and the lack of alertness and want of efficiency in ourselves. The howl of rage and anguish that went up in the British Press at the collapse of the Pakistan-*cum*-Razakar plot in Hyderabad was not merely the echo of the gnashing of teeth by the Colonel Blimps of Britain. It had a far deeper significance. For example, Mr. Bevin did not observe any war-like spirit in Pakistan, even after it was admitted that Pakistani regulars were fighting in Kashmir, but he was prompt in opening his lacerated heart when the Police-action went through according to plan in Hyderabad!

The World is well-aware of the weight of the tremendous potentials of India. Naturally each group wants it to be ranged on its side, in the event of World War III. If it be not available, then that potential must either be destroyed or rendered useless as in China of today. We must realise this fact and spare

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By Ranvir Saxena
Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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no vigilance or effort to guard our assets and to enhance our potentials.

Mr. Bevin, and others of that ilk, in and out of the U.N.O., watched Pakistan letting loose hell in Kashmir, with mass rape, loot, murder and arson in its train, without turning a hair. They saw the Pakistan-*cum*-Razakar plot in Hyderabad develop to alarming proportions with smug contentment. Hundreds of thousands of poor inoffensive people, mostly Hindus went through untold suffering without those worthies uttering a single word of protest. But when the Hyderabad plot collapsed, then we hear no end of protests. Even Argentina is moved to "righteous indignation." And this is the "United Nations' World."

Hyderabad and Kashmir

More than once we have expressed the opinion that the sentiments and follies that created the Pakistan State were at the root of the Hyderabad imbroglio. History will record that the stresses and strains of the last decade that led to the final upheaval of Pakistan were carefully developed inside the Nizam's State. And it is significant that a professor in the Osmania University, Prof. Abdul Latif, should have been the first, who attempted to rationalize the inchoate ideas of a separate State or States for Indian Muslims to be carved out of India. Now that the Nizam has seen light and realized that with a 87 per cent Hindu population in the Hyderabad State it is foolish and futile to think and speak of this State being "Islamic," the world might have thought that the problem of Hyderabad would no longer trouble their thoughts. But events proved the contrary. The watch-dogs of the United Nations Organization, a motley crowd, half democrat and half imperialist-fascist, are so anxious to justify their existence, that they refuse to allow the Nizam himself to withdraw his complaint filed before them by his reactionary emissaries. And thus we witness a burlesque where the judges are replacing the complainants! The Indian Union must not complain; it is the part and lot of a free State to be subjected to the slings and arrows of an outside world which is generally ignorant of the essentials of a problem and where there are people who flourish by fishing in troubled waters. Britain's Foreign Minister, Mr. Bevin, exposed the true mind of his country's ruling class, Tory or Labour, when he "regretfully" discovered on September 15 last, the development of "a war-like spirit" in the Indian Union. The Kashmir affair high-lighted the fact that irresponsibility and malice are the ruling passions in Britain in regard to India of our fellow Dominion. In October, 1947, Pakistani hordes were let loose by their leaders on a campaign of loot, arson and rape on the unoffending peoples of Kashmir. The Maharaja acceded to the Indian Union for protection from this invasion, and the rulers of our State were left no choice but to hasten to the defence of a territory which was juridically Indian. Despite difficulties of terrain and the lack of adequate land communication. The Indian Union forces have given protection to the stricken people of Kashmir, pushing back the savage and brutal hordes of Pakistan. The gallant and heroic action of our armed forces have evoted admiration throughout Kashmir.

In a moment of idealism and mistaken respect for the spirit behind the UNO, the leaders of the Indian Union succumbed to the temptation of calling upon it to stop the outrage on international peace perpetrated by Pakistan. In January, 1948, delegates of the Union moved the UNO to issue directives to Pakistan, one of its member-States, to withdraw the invaders of the territories of another member-State, the Indian Union. Then ensued a series of arguments and petty quibbles which exposed the malign hand of Anglo-American power-politics; it came as a revelation to Gandhiji and the ruling authorities of the Union. It was sophistry of the deepest dye that could pretend that the Pakistanis were justified in their aggression, and could advance pleas in this behalf. For about five months with intervals this exchange of arguments continued; after which the UNO decided to send a commission to study conditions on the spot with a view to judge between the aggressor and aggrieved. The pleas that were trotted out to justify this step were so perverse that one finds it difficult to discuss them with patience.

The Commission came to India in July last; visited New Delhi and Karachi; the members came in batches and surveyed the scenes of devastation and battles in Kashmir. It interrogated ministers of the two States and the head of Kashmir Administration, Sheik Abdulla. The Pakistani ministers are reported to have confessed that their armed forces were in the field; this after months of deceit and falsehood. The Commission suggested a "Cease Fire." The Indian Union accepted it; the Pakistan rulers clouded their denial by a barrage of questions and petty quibbles. The Commission has now gone back, and we hear they are busy at Geneva drawing up their final report to be submitted to the UNO.

These two episodes of Kashmir and Hyderabad have confronted us with one fact. That for reasons unexplained the U.S.A. and Britain have lined themselves up to keep the Indian Union and Pakistan quarrelling with each other. We do not desire to accept the interpretation that these two States, one newly grown conscious of its own power and the other conscious of its declining power, have combined their forces to maintain the dominance of Anglo-American democracy over the world's affairs, and that the Indian Union and Pakistan are pawns in this game. But the way in which British Ministers and their representatives in the UNO have been behaving and the docility with which their opposite numbers in the United States have been following the British lead, strengthen the suspicion that there is substance in the suspicions referred to above. Whatever be the truth in the matter, the Indian Union cannot retreat from the path of justice.

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India's Position in the Commonwealth

The Churchill school of British politics is fond of speaking of the British Commonwealth of nations. India—the Indian Union and Pakistan—cannot by any stretch of imagination be called as being States typically representative of a British nation or nations. This was the controversy that raged in India between the "moderates" and "extremists" in Indian politics during the first fifteen years of the present century. The former talked of "colonial self-government," and the latter challenged them to prove how India with a non-British population could be a "colony" of Britain.

During the times of Ram Mohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore there was some propaganda to induce the British authorities to authorize the "colonization" of India by men and women of British stock. The hope behind this idea was that as the "colonists" of North America had been able to attain Statehood by revolting against the "mother country," so would British "colonists" in India help India to attain Statehood independent of Britain. Our ancestors did not know, perhaps, that the United States had grown to power by effacing the "Red Indians," and that the British "colonists" in India could only revolt against the "mother country" only when they could be assured that there were not any "native" Indians to trouble about.

But whatever be the reason, the fact remains that India has attained Statehood without the help of British "colonists." And the problem that confronts us today is whether or not there is any necessity for us to remain where we are—a Dominion of the "Commonwealth of Nations," as many in Britain hope to re-christen their super-State with a view to remove the stain of imperialism from off its face. During the days following the outburst of nationalism consequent on the agitation against the Curzonian partition of Bengal, the "moderates" and "extremists" were engaged in this controversy. The former were almost silenced by the absurdity of their own position, and one of the leaders of the latter, Bipin Chandra Pal, put forward a scheme that would have transformed the British Empire into an "Indo-British" Federation, India holding primacy by her resources. The ruling race could not fancy it; and the idea was still-born. With the emergence of the Gandhi era, there ensued again the old controversy.

The late Revd. Charles Andrews came out on the side of complete independence; *The Modern Review* was fully with him. Gandhiji would not make any out-right declaration; he spoke of the "substance of independence." Deshabandhu C. R. Das in his last will and testament as recorded in his Faridpore speech thought hardly of "federation" being a higher unit of State organization than what "complete independence" indicated. The Lahore resolution of 1929 did not change anything; the interpretation of the status—"independence"—remaining unauthoritative, because of every Congress leader putting on it his own interpretation. Subhas Chandra Bose was the only man who was unequivocal in his stand for complete dissociation from Britain.

The second World War hardened feeling against Britain, and Gandhiji issued the demand on Britain to "Quit India." The Cabinet Delegation's Plan seemed to accept the logic of this demand; the 20th February (1947) declaration and the Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947, were made in confirmation of this acceptance. The India Independence Bill of July, 1947, passed in the British Parliament followed the same track; and India today is a Dominion co-equal with Britain in the scheme of world States. The constitutional position being this, the question that confronts the Indian people is whether or not they will go out of the British Commonwealth. There is no sentiment that could influence us as is the case with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and North Ireland. The only consideration that seems to be unconsciously moving amongst the rulers of the Indian Union is whether or not it would be safe to move out of the strategy of defence planned by Britain, whether or not we should decide on "withdrawal from the British plan of defence," to use the words of Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari uttered in July, 1940. Rajaji is today Governor-General of India.

But since these words were uttered many things have happened. In the Constituent Assembly of India it has been solemnly resolved to proclaim "India as an Independent, Sovereign Republic." India's final State structure has yet to be decided. But there are individuals and classes in India who are represented by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, for instance, who desires the continuance of the British connection; on their behalf Dr. Ambedkar has moved for a change in the words of the above declaration substituting for the word "Republic" the word "State." This change proposed by a Minister of the Nehru Cabinet, has been interpreted as a sign of the return of softness for Britain, as a token of anxiety to retain connection with her for needs of defence at least.

The Prime Minister of the Indian Union has agreed to be present at the forthcoming Commonwealth Conference to be held in London sometime during the latter half of this month. Whether or not he will be carrying any mandate from his Cabinet, we do not know. The members of the Constituent Assembly which is the Central Legislature also have all grown wiser, and they have maintained a discreet silence on the problem, which is unhealthy for the evolution of an instructed democracy in India. We do not understand why the Nehru Cabinet should not have initiated a discussion on the subject, and got a mandate from the representatives of the people. Members also could have taken the lead in the discussion of this matter. As none of them, Ministers or legislators, have cared to do so, an intellectual vacuum, has ensued; people are being led blind-folded to a situation which may commit the country to a decision that may prove harmful to its interests.

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Anti-Indian Propaganda in Britain

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Indian High Commissioner in London, rebuked the British Press and the British Broadcasting Corporation, whom he accused of misrepresentation of the facts of India's action in Hyderabad. Mr. Menon called a Press Conference at India House on September 21 immediately after his return from a short visit to India. Mr. Menon told the assembled Press men: "We greatly regret the opinions on this matter of Hyderabad expressed by some leading newspapers in this country and also the way in which the case has been presented to the B. B. C." He continued:

"We do not charge them with malice, but it is extremely difficult for even informed people of India to accept the view that 'it is just one of those things.'

"It will become pretty apparent that the majority of Press correspondents in India have been pretty poor reporters.

"It is not my business to be concerned with the motive. I am only concerned with the consequences of misrepresentation. Consequences have a bearing on understanding and relationship and it is my business here in Britain to try to seek and promote understanding."

Mr. Menon read extracts from the *Times, Manchester Guardian, Daily Telegraph, Evening Standard, Evening News* and *Daily Graphic,* and summed up with the words "these reports are wrong and are not related to the facts."

He asked, "What do you think any objective public can think when they see that the British newspapers give more space to Hyderabad than the whole question of Indian Independence?

"From September 13 till today there has not been a single communal incident throughout the length and breadth of India.

"Every single Moslem leader of repute has stood by the Government of India and loudly proclaimed it.

"This standing together of the people during these days is a factor that the British Press might have noted, instead of writing what it did.

"The British newspapers have declared that India was at war. But that is not true.

"India was not at war. Why did India send troops into Hyderabad? If you are going to take police action, one must use sufficient force to restore order. Our army had the strictest instructions not to use more force than was necessary. Practically 99 per cent of the aerial bombing was on two air-fields. The bombing was never used to threaten civilians. The airfields had been used by gun-runners so we demobilised them. The remaining one per cent of bombs were dropped on military targets. Not a single bomb was dropped anywhere on the population or for striking terror. Our airforce co-operated with our army mainly in reconnaissance.

"In Pakistan also there has been very little trouble except one or two demonstrations. We do not want Pakistan to be a state of difficulty, anger, or poverty. We want prosperous neighbours. The general impression on lesser informed people after reading the reports in the British Press on Hyderabad is that India is on probation and that Britain is only waiting to pounce on us, as we are in trouble.

"If a fine honor, a theft, or a Royal procession had been reported in the British Press as has been the question of Hyderabad, I do not think the reporter who did it would keep his job.

"The best evidence of why we sent troops to Hyderabad is the Nizam's own story. The troops were welcomed by the population and mercy troops were left behind to deal with the situation. The Government having got Hyderabad into this state, it abdicated.

"We withdrew our troops from Secunderabad in the first instance—and this was against public opinion and some expert advice and then we sent them back again when trouble broke out. We did not say we were going to conquer, we said we were going back to restore order. There has been no disarmament of the Hyderabad Army. We have taken away such weapons as are not necessary.

"The normal administration functions in Hyderabad. We were merely negotiating an accession agreement.

"The future of Hyderabad must be decided by the people of Hyderabad themselves. It will be decided by a Constituent Assembly which will establish its own formal Government.

"We have put no restrictions on the sending of news from India. We are entitled to some consideration for the hospitality we have offered to British Press representatives. British correspondents in India, contrary to what happens here in Britain, have personal access to our Ministers. To see a Prime Minister in India is one of the easiest things in the world.

"I would say to everyone: Do not create trouble that will separate the people of India from this country. I think the time has come when British correspondents in India should realise that this is a matter which has serious implications."

He also expressed surprise how the Government of India's demand for stationing of troops in the State could be considered wrong, while it was never considered immoral during the 200 years of British rule. Nor could he understand, he said, how India Government was expected not to do anything in a situation which the British Government would not have tolerated for five minutes.

There had been criticisms, Mr. Menon continued, that India had forsaken the path of Gandhiji. It was a welcome surprise to him. The Indian High Commissioner remarked that there had been a sudden appreciation of what Gandhiji stood for, especially when it could be used against the present Government.

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India's Relationship with Britain

Only a fortnight before this London Press Conference, the Congress Party in the Indian Parliament discussed the question of India's relationship with Britain, especially the question of India remaining within the British Commonwealth. The meeting was held with Pandit Nehru in the Chair and there was some opinion in that meeting for not severing the last links with Britain. It has decided that India must function as an Independent Sovereign Republic but at the same time must frame her foreign policy in a manner so as to maintain the present cordial relationship with the countries of the world, particularly Great Britain and the Commonwealth countries. This decision, coming after Britain's actions at the UNO on the Kashmir and South Africa's Indian baiting questions, indicates the depth of generosity in the Indian mind. But Britain's support at the UNO for Hyderabad with the backing of the most powerful section of the British press, has been a rude shock in India even for those who still pine for a continuance of political association with Britain and has fully justified the popular demand that India should completely sever her relations with that country. Short-sighted British policy has paid dearly in America, the mother country is today a debtor nation to her former colony.

Battle Against Inflation

Having invited and obtained the views of a variety of interests on the question of fighting inflation, the Government of India has released to the Press summaries of six reports on the economic situation in India. These are the reports of (1) the nine economists, (2) the Government of India economists, (3) the industrialists, (4) labour leaders, (5) bankers and (6) the views of Prof. Ranga and Shri Jaiprakash Narain. A brief outline of the suggestions made in these six reports is given below. The suggestions put forward may be divided into six broad heads: production, labour, foreign trade, monetary, fiscal and economic controls.

To take production first. Almost all interests have conceded the need for increasing production but none has put forward any concrete plan for it. The industrialists have recommended improvement in transport, rationalisation of labour, introduction of third shifts where possible, special depreciation allowance, special tax concessions to new industries, re-enunciation of Government's industrial policy to restore confidence, ensuring easy and quick availability of essential raw materials at economic prices, uniform labour legislation and ending of labour intransigence.

The bankers have recommended the removal of transport bottlenecks, increase in internal food supplies, better procurement machinery, establishment of new factories, increase in the hours of work, tax relief for new enterprises for first few years, banning of strikes and lock-outs and correlating of wages to the quantity and quality of output.

The nine economists have suggested that the Government should lay down for each major industry and establishments a production programme and a production target, working parties for suggesting improvements in efficiency, development of small-scale and cottage industries with a view to mitigating the essential shortages.

The economists of the Government of India have suggested that the industrial policy be so refashioned as to eliminate "technical bottlenecks" and to provide incentive to private enterprise, and that efforts be made to procure capital equipment not only from the leading industrial countries but also from other countries. They have also suggested that foreign private investment should be encouraged in order to accelerate industrialisation. It is surprising to find that with the examples of China and South-East Asia before us this suggestion has been strongly approved by Shri Jai Prakash Narain. He has also suggested grant of a rebate in taxation for extra production.

Surprisingly enough, the labour leaders have not put forward any notable suggestion on the question of ensuring the support of labour to an increased production drive. This is not unexpected. The Communist labour leaders and their stooges in the A.I.T.U.C. have gone all out in attempting the sabotage of industrialization and our I.N.T.U.C. have been competing with the Communists to gain popularity among labour by promising them the moon. The interest of the masses, of whom organised labour forms only a minute fraction, seems to have been lost in this unholy Congress-Communist competition in winning their favour which has definitely hampered production instead of accelerating it. The only sensible suggestion in this sphere comes from Miss Maniben Kara, who has suggested the setting up of commissions or joint councils of experts consisting of representatives of management and labour which should constantly review the progress of production, find out the causes of the fall in production and direct the activities of the units in such a manner as to attain the maximum possible production.

In respect of foreign trade, the nine economists want controls on imports and exports to be remodelled. Imports of essential consumer goods should be given preference. This suggestion carries the support of the industrialists as well as the Government of India economists.

The nine economists have suggested certain fiscal measures of a far-reaching character which deserve special consideration. The most important amongst these are as follows:

(1) Grants to provinces out of the Central Budget, itself in deficit, are openly inflationary and should therefore be discontinued except where it could be demonstrated that they would add to the production of essential commodities in the short period.

(2) Refund of E. P. T. deposits should be postponed except where such refunds are demonstrably

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required for investment likely to add production in the near future.

(3) All capital expenditure should be financed by genuine borrowing and the existing commitments of capital expenditure which cannot be covered by loans should be reviewed and expenditure of postponable character suspended.

(4) The Income Tax Investigation Commission should be armed with powers to collect all necessary information from all sources in order that their work may come to early fruition. Stringent measures should be devised to prevent tax evasion.

(5) The introduction of a graduated surcharge on income tax on personal incomes above Rs. 5,000 should be considered.

(6) The rate of Business Profits Tax should be raised to 25 per cent.

(7) The rates of personal super-tax should be raised to the levels of 1947-48.

(8) Steeply graduated death duties should be introduced without delay.

While the industrialists are in favour of balanced budgets and cutting down of unproductive expenditure, they have opposed any increase in income-tax and other similar direct taxes. On the other hand, they have suggested the abolition of the capital gains tax. In order to augment the Central revenues, the industrialists have suggested the following steps :

A purchase tax on luxuries and a special graduated surcharge on railway, shipping, and air fares should be imposed.

Considerable economy in Government expenditure is possible and these economies should be effected as soon as possible.

Machinery of tax assessment and collection should be improved, and arrears realised.

While long-term projects of a productive character need not be shelved, it is necessary in the present emergency that expenditure on other new projects should be curtailed to the minimum extent possible.

All new expenditure on social services should be avoided in the immediate future.

Irrespective of the merits of the prohibition policy, its implementation should be delayed or suspended to enable Provincial Governments to restore budgetary equilibrium.

The Government of India economists have suggested that capital expenditure in connection with such projects as the Damodar Valley Project and Sindri Fertiliser Factory should not be withheld. This view is also supported by Shri Jai Prakash Narain, who however, feels that, as an antidote to the inflationary effect of such capital expenditure, production must be increased at any cost.

As in the case of production, everyone has emphasised the need for more borrowings and more savings, though there is some difference of opinion on the question whether it should be compulsory. Both the economists and the industrialists have suggested a country-wide savings campaign to attract the surplus money from farmers and factory workers. In regard to rate of interest, the industrialists, the bankers, and the nine economists are not in favour of increasing it, though the latter have recommended a slightly higher rate of interest in the case of National Savings Certificates. Another interesting suggestion made by the industrialists, as well as the economists, is that Treasury Bills, of a longer duration, say six months or one year, should be issued. The bankers have made the novel suggestion of issuing bearer bonds carrying a nominal rate of interest at one per cent, and repayable after five years. The issue of these bonds is to be made by some of the banks authorised by the Government and the sale-proceeds are to be invested in Government of India loans. Shri Jai Prakash Narain also is in favour of issue of such bearer bonds. The object of issuing bearer bonds is that they will provide an outlet for black-market money.

Among other suggested monetary measures which fall under borrowings, mention must be made of the nine economists' proposals that the proceeds of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund should, for the time being, be invested in Government securities or held in deposit with the Government and that terminable Government loans which mature should not be repaid immediately if, under the terms of the loan, the repayment can be postponed. The nine economists have also suggested that a ceiling on the note issue of the Reserve Bank should be placed at the existing level and that all banks should be required to hold Government securities to the extent of 25 per cent of their total demand liabilities. The bankers and the industrialists have proposed that some restrictions on bank credits, which are of an inflationary nature, may be imposed by the Reserve Bank in consultation with banks.

Practically everyone has advocated reimposition of price control on all the necessaries of life, especially foodgrains, sugar, cloth, kerosene, domestic fuel, etc. Control of the prices of essential raw materials also has been recommended. In addition, the nine economists have suggested a tightening of capital issues control. They also favour the freezing of all personal incomes, such as wages, salaries, and dividends. The industrialists too have advocated this step, but they have stressed that it should be followed by efforts to bring them down by gradual stages. In this connection, they observe as follows :

"Earnings of industrial labour, comprising wages and dearness allowance, have reached a level which must be considered reasonable. With the fixation of prices and wages, the level of profits would be automatically controlled. But what affects the economy of the country, and particularly the inflationary situation, is the distribution of profits. Industrialists undertake voluntarily not to distribute dividends above the average of the last three years. In the case of companies which have not yet paid dividends, or have

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paid dividends lower than six per cent, they undertake that dividends distributed shall be limited to six per cent. If Government are not satisfied with the implementation of this undertaking by industry, they should take such action as effectively to enforce the proposed limitations."

While the interests of labour are silent on the issue of prohibition, all economists, bankers and industrialists are in favour of dropping it. In regard to abolition of zamindari, while the industrialists are in favour of postponement, the nine economists have merely stated that the compensation payable should be so devised as not to lead to an addition of cash into circulation.

Kautilyan Studies in Calcutta University

The Board of Studies in Economics of the Calcutta University has adopted a proposal for the inclusion of Kautilyan studies in the curricula of the Intermediate and B.A. Examination. At present it has been proposed to include Kautilyan Economics as one of the subjects to be taught in Civics in I.A., and Economics in B.A. The suggestion emanated from Prof. H. C. Ghosh of the Bangabasi College and Calcutta University and the Note that he had circulated amongst the members of the Board of Studies in Economics deserves special attention. It has been a misfortune for us to graft Western Economics, suited to serve the needs of an Industrial civilisation, to our country whose economic foundation lies in agriculture. It is now high time that our own system of economics which has given the civilisation of India the longest lease of life in the world, should be studied in greater detail and with deeper attention. The post-war reconstruction schemes in the Mahabharata, the economic and political systems developed by Manu, Kautilya, Sukra, Brihaspati, Parasara and by a host of other seers of this country should now receive adequate attention, specially now that we are free. Universities of Berlin, Munich, Paris, Oxford, Harvard, St. Petersburgh, etc., have, during the past two centuries, studied them when we neglected our own national wealth. Even Communist Russia today pays greater attention to our Mahabharata than we ourselves do. The move of the Calcutta University has been in the right direction and we hope other Universities of India will also follow the example.

In view of the thought-provoking nature of the Note, we reproduce it substantially :

"At the present moment, the courses of studies in Economics in I.A. and B.A. (Pass and Honours) are practically based on what we usually know as Cambridge School of Economics. The modern economic organisations and institutions throughout the world are mainly based on these principles. I have tried to show very briefly in the following note, that these are fair weather organisations and they can hardly stand any social cataclysm or political revolution or devastating wars. Whereas institutions embodying Kautilyan principles successfully survived the onslaught of several devastating wars and far-reaching social changes.

"Now that we are freed from political bondage we can shape the destiny of our country entirely according to our own plan. We are at crossways and must make up our mind as to whether we shall render India an eastern district of New York or London or develop India on her own lines. . . .

"Marshall has defined Economics as a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life which examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the attainment and use of the material requisites of well-being. The key to Marshall's synthesis is his concept of the science of Economics as a two-sided study of wealth and man. Marshall has thus limited economic science to dealings with one side of man's life, studying individuals as members of industrial groups. He separated from Economics the goals or ends of life and the quality of human motives which he considered more the concern of the philosopher than of the economist. He fully appreciated the importance of the latter but failed to synthesise it with economic activity.

"Marshall gave no new theory, he sought to supplement the Classical Economics of Smith, Ricardo and Mill. The militant socialism and the organised labour movement of the mid-nineteenth century had attacked the Classical Economic doctrines of Ricardo and Mill and had seriously undermined them. Adam Smith's doctrine of *laissez faire* also could not stand the test of time and was buried in the first World War with a revival of Mercantilism. The Physiocrats had equally failed to give a solution to the economic problems of the time. Adam Smith had brought labour and capital into prominence, but could not solve the problem. The Classical Economics was developed to suit the needs of an industrial civilisation in England after the Industrial Revolution. Ricardo's theories of Iron Law of wages and Non-Interference of the state in the fixation of wages were seized by the capitalists as most suitable to them. Ricardo's real contributions were his theories of taxation and distribution, but they were not favoured. . . .

"Following the Classical School, Marshall and Keynes put much importance on "business," "individual action" and "material requisites." The conscience element in economic activity and the doctrine of just price were ignored. Material wealth was lifted up as the *summum bonum* of human life and no means were considered too mean for the acquisition of wealth. The inevitable result was unholy monopolistic combinations, cut-throat competitions and war. Instead of solving the 'problem,' the Classical School evolved the theory of trade cycles to explain away the evil.

"The idea of a just price lay at the root of economic theories from ancient times down to the days of Mercantilism. In medieval days, Thomas Aquinas developed the idea. Industrial developments led the mercantilists to abandon the doctrine of just price and they gave more consideration than their predecessors to extrinsic or market values. A cost theory of value, with

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emphasis on the labour element, replaced the concept of intrinsic value. The value of precious metals was over-estimated and the balance of trade idea lay at its back. Thus developed a body of policies, designed, by government regulation of trade and industry, to secure a large net profit for the State as a trader—or better, perhaps, the traders in a State—in the shape of treasure. No distinction was made between the profit of the merchant and the gain of the kingdom, which are so far from being always parallels, rather they run counter to one another. Mercantilism has again developed following the depression of the nineties and has become thoroughly established after the first World War. This is illustrated by the emphasis on the actual and attempted gold hoards of various nations, and related policies as to tariffs, import quoats and exchange restrictions. After the first World War, Keynes declared the end of *laissez faire* and a return to Mercantilism. The only material change that took place was a combination of the functions of the merchant and the industrialist. Keynes was the soul of neo-Mercantilism which may better be called Industrialism.

"The three centuries of classicism in Western Economics solved no problem but created many. It saw several devastating wars, the Napoleanic wars, the Balkan wars, and the two world wars, all of which were attended with economic warfare which either preceded or followed them. The problems of production, distribution, value, exchange and employment all remained unsolved. While wealth gathered at the top, the masses suffered. Poverty remained as acute as ever. Poor laws, unemployment Insurance and such other social benefit schemes failed to touch even a fringe of the problem. Over-production followed under-production, long depressions followed short-term booms giving rise to periodical economic crashes which brought about untold suffering for the multitude. Classical Economics failed to guarantee a stable price and steady income structure for the people. It could not bring about peace and happiness.

"Here lies the success of Kautilya. He saw that great riches and happiness were incompatible ; because the rich man could not be a perfectly good man as part of his wealth must necessarily be acquired and spent unjustly. He realised that out of a false good arises a true evil, since the encroachments of the rich are more destructive to the State than those of the people. His regulations all point toward conception of just price. The things forbidden were false weights, false money values (usury), false commodity values (monopoly, underselling, cornering, etc.), false profits and the like. The following subjects to him were the most important : occupations, agriculture, interest and usury, labour and wages, property rights, taxation, inheritance, weights and measures, adulteration, monopoly and the poor. Kautilya condemned poverty as the root of all crimes but, like the classical Economists did not separate human values into intrinsic and extrinsic ; he grounded all economic activities on ethics and duties. He set *dharma* as goal or end of life and subordinated *artha* to it. His economic theories secured a full state of employment through an organised decentralisation of industries and prices were stabilised by monopolising key industries and subjecting private enterprise to competition with the State. Merchants and industrialists were looked upon as thieves though not in name and concentration of wealth in their hands was rigidly controlled. Ricardo, Mill and their successors have all failed to solve the labour problem because their interests lay with capital. Kautilya solved it so successfully by enforcing just wages properly balanced with just profit and just prices that through three millenniums, class struggle and strikes remained unknown in India. Agricultural production was secured by giving the cultivator a real interest in land. Money was strictly looked upon as a means of exchange. Value of money was kept at a controlled level by maintaining prices low and real wealth high. Kautilyan Economy, besides being the most scientific Economics, both Applied and Theoretical, successfully survived the onslaught of several devastating wars, specially during the thousand years of Muslim Rule. Besides conferring full material benefits, it had a religious significance. In that society, one gained primarily not only economic wellbeing, but a right life, a clear conscience and a spiritual perfection. Kautilya foresaw the danger of increasing wants and strictly regulated wants. By standard of life he did not mean more money or more material wealth, but more independence, more energy and more self-respect. He aimed at reducing wants and increasing employment and made clearness of conscience the pole star of economic activity. In Kautilya has been codified the economic thought of India as enunciated by Manu, Parasara, Vasistha, Brihaspati and other sages like them ; and in the Puranas and the Mahabharata.

"Acceptance of Kautilyan economics by us today will not lead us to any insular position in the modern world. Following him we can build up our consumption industries and agriculture on a thoroughly decentralised basis and by rigidly preventing big industries, as he did, from competing with them. The ideal position may be achieved through the enforcement of the principle that the finished product of the big industry must be the raw material of the cottage industry. The two must be complementary and not competitive. A pyramidal all-India marketing organisation will ensure regional self-sufficiency as also inter-village, inter-district and inter-provincial flow. Consumption industries like textiles, sugar, shoes, umbrellas, paper, soap, agricultural implements, cutlery, etc., may be organised on a decentralised cottage industry scale and cordoned off by an all-India trade barrier. The defence and heavy industries may be developed on full governmental or big capital plan under government control. Limitation of our international trade to this top-sphere alone will relieve most of our trade complexities and foreign exchange headache. The commercial geography of India fully warrants the adoption of such a policy. . . .

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The First Year of Education

As we believe that the future of this country depends on a sound education, we have kept an anxious watch on the activities of the Central Ministry of Education. Education being a 'provincial subject' it is all the more desirable that at the Centre there should be a policy of intelligent co-ordination and a progressive lead, in the present state of development of the country. When the Congress Government took over at the Centre last year, they found a fairly adequate administrative machinery already set up for education. The Central Advisory Board of Education, consisting mostly of Indian educationists and administrators, had worked hard and a plan to cover the entire field of education was ready. The stage was set for a start to be made and no Government could complain that they were being held up by uncertainty as to what should be done or how it should be done.

One of the first moves made by the present Education Minister was to convene a Conference of Educationists last January. He pleaded with the Conference for a 'sense of urgency' and an entirely new outlook. He thought the entire education plan which had received an overwhelming popular support should be implemented within a decade. Forty years, as calculated by the Central Advisory Board, was too long a period for the new Education Minister to wait. The Moulana Sahib's views were acclaimed in the Congress Press, more so amongst his close followers. Since then a good amount of public money has been expended on Committees and Conferences and columns galore of newspaper space has been consumed by "statements" on new policies and reports of various committees of educationists and politicians. It is understood that Moulana Sahib has since been advised that the plans he wanted to implement in ten years will take not less than twenty, if the bulk of the resources of the country were made available for Education and if the Education Scheme were given the top priority. It has also been made public that the Central Minister of Education propose to recommend nearly a hundred per cent increase in the salary of Basic School teachers and a fifty per cent increase in the salary scales of High School teachers, which were proposed in the C.A.B. Report. We have always pleaded for the improvement of the conditions of service of teachers along with the improvement of the quality of new recruits. It is to be noted that the scales (minimum) recommended in the Board's report are based on pre-war figures and are not too generous. It would however be well to remember that even on the basis of those scales the scheme, when in full operation, would cost the country about 250 crores excluding Pakistan. The question therefore arises, is it practicable or even possible for India to expend annually say 400 crores within a period of twenty years? The Central Education Ministry seem to imagine so and would like us to believe so. Circulars have been issued to Provincial Governments to prepare estimates on the new basis and Committees are meeting frequently to find out 'ways and means' to implement Moulana Sahib's emergency schemes. In pathetic contrast to this propaganda of the Education Ministry, the Central Government are urging on the provinces the immediate need of drastic economy, even at the cost of nation-building services; they have also warned the provinces that the Centre can only contribute half of what they originally promised for the development programme. It is also being stressed that nation-building schemes—Health, Education, etc.—may have to wait for the present. The public has hardly ever seen any worse confusion in Government policy or perhaps, one should say, in Government propaganda.

Amongst the notable achievements of the Ministry during the year under review, the following may perhaps be mentioned: Firstly, the establishment of the Central Institute of Education. This Institute, which we were told, would give a lead to provinces in the modern methods of training teachers and higher research in educational technique, was inaugurated with a great flourish by H. E. Lady Mountbatten, soon after the Hon'ble Moulana Sahib took over. It is now functioning in a rented residential building of the University, and experts consider that the quality of training is far below that already attained by existing Provincial Training Colleges. Secondly, there is the scheme of writing a History of Indian Philosophy and Culture. Public are not aware what amounts have already been spent on the project. A scheme like this should have been left to voluntary enterprise, particularly when funds for urgent educational development are not superabundant. Thirdly, there is the scheme of introduction of "Social Education" in the Centrally administered area. No noticeable change or improvement has yet been noticed by the residents of the Delhi City or the Province in the field of education. Does the Ministry want the public to believe that by mere changing the 'label' they were making their 'products' more market-worthy? It is high time that present educational facilities of Delhi Province were improved to meet the normal requirements of the area. The facilities available at some provincial capitals are at a much higher-level. Fourthly, we have the project of producing literature on communal harmony. One wonders if it is a legitimate function of an Education Ministry. When there is a separate full-fledged Ministry for Propaganda and Publicity, we have yet to learn what this section of Ministry has produced to justify its maintenance from public funds.

The main functions of the Central Ministry of Education is to advise and co-ordinate. It is doubtful if the Ministry with its present staff is in a position to give any effective guidance to the Provincial Governments. The newly recruited Advisers and Joint Adviser seem to have been brought in—and that through devious means—more for their political sagacity than their experience of educational administration. The educational administration at the Centre appears to

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have gone down to a lower lever than that obtaining in the major provinces and most of the provinces will have little to gain in the way of expert guidance from the Centre. Finally, the country may pertinently ask, is the present Minister with his personal antecedents and cultural background at all equipped to build up an educational system to suit the requirements of young India—a system which will derive its inspiration from the moral traditions of ancient India and yet will be capable of receiving and assimilating all the worthy gifts of modern civilisation ?

Adult Education

The Central Government of the Indian Union has been working at a scheme which is proposed to make 50 per cent of the adult illiterates literate and socially conscious in course of the next five years. A summary of the recommendations that we have seen said that in the case of these adult illiterates "emphasis will be more on Social Education than on mere literacy." And in the pursuit of this ideal of more extensive facilities for the spread of education amongst the widest commonalty of the land, the Government of India is prepared to bear half the expenses of the experiment. It appears that they have been concentrating their attention on the centrally-administered areas thus setting an example to the provinces. And we see in the daily press announcements now and then of the progress in the provinces of plans for this education. The Ministry of Education in Bengal has appointed a Committee with Shri Atul Chandra Gupta as Chairman to frame and submit a scheme in this behalf. Other provincial Ministries have been as equally busy, though we may not be as equally informed of their activities.

It appears that the Bengal Adult Education Committee has submitted an Interim Report to the Ministry through the Director of Instruction who is a member of this Committee. Since the last week of July, the Committee have had two meetings every week for about a month and a half. The general principles discussed as we find from a summary published in the *Nirnay*, a Bengali-language weekly, are all right ; the concrete plan of organization of this new campaign, as embodied in the report, waits for the approval of the Ministry though it was submitted more than two weeks back.

When we remember that the campaign is to start by the end of January next, it is hardly possible to congratulate the Education Minister on his enthusiasm for the education of his "masters," the people. The Director of Public Instruction is generally a person who is burdened with departmental technicalities and duties. But Rai Harendra Chandra Chowdhury has in the department under his charge any number of Special Officers one of whom could have been easily diverted to the organization of this new education. But knowing the congenital dilatoriness of bureaucracies, we are not sure that any officer, almost on the retired list, will be able to bring to the conduct of this campaign of enlightenment the necessary drive and inspiration.

We do not know what the concrete proposals of the Interim Report are. But from what we hear we are led to think that the Committee would have been well-advised to propose an autonomous body under non-official direction to launch out this scheme of Adult Education. In every country it is not the Government that pioneers reform and reconstruction. In the history of education in India since the days of Ram Mohun Roy and Radha Kanta Deb in Bengal, we have seen the Government following from a distance non-official initiative. Even in a free India we cannot expect a change in human nature quickly brought about in course of twelve months.

Reform of Import Control Administration

Commending the Note prepared by Mr. R. D. Shah of the Eastern Commercial Trading Co., Bombay, on the question of reform of import control to the attention of the Government of India, the *Commerce* stated in its issue dated May 29, 1948 that "the Government would be well-advised to inquire into the working of the department in order to set matters right, before public criticism swells in volume, as well as in tempo." In its issue dated September 4, the *Commerce* points out that public criticism has already swelled in volume and in tempo, a clear evidence of which has been found at the recent special meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber convened to consider the problems relating to import control. The meeting discussed the many inconveniences which the business community has to undergo in its dealings with the Department and indicated remedies which would put an end to such inconveniences. Instances have also come to our notice where measures are being taken by this department the result of which will be a strengthening of the British merchants in this country and a weakening of our own economy. This has been clearly demonstrated in the allotment of import quota for tea chests which has been done in a way that will not only benefit the British planters in this country who, even today, represent about 85 per cent in the trade but also will place them in a position which may be utilised to crush the Indian side of the plantation. The Indian Tea Association is a misnomer, it represents primarily the British planters in this country and represents their interest. A deputation of Indian merchants had recently visited New Delhi and we have reason to believe that they had failed to obtain even a sympathetic hearing from the luminaries of the department. The Minister for Commerce leaned on the side of the bureaucrats and almost summarily dismissed the deputation.

The declaration of the import policy of the Government of India should be reviewed at regular

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intervals, preferably twice a year, instead of declaring it at the whim of the department. This will give sufficient time to the importers to get ready with their applications and to represent the Indian viewpoints to the government in time so that measures may not be taken in the name of Indian interest but in fact, for pandering up British capital in this country. Licenses should be ready in the importers' hands before the quota period begins instead of confronting them with a *fait accompli* by handing over the maximum quota to British commercial interests.

The application forms should be simplified. They must be made available in all important towns and cities. The *Handbook of Import Trade Control* should be reprinted whenever necessary and should remain widely in circulation. The unnecessary and irksome details in the application forms, sometimes demanding trade secrets, the disclosure of which is injurious to the trade but of no benefit to the Government, should be eliminated.

These are only some of the numerous grievances that have piled up against the Commerce Department of the Government of India. The public discontent regarding the manner in which import controls are being administered should be looked into and remedied instead of brushing them aside and ignoring them as is being done at present. Unplanned and un-co-ordinated action taken by the Commerce Department is bound to do harm not only to trade and commerce but also to the industrial life of the nation as well. Government of India owes it to the public to see that the administration of import controls is carried on with just the minimum of official formalities necessary to express the purpose of the regulation and with the object of serving genuine national interests.

Development of South India's Resources

The *Business Week*, the commercial weekly of Madras, has been filling a long-felt gap in the sphere of news in the Southern Presidency. The articles published and the information these carry deal, however, with all-India economic measures and tendencies, and these evidence the watchfulness of the conductors of the journal. In a special supplement, dated August 21 last, it featured a special article on the *Resource Development in South India*. It was the product of intensive study by the "Kerala Round Table Group," a body of earnest students of affairs, and their plan, if "completely developed," would, it is hoped, lead to the fuller development of the agricultural and industrial resources of South-West India. The article lays stress on the importance that the South has gained by the partition of India. The biggest irrigation works in India were placed in the West Punjab and Sind—now lost to us. It is now the turn of South India to pioneer activities that would help build a better India materially and intellectually. For, South India "possesses an extensive sea-board and several extensive harbours. Strategically South India is best suited for the location of essential war industries . . . In the place of coal there are almost unlimited water power resources in the region, if the numerous rivers of South India are fully harnessed." Reference is made to the Periyar River Project No. I and Project No. II which, harnessing the waters of the River Periyar in the high ranges of Travancore, are estimated to produce about five lakhs K. W. electric energy, equal to the total requirement of industrial and other purposes for the whole of South India in the near future. The projects already functioning in Mysore and in contemplation in connection with the Tungabhadra Project, open out vast possibilities as well.

Kandla as a Major Port

The Government of India, in a Resolution published in the *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, dated September 6, have accepted the recommendation of the West Coast Major Port Development Committee that the major port on the stretch of coast covering Kathiawar and Cutch should be sited at Kandla. The Government of India agree that the need for a major port is immediate and imperative in order to compensate the loss of Karachi and that the port should be sited at Kandla. The Government have also agreed with the committee that all the existing ports of Kathiawar should be placed under one Port Commission which should include Okha and Verawal. The Government have accepted the recommendation of the Committee that a concentrated effort must be made to get better dredging results at Bhavnagar, so as to maintain adequate depth of water at the berths. After satisfactory dredging results have been obtained, one extra berth should be constructed at Bhavnagar.

The Kandla Creek, situated at the eastern end of the Gulf of Cutch, constitutes a natural sheltered harbour and is easily navigable. It has maintained a depth of water of over 30 feet since 1851 although a bar has formed at the entrance in recent years. The land on the west bank is only two or three feet below high water and presents no serious reclamation problem.

The geographical position of Kandla is best suited to replace the port of Karachi in its service to the hinterland. As between Kandla and Karachi, Delhi is 656 miles from Kandla as against 783 miles from Karachi. Similarly, Hissar is 688 miles from Kandla as against 733 miles from Karachi. The other advantages of Kandla are :

(1) The deep water sheltered harbour in close proximity to high land affords quick and economical development into a major port.

(2) Economy of construction and maintenance ; low cost of reclamation and comparatively little dredging.

(3) Considerably shorter rail leads to the hinterland.

(4) The undeveloped and unexploited nature of the territory of Cutch, covering 1700 square miles of

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which the two Ranns of Cutch comprise 900 sq. miles. There are great potentialities for the development of industries such as salt, cement, glass and fishing, and development of vast mineral resources like gypsum, lignite, bauxite, etc.

(5) Unlimited availability of land for the port area.

Kandla can be developed, in the first instance, to handle 2·3 million tons of cargo per annum by the construction of berths facing the creek. The site lends itself to the construction of an impounded dock if necessary.

The Committee points out certain disadvantages in respect of Kandla which, however, are remediable without much difficulty and at an economic cost. They are the bar at the entrance to the creek, non-existence of rail communications and inadequate water supply at present. In regard to the bar, the Committee is of the opinion that it could be removed by dredging. Further, the water in the creek is only very slightly silt-laden, and the fact that the remainder of the creek has maintained a great depth of water for many years is a further indication that the bar could be removed.

As regards the second defect the Committee has proposed two rail connections—a broad-gauge line from Jhund to Kandla, a distance of 137 miles, at an approximate cost of Rs. 6 crores and a metre-gauge railway line, 174 miles long connecting Deesa, Radhanpur, Piprala and Kandla at a cost of roughly Rs. 4½ crores. Traffic surveys made in this connection show that immediate returns will be 2 to 3 per cent on the capital outlay. The proposed railway lines will run through vast virgin tracts of territory and will be of considerable strategic importance.

In regard to water supply, the Committee made an exhaustive study of all the relevant data and thorough investigations and is of the opinion that there are resources for an adequate water supply both to the port and port town at Kandla.

In conclusion, the Committee refers to the future of minor ports in Kathiawar. Emphasising the need for co-ordination of operation in each of these ports under one Port Commission, it suggests that the procedure and charges at the various ports should be similar, storage charges should be reasonable and the total available space should be utilised by all the ports to the best advantage. "Although we recommend the construction of a major port at Kandla, we believe it to be essential to maintain in efficient condition the existing ports in Kathiawar, namely, Navlakhi, Bedi, Okha, Porbunder, Verawal and Bhavnagar. These ports are very necessary for the country's economic life."

In order that Bhavnagar Port in Kathiawar may be able to handle increased traffic and be self-supporting, the Committee has recommended a "concentrated effort" to get better dredging results at Bhavnagar and, after satisfactory results are obtained, the construction of one extra berth at the port.

The State and Our Scientists

The scientists of India represented in the Indian Science News Association have been expressing dissatisfaction in their monthly organ *Science and Culture* with the way in which "those in power" in the Indian Union have been managing things. In the opening article of the July (1948) number, a catalogue of the evils that infest our life has been given. It is a formidable list—"poverty, hunger and disease, low productivity in industry and agriculture, . . . and emergence of new problems like those of extreme provincialism, and the threat of babelism, . . . the growth of the spirit of intolerance and indiscipline amongst the masses." The writer appears to have grown impatient with those who raise "the cry of Nationalization to cover their own failure to meet a problem," and asks why even those nationalized industries, such as rail-road communications, the telephonic service and the armament industries which were "very efficient before the war" should have now become "bye-words of inefficiency"? We in our own way have been critical of the Nehru Government and to a large degree share the feelings given expression to by our contemporary. But we doubt whether the remedy suggested in the article—"all problems must be studied in an objective way and operations to be taken should be decided after objective study of facts and figures, and a careful consideration of the consequences to which these operations may lead"—will bring forth the universally prayed-for result. It cannot be contended that the Central Administration in India have been lacking in sympathy towards "objective" studies and plans and programmes that follow therefrom. Rather, we have often felt submerged under the flood of "literature" that issue out of New Delhi on every conceivable subject concerned with the re-making of India. The analyses that have been thrown out have created confusion, and "the native hue of resolution" has been "sicklied over with the pale cast of thought." Why this should have been so, we do not claim to know. We think the trouble lies in the obduracy of those in whom lies the power for the final decisions. Executive authority has as yet a tendency to sway towards the dictates of vested interests. This must be remedied.

Western India's New Set-up

Spread from Cutch to Travancore, this vast stretch of territory is in the throes of a more constructive future. The people inhabiting it, of many languages and habits, have been reinforced by the arrival of a new element constituted by the Hindus from Sind. We cannot say what proportion of the 14 lakhs of Sindhi Hindus and Sikhs have been forced into moving into this area. But we are sure that they will introduce a new richness into its life.

There have been other forces at work to stir to activity many a feeling and ambition seeking out-let into political and social life. Of these, the strongest has

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been the demand for the re-constitution of units in the Union of India based on linguistic affinities. We are familiar with demand for Marhatta, Karnataka, Kerala and Gujarat provinces. Arguments for and against are being bandied about with regard to the wisdom of this move for linguistic States ; the prospect of Bombay going into the Maharashtra Province appears to have excited the greatest controversy, some even going so far as to suggest that the island of Bombay should be constituted into a separate province with a cosmopolitan set-up.

But this is not the end of the story. In the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle* has been elaborated a new scheme proposing the division of the whole coastal area south of Daman to Cape Comorin into two provinces of 500 miles each. Thus we have a picture where Western India is presented as divided into a 1,000 miles area from the borders of Sind across the Gulf of Cutch to Daman ; the other 1,000 miles will appear equally divided into two maritime Provinces with a depth of about 200 miles west of the Ghats. The writer signing under the pen-name of "A Nationalist" builds his scheme principally on the defence requirements of the Western Coast of the Indian Union. Naval stations, ship-building yards and other accessory needs are referred to. The southern province, Kerala, about 500 miles of coastal territory predominantly, will be linguistically compact. The northern unit will be a composite one speaking Kannada, Konkani and Marhatti.

This proposal will make Bombay the capital of the northern province linked up with the hinterland. But we do not see why Bombay in the Maharastra Province-to-be will fail to play the same role in the scheme of things in Western India. It may be that there are intricacies that we do not understand as the writer has not cared to bring these out. But the two articles leave the impression in the mind that there are influential circles who find it hard to reconcile themselves to the idea of living in a province where the Marhatta-speaking people are likely to be dominant.

East Punjab Developments

It is difficult to analyse the trends in East Punjab, the new province that confronts West Pakistan, a centre of storm that may burst over and overturn arrangements that were agreed to between the two States' rulers. During the British regime the Punjab was called the sword-arm of India ; with its disappearance, East Punjab has acquired a new significance in our country's life as the majority of the millions of Sikhs, uprooted from their ancestral homes, deprived of the majority of their sacred places, have by choice and circumstances been concentrated within its boundaries. This virile element in our composite life threatens to develop into a problem that will challenge the sense of proportion of all of us, if we accept the writings in the *Khalsa* and the *Liberator* as giving expression to the authentic voice of the Sikhs of India. The insistence on special consideration for Sikh interests opens out the doors of an ugly memory associated with the growth of Muslim separation that has disrupted our country's unity and integrity. The leaders of thought and action amongst the Sikhs have been finding it difficult to give a lead to their people suffering from a frustration of immeasurable dimension. They appear divided into so many groups that we are at a loss to differentiate between their conceits and demands.

As far as we understand things, all the groups amongst the Sikhs appear to have one mind on the question of having in the East Punjab Province the recognition of Punjabee in the Gurumukhi script as the language of the State. The followers of the Arya Samaj who, by their service to the people's education and the emancipation of their social conscience, have acquired an importance out of proportion to their number appear to be opposed to this ambition ; they insist on Hindi in the Devnagri script as the language of the State. Their opposition appears to be inspired by the consideration that the recognition of Punjabee in the Gurumukhi script would be transforming the province into a Sikh enclave where no other will have freedom to follow their values of life. This fear forms part of whole *malaise* in thought and life in the modern world, specially in India where the Muslim League has taught us to beware of tolerating differences.

We can not persuade ourselves to say that the Sikhs come under this category. Circumstances being as they are, their leaders should be conscious of the danger of encouraging and inflaming separatist feelings and ambitions. The tragedy of their recent experience is responsible for the spirit of unbalance that characterizes their activities and utterances. We are sure that they will regain the heritage of reconciliation that was the special contribution of Guru Nanak to India's evolution. The present discontents are a temporary phase which it should be easy to get over by the Sikhs with their traditions and aptitudes.

Agrarian Reform in Bihar

The President of the Congress has appointed an Agrarian Reforms Committee with Prof. J. C. Kumarappa as its Chairman. The Committee has been moving from province to province collecting necessary facts, hearing evidence of representative citizens that throws light on the intricacies of the problem with which is bound up the life's work of 80 per cent of our population. The Committee has already visited Bombay, the Central Provinces, Orissa, West Bengal and Assam, and it is now in Bihar going through its routine. The Legislature of the Province has passed an Abolition of Zamindari Bill that has been awaiting for the sanction of the Governor-General to make it effective. The Bill's handling of the problem of mines forming parts of zamindaries has created difficulties, and the heated discussions in the Bihar Legislature may prove to be mere sound and fury. We hear that

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the Ministry in the province has been thinking of an Interim Land Reform Scheme alternate to the one which was embodied in the Bill. This scheme touches on such immediately necessary measures for facilitating the reclamation of waste lands, provision of irrigational facilities, distribution of loans and improved seeds to cultivators and other operations interconnected with the agriculturists' life. But, for the new system of land ownership and superintendence over it to be exercised by the State, the Bihar Government appears to be waiting for the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee's recommendations.

This delay goes towards emphasising that the question of agrarian reform in India has yet to secure unanimity in methods of advance, that while the abolition of the Zamindary system is a job easy enough for any Legislature, the adoption of a satisfying substitute is a task that will exercise wisdom of the wisest amongst us. The reformers have been finding that out. In the case of Bihar, the Zamindars, small and great, play such a dominant part in the province's social life that there is nothing unnatural if they should put up a last-ditch fight for the defence of their interests. And, in the organization of this fight caste feelings are being mobilized, Brahmin zamindars organizing their people, Khatri zamindars doing the same, Muslim zamindars seeking the co-operation of their credal followers. As in other fields of activities, everything being in a flux, the abolition of zamindary will create a vacuum of which we appear to be getting afraid.

Bihar and Bengal

Shri Kishorelal Mushruwala, editor of *Harijan*, has addressed us the following letter, dated September 8, 1948, which we publish below :

"Dear friend,

My attention has been drawn to your Note—"Bihar's Dilemma"—in your current issue.

You have confused two different articles and circulars. My article in *Harijan* of June 27, refers to the 'Mines Circular.' That circular has not been denied, nor have I made any 'amends' for my criticism upon it. My criticism upon it stands, and I am still pursuing that matter to the extent I can.

The Circualr which has been denied by the Bihar Government and which necessitated my 'Amends' is the one referred to in my article "Unclean Means" in *Harijan*, dated, July 11. As this matter will be further discussed in *Harijan* in due course as space permits, I need not refer to the subject here in greater detail.

While I am not satisfied with the policies pursued by the Bihar and Assam Governments towards Bengalis and other immigrants in their areas, I must also say that the leaders of Bengal proper—both East and West—are not helpful in the matter. If the provincialism of the Biharis and Assamese is an evil arising out of narrowness, it cannot be cured by the adoption of the same policy by Bengalis. Please do not consider that when I refer to Bihar, Assam and Bengal by name, I express any satisfaction for other provinces. As a matter of fact, like asthma succeeding constant attacks of cold, provincialism has succeeded communalism based on religion, and the evil has spread all over India. Let us all co-operate in fighting it by encouraging the adoption of a wider outlook."

We stand corrected. We were led into this confusion by memories of Circulars issued by Bihar Administrations during the last 35 years since Bihar was helped to set up separate household for herself in 1911-12. These Circulars, breathing a spirit of administrative discrimination against non-Biharis or non-Hindi-speaking Biharis, have poisoned relations between the units of communities and classes that inhabit Bihar. Kishorelalji will have understood the genesis of this evil from the extract from the article published in the *Bihar Herald* of June 12, 1948, which we quoted in our last issue. The full article entitled "The Rarhy Community" will enable him to get inside the skin of the problem better than anything that we may write.

We have been writing on the subject of "Provincialism" and inter-connected issues. Speaking for ourselves, we are not inclined to accept the criticism implicit in the words that "the leaders of Bengal proper—both East and West—are not helpful in the matter." We cannot say that we fully understand the significance of this criticism. We have often felt that publicists and public men in Bengal have been too patient with the caucus that rules the roost in Bihar today. In that province, Ministers and publicists have not scrupled to join in baiting the Bengalee. Has anything like this happened in Bengal ? The Bengal Ministry—we mean the West Bengal Ministry—has been silent ; the Bengali member of the Congress Working Committee has been most markedly dumb in this campaign of silence. It was almost at the last moment that the Bengali members of the Central Legislature and of the Constituent Assembly picked up courage to present a Memorandum to the President of the Constituent Assembly, requesting the extension of the reference to the Linguistic Provinces Commission so that the question of Bengali-speaking areas may be taken up for solution while that of Andhra, Maharastra and Karnatak is under consideration. The letter of Sri Atul Chandra Ghosh published in September 19, 1948, of *Harijan* brings to a focus the spirit of sweet reasonableness that has been maintained all through the discussion of this problem. We are the last persons to claim any special excellence for Bengalis. But it would be patently unjust if the idea is accepted that Bengalis have been aggressive in pressing their claims to their heritage.

We do not propose, however, to close this month's discussion of this matter with this note of impatience. We share Kishorelalji's sorrow that narrowness should be on the ascendant in India today. But we cannot say that we have any "open sesame" that will open the gates of amity to our people. The letter of Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh is an indication of how the people of Manbhum, predominantly Bengali, have been waiting to have the problem solved.

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"Our stand all along has been that we should not be participant to any move for(?) demand for any particular province, that the question should rest with the High Command to judge the principle and do the needful . . . I would ask anybody to prove our complicity with any move for amalgamation. . . ."

We have also been prepared to leave the solution to the wisdom of the Congress, and we have been trying to bring out all the elements of the problem that have been aggravating feelings between two neighbouring provinces. We have been trying to remove the impression that the Bengalis in Manbhum and its neighbourhood are "strangers" and "newcomers" to the areas. History tells us that they have been there for over a thousand years; they have merged themselves into the area's life maintaining their own traditions; they helped to create conditions of modern life in these areas, as in all north India. The 1912 leaders of Bihar recognized this status of theirs when they indicated with meticulous care the areas that should go to Bengal when the eventual formation of provinces on linguistic basis took place. We reproduced from their statement of January, 1912, the portion relevant to this problem, in our August (1948) number under Notes entitled "Babu Rajendra Prasad's Apologia." This declaration constituted the charter of Bengali demands in the matter. The 1911 Congress session registered a resolution praying for placing "all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

It was expected that the Congress would take the initiative in doing the right thing by the people affected by the 1911-12 re-partition of Bengal. Why the present generation of Congress leaders in Bihar have been repudiating the undertaking of their predecessors we do not know; why the all-India leadership of the Congress has been sitting on the fence we have not been told. Even so influential an organ of public opinion as *Harijan* has not been able to enlighten us in the matter. But what we see is that the idleness or unwillingness of the Congress High Command has not been able to throw oil on the troubled waters of inter-provincial relations. This should not have been so. What the States Ministry has been able to do with 600 States could not be beyond its competence in the matter of re-drawing the boundary-lines of half a dozen provinces. If the Nehru Government is alert, people will settle down to constructive activities, and cultivate the "wider outlook" for which Kishorelalji pleads and for which we pray and work.

Developments in Indonesia

Things have been getting a little confused from the viewpoint of the world public in general, in the islands of Indonesia. The scanty and infrequent news items in the press are hard to reconcile. The Dutch Government have announced the setting up of "independent" States in Indonesia while the position of the Republic of Indonesia in this new set-up remains indeterminate. There is a "Good Offices Committee" sent by the Security Council of the United Nations consequent to enforce their "Cease Fire" Order issued on August 4, 1947. This Committee appears to have been trying to straighten matters out between the Imperial Government and the Republic with as little success as their opposite numbers in the U.N.O. Kashmir Commission. And during these months the Dutch imperialists have been straining hard to push on with their scheme of a come-back to irresponsible authority over these rich islands, rich in natural resources and rich in the labour power of about 7 crores of people. A review of the position in the third anniversary number of the *Merdeka*, Delhi organ of the Indonesian Information Service, Pritvi Raj Road, New Delhi, tells the world that the Republic was stripped of "nearly half of Java, half of Madura, and about one-tenth of Sumatra, and had to withdraw about 35,000 of her troops from those areas." The whole of Madura has since then been annexed by the Dutch.

All this has happened when the United Nations Organization had been apprised of the whole issue of Dutch Imperialism and Indonesian Nationalism. We are, therefore, not taken in by the news from the Hague, the Dutch capital, about the granting of "independent" status to certain Dutch-sponsored States in Indonesia—East Indonesia, West Java, East Sumatra, Madura, West Borneo, Banka-Beliton, Palembang, South Sumatra, Padang, etc., etc. Hot on the heels of the decision of the Dutch Parliament on August 20 last with regard to Indonesia's "independence," comes the story of a Communist rising which has established a Government in the city and province of Maduin in East Java. The name of an ex-Premier of the Indonesian Republic, Dr. Sharifuddin, has become associated with this adventure. The Republic is thus being forced to fight on two fronts—an "undeclared war" with the Dutch imperialists, and this fight against the Communist menace.

Leaving to the future the decisions on the fields of battle, the world should be told of the nature of the "independent" status granted by the Dutch ruling classes to the Indonesians. We have got some details by the courtesy of the Publicity Section of the Royal Netherlands Embassy at New Delhi, whose September 1, (1948) News-Bulletin presents thus the status of "a sovereign Federal United States of Indonesia."

> A High Commissioner of the Crown is to be appointed in agreement with whom all appointments are to be made. He is to be consulted in matters relating to foreign relations, finances and similar affairs. For instance, the Federal Government, in consultation with the High Commissioner, regulates the organisation and work of the foreign services. Foreign relations in Indonesia and foreign policy are also matters in which the Netherlands government decides. Another matter which the Federal Government takes care of in consultation with the High Commissioner is the organisation and training of the federal armed forces. Authority over the Royal

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Netherlands Navy, the Royal Netherlands Indies Army and the Royal Netherlands Air Force remains with the Crown.

The High Commissioner of the Crown is Commander-in-Chief of all armed forces in Indonesia. The army and navy Commanders have a vote in the Executive Council for matters concerning their field of work.

If no agreement is reached between the High Commissioner and the Federal Government on certain points, a decision of the Netherlands government can be requested.

We in India who have passed through the various devices of our late rulers to reconcile their supremacy with our aspirations find no difficulty in seeing through all the illusions sought to be created by Dutch propaganda in this matter of their generosity to the Indonesians. We have often wondered why the Dutch could not learn anything from the Britisher.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah

On the 11th of September, 1948, departed from the field of his mundane activities a great Indian who had helped to disrupt the unity and integrity of his fatherland.

History will assess the good and the evil of Mohammad Ali Jinnah's life, of the elements that went to the making of this great Indian going out of his fatherland's leadership to preside over the foundation of the greatest Muslim State in the modern world.

We will not say as it is the habit for writers of obituary notices to say that we are too near the tragedy of a man's death to be able to rightly judge the good and the evil of his life, of his greatness and smallness. We know that Mohammad Ali Jinnah was not the initiator of the idea of a separate State for Indian Muslims. When the poet Mohammad Iqbal first threw out the suggestion in course of his address as President of the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Allahabad in 1930, he thought only of the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province, constituting a predominantly Muslim bloc and thus capable of forming the nucleus of a State on "the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities." There were other dreamers—Rahamat Ali Chowdhury, for example, Moulana Abdul Wadood of Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Sarhad, Prof. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, who had their different plans for the division of India to suit the convenience of Indian Muslims. About ten years later Mohammad Ali Jinnah adopted the second of these "affinities" as the platform of his campaign. Thereby he halved the Muslim population of India, and elected to remain satisfied with the allegiance of one of these two. The other half, left out of Pakistan, finds itself in an equivocal position today, and it will take them long to reconcile themselves to the disruption of the values of their life.

It is in the light of this analysis that the life and work of Mohammad Ali Jinnah should be studied. Whether or not the achievement of a separate statehood for a section of Indian Muslims has any intrinsic or enduring value of its own, only time will testify ; and then will come the time to pass judgment on his astuteness as a politician. Till 1937, we do not think that he knew his own political mind. By that time he appears to have realized the value of exploiting the British policy of "divide and rule" for the advancement of the class interests of the upper class Muslims who were prepared to accept this plebian for their leader. A child of Western rationalism, the custodians of orthodoxy amongst Indian Muslims made no appeal to him ; his habits of life repelled them. And it is a curious phenomenon that a *Shariat*-inspired State has been created by one who was the least influenced by the traditions of Islam, that the frenzy of the masses of Indian Muslims could be roused by a man who was more akin to Sir Syed Ahmed, whom the Muslim divines of Mecca and Medina had stigmatized as a "Nature-worshipper"; the scholarship of an Abul Kalam Azad and the piety of a Hossain Ahmad Madani could not stand against Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a product of the agnostic West. The reason why of this contradiction to the accepted view of things that the Muslims are a people under the thumb of their religious leaders has to be found.

Shoebullah Khan

The name of this young Muslim journalist will live in India's history as that of one who dedicated his life to the cause of India's unity and integrity. He was editor of the Urdu daily in the State of Hyderabad, the *Imroz* (Today). He fell a victim to the frenzy of the Razakars, the murder-gangs that were organized by the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen (Union of Muslims) organization. He braved their fury by his consistent condemnation of the Nizam's misrule, of the communalism and the fanaticism nurtured and patronized by it. It required no small courage and the utmost self-forgetfulness to go forward against the rising tide of barbarism released over the State by the Razakars and their patrons. The faith that had upheld Shoebullah Khan extorts homage from us ; for, he by his supreme sacrifice and dedication testified to the fact that the "two-nations" theory of the fevered imagination of the Muslim Leaguers was a delusion and a snare.

Kaka-Saheb Khadilkar

The death of one of the most intimate of Balawant Gangadhar Tilak's followers creates a void in journalism and literature in Maharashtra that will be hard to fill up in the near future. Trained under Lokamanya's spacious eyes in the office of the *Keshari* which was the harbinger of militant nationalism in Western India, Kaka Saheb shared along with Narasimha Chintamon

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Kelkar the responsibility for the conduct of this paper when the Master had to divert his attention to politics. For about 20 years these two men were companion-at-arms. But the parting came with the Gandhi era when Kaka Saheb elected to follow the new way of life and thought blazed away by Gandhiji. He started a new paper, *Nava-Kal* (New Times) which was the organ-voice of the new politics that gave a new meaning to our strivings for *Swaraj*. The controversy that ensued between the Tilak School and the Gandhi School made public life in Western India during the third decade of the present century.

Kaka Saheb has carved for himself a distinct place in Marhatta literature also. He was a great dramatist adopting our Mahabharatan episodes to give point to our political struggles against alien authority. The British bureaucracy frowned upon these efforts of his and put under ban his dramas. But his *flaire* was in journalism, and in his hands the *Nava-Kal* attained eminence in Marhatta journalism. During the last few years paralysis forced idleness on this body, but his mind was as active as ever.

Raj Narain Basu

Under the auspices of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and of the Raj Narain Basu Memorial Committee, a meeting was held on September 8 last at the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Hall in celebration of the 122nd birth anniversary of this maker of new Bengal and new India. When Aurobindo Ghosh rose over the horizon in India's political firmament, his maternal grandfather, Raj Narain Basu, came to be known as "the grandfather of Indian Nationalism," thus justifying and bringing towards fruition the renaissance in India of which Ram Mohun Roy was the morning star. The President of the meeting, Sri Sarat Chandra Basu, and the speakers in their own way tried to bring out the various phases of the developments towards national self-respect and self-assertion of which Raj Narain Basu was both propagator and symbol. He, one of the generation of "Young Bengal," vowed to the destruction of the traditional norms and forms of Indian life, lived to assert the superiority of these in the face of aggressive Westernism. In this he represented what has been called the "Return Movement" in India's recent history under the British regime. He had his fellow workers in other parts of India. In "Young Bombay," for instance, we remember the names of Naoroji Fardoonji, popularly known as "Naroji Master" to distinguish him from Dadabhai Naoroji known as "Naoroji Professor," and of Dr. Bhau Daji.

Dr. Subba Row Dead

The *New York Herald Tribune* has announced the death of Dr. Yellapragada Subba Row, Director of Research for Lederle Laboratories Division of the American Cyanamid Company at the early age of 52. Dr. Subba Row was regarded as one of the most eminent medical minds of the present century. Among his exploits were investigations which helped to revolutionise the modern concept of muscular contraction, research in that component of liver extract effective in the treatment of pernicious anemia, work with folic acid derivatives which, among other things, has made available a new approach to the study of cancer ; and more recently, the development of a new drug, aureo-mycin, which promises to treat serious infections in human beings which do not respond either to penicillin or strepto-mycin.

Dr. Subba Row was born in Madras. He received his M.B. and M.Sc. degrees at the Madras University and received a degree of Doctor of Tropical Medicine at the London University, where he met Dr. Richard Strong, then Head of the Harvard School of Tropical Medicine. It was at Dr. Strong's invitation that Dr. Subba Row went to the United States in 1923. At Harvard, he worked, under Dr. Otto Folin, in biochemistry, and took a Ph.D. degree in the field. Some of his earliest work was under the direction of Prof. Cyrus H. Fiske, Harvard Professor of Bio-Chemistry. They devised a method for the determination of phosphorus, a procedure widely used today, which helped to lead eventually to the discovery of a substance known as phosphocreatine and other organic phosphorus compounds in muscle which has revolutionised man's understanding of the mechanism of muscular contraction.

During the investigation of phosphorus compounds of muscle and liver, Dr. Subba Row became interested in the component of liver extract that was effective in the treatment of pernicious anemia. His attempts to isolate this active component introduced a series of studies in animal and bacterial nutrition which added much to the fundamental knowledge of vitamin chemistry. Fractioning the liver extract in the course of his investigation he isolated hundreds of chemical substances ; and testing these substances, he demonstrated that some were valuable in the field of animal nutrition and others were valuable in the field of bacterial nutrition. His researches carried Dr. Subba Row into a teaching fellowship at Harvard, then to an instructorship and an associate professorship. He was also a Rockfeller Foundation Fellow and in 1940 he joined Lederle.

Dr. Subba Row started work on the folic acid problem a few years ago. A number of substances known as vitamin M, Factors U. R. S., etc., vitamin Bc, vitamin B-10, B-11, and others, were reported on by investigators and soon it became apparent that all were related to one compound, folic acid. Dr. Subba Row's study of this compound and his synthesis of it added a weapon in the fight against such diseases as pernicious anemia and sprue, which is a type of anemia. The study of folic acid also yielded a new approach to the cancer problem and the problem of leukemia. Dr. Subba Row's untimely death makes a great set-back in the attempt to discover a remedy for cancer.

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Fight for Berlin

The story of the crisis over Berlin could be traced to February, 1945, when Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill agreed at Yalta (Crimea) to inaugurate "co-ordination, administration and control" of Germany after her expected defeat. On June 5, 1945, the American, Soviet, British and French Governments announced that

> "The area of Greater Berlin will be occupied by the forces of each of the four powers."

The Potsdam Agreement of August 2, 1945, confirmed this arrangement, re-emphasizing the right of the Western Powers to share in the administration of Berlin. But with the surrender of Germany there has come a change over the spirit of the dreams of all the victorious powers, their camaraderie evaporating in the piping times of peace. This goes to prove once again of the instability of arrangements devised by human intelligence. Not all the commandments of religions nor the exhortations of prophets or the living examples of saints have been able to transform this "original sin" of human beings and lead them to paths of sanity or amity. And the modern world appears to be preparing itself for another world war when, it is being prophesied, that it will be finished within 40 hours by the killing of millions within that short space of time.

Chartered Accountants Bill

The Chartered Accountants' Bill is on the legislative anvil in the Indian Parliament. In this connection, the Accountants' Association of India has addressed a memorandum to the Commerce Minister of the Government of India, which, we believe, deserve special attention and sympathetic consideration. The memorandum makes out a special case for the unregistered G. D. A.'s and requests an exemption for them from the three years' articled clerkship. We fully agree with the Association's request for granting the experienced but unregistered G. D. A.'s full facilities for enrolment as associate members in the Register of Chartered Accountants contemplated in the Bill. In the Income Tax and other taxation departments of the Central and provincial governments, as well as in many of the audit offices, the efficiency of the G. D. A.'s in handling the accounts of our indigenous merchants has been proved beyond doubt. Where the British-educated Chartered and Incorporated Accountants have failed, the Indian-trained R. A.'s and G. D. A.'s have come out successful.

When the Indian Companies Act of 1913 was enacted, the restricted certificate-holders in the profession were allowed to practise as auditors in view of their long and varied experience in the line. Even as late as 1945-46, the certified Accountants' Association of London, the third largest body of professional Accountants in the British Commonwealth, were recognised as practising Auditors and Accountants. Many members of the above association had not undergone the articles but won recognition by sheer weight of their experience in the profession. It is also well known that some of the oldest veterans of the Chartered and Incorporated Accountants' Association of England are men with years of practical experience, on whom the honorary memberships of the Associations were bestowed. In consonance with the traditions and established practice of the accountancy profession in England, it is quite reasonable that similar concessions should be granted to veterans in the profession in this country as well instead of compelling them to serve as article clerks under men who might take lessons from them. Like the practice of medicine and law, experience plays a very prominent part in the practice of accountancy as well.

The G. D. A. Board was in existence up to 1933 when it was abolished. So the last G. D. A. is a person with 15 years experience in the profession. The high standards and stiff tests in the G. D. A. Board are well-known and examinations were at par with the Chartered or Incorporated Accountants' test in London. Along with their mastery of the theory, the G. D. A.'s have proved their efficiency and integrity in the practical field also. The books of different types of commercial concerns maintained by the G. D. A.'s have passed the scrutinizing eyes of the practising auditors and the Income Tax authorities throughout India. Among the G. D. A.'s there are many who are holding high and responsiple positions as Accountants, Secretaries, Cost Accountants and Income Tax Consultants.

The Accountants' Association have suggested the following amendment to Sub-clause 3 of Rule 4 under the caption "Members of the Institute," which, if accepted, would fully meet the situation :

> The Council of the Institute shall have the power to recognise in fit cases persons who have passed the G.D.A. examination and who have put in at least 10 years' responsible service in the Accountancy profession, in Government, semi-Government or in business houses as either responsible Assistants or Accountants or Secretaries. Such a recognition will be at the absolute discretion of the Council and the Council will have the power to enrol such persons as Associate Members of the Institute, provided such applications are made within a period of five years from the date of coming into force of this Act.

India's National Anthem

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a statement on India's National Anthem, said in the Indian Parliament that when a provisional decision became essential the Cabinet after consulting the Provincial Governors came to the decision that provisionally "Jana-Gana-Mana" should be used as the tune for the National Anthem, till such time as the Constituent Assembly came to a final decision.

Everyone of the Governors except the Governor of the Central Provinces had signified his approval of "Jana-Gana-Mana", the Prime Minister said. Subsequently the new Premier of West Bengal informed the

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Government of India that he and his Government preferred "Vande Mataram."

It was thought by some people, said Pandit Nehru, that the "Vande Mataram" tune with all its very great attraction and historical background was not easily suitable for being played by orchestras in foreign countries and there was no movement in it.

It seemed, therefore, that while "Vande Mataram" should continue to be the national song par excellence in India, the National Anthem tune should be that of "Jana-Gana-Mana", the wording to be suitably altered to fit in with the existing circumstances.

This question had to be considered by the Constituent Assembly and it was open to that Assembly to decide as it chose. It might decide on a completely new song or tune if such was available.

Pandit Nehru, who was replying to Mr. V. C. Kesava Rao, said, "The question of having a National Anthem tune to be played by orchestras and bands became an urgent one for us immediately after August 15, 1947. It was an important from the point of view of our Defence Services and our foreign embassies and legations and other establishments. It was obviously not suitable for "God Save the King" to be played by our army bands abroad, after the changeover to independence. We were constantly being asked as to what tune should be played on such occasions. We could not give an answer because the decision could only be made ultimately by the Constituent Assembly.

"The 'Jana-Gana-Mana' tune, slightly varied, had been adopted as National Anthem by the Indian National Army in South-East Asia and had subsequently attained a degree of popularity in India also.

"The matter came to a head on the occasion of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947 in New York. Our delegation was asked for our National Anthem for the orchestra to play on a particular occasion. The delegation possessed a record of 'Jana-Gana-Mana' and they gave this to the orchestra who practised it. When they played it before a large gathering it was very greatly appreciated, and representatives of many nations asked for a musical score of this new tune which struck them as distinctive and dignified. This orchestral rendering of "Jana-Gana-Mana" was recorded and sent to India. The practice grew for our Defence Services bands to play this tune, and foreign embassies and legations also used it whenever occasion required. From various countries we received messages of appreciation and congratulation of this tune, which was considered by experts and others as superior to most of the National Anthems which they had heard. Many expert musicians in India and abroad, as well as many bands and orchestras practised it, and sometimes slightly varied it, with the result that the All-India Radio collected quite a number of renderings.

"Apart from the general appreciation with which this tune was received, there was at the time not much choice for us, as there was no proper musical rendering available to us of any other national song which we could send abroad. At that stage, I wrote to all the Provincial Governors and asked their views about our adopting "Jana-Gana-Mana" or any other song as the National Anthem. I asked them to consult their Premiers before replying. I made it perfectly clear to them that the final decision rested with the Constituent Assembly, but owing to the urgency of some directions being sent to foreign embassies and the Defence Services, a provisional decision had become essential. Every one of these Governors, except one (the Governor of the Central Provinces) signified their approval of "Jana-Gana-Mana." Thereupon, the Cabinet considered the matter and came to the decision that provisionally "Jana-Gana-Mana" should be used as the tune for the National Anthem till such time as the Constituent Assembly came to a final decision.

"Instructions were issued accordingly to the Provincial Governors. It was very clear that the wording of "Jana-Gana-Mama" was not wholly appropriate and some changes would be necessary. What was important was the tune to be played by bands and orchestras, and not by the wording.

"Subsequently the new Premier of West Bengal informed us that he and his Government preferred "Vande Mataram."

"That is the position at present. It is unfortunate that some kind of argument has arisen as between "Vande Mataram" and "Jana-Gana-Mana." "Vande Mataram" is obviously and indisputably the premier national song of India, with great historical tradition and intimately connected with our struggle for freedom. That position it is bound to retain and no other song can displace it. It represents the passion and poignancy of that struggle, but perhaps not so much the culmination of it.

"In regard to the National Anthem tune, it was felt that the tune was more important that the words, and that this tune should be such as to represent the Indian musical genius as well as to some extent the western, so that it might equally be adaptable to orchestral and band music, and for being played abroad. The real significance of the National Anthem is perhaps more abroad than in the Home country. Past experience has shown us that "Jana-Gana-Mana" tune has been greatly appreciated and admired abroad. It is very distinctive and there is a certain life and movement in it. It was thought by some people that the "Vande Mataram" tune with all its very great attraction and historical background was not easily suitable for being played by orchestras in foreign countries, and there was not enough movement in it. It seemed, therefore, that while "Vande Mataram" should continue to be the national song par excellence in India, the National Anthem tune should be that of "Jana-Gana-Mana." The wording of "Jana-Gana-Mana" is to be suitably altered to fit in with the existing circumstances.

"This question has to be considered by the Constituent Assembly, and it is open to that Assembly to decide as it chooses. It may decide on a completely new song or tune if such is available."

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The Chukai Fibre

Sj. Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur, had, in July last, drawn attention to the *chukai* plant which might serve as a jute substitute and requested the Government of West Bengal and the Central Government to follow the matter up. We had also the pleasure of publishing the Note Sj. Das Gupta had prepared on the subject. We are rather surprised to find that the Government of Bengal have come out with a press-note with the apparent object of contradicting the idea that Sj. Das Gupta had "discovered" a substitute for jute, but the real object of this entirely unnecessary press-note seems to be to do propaganda for a particular functionary of the Indian Central Jute Committee at public cost. Srijut Das Gupta had never claimed any "discovery;" he merely published his personal observations on the plant with some suggestions about its possibilities as a jute substitute. The following lines constitute the material portion of the press-note :

> As a result of the decision of the Indian Central Jute Committee at its last meeting research work on this and other substitute fibres have already been taken up by the Agricultural Research Institute of the Committee.

When was this last meeting held ? The press-note published on September 30, gives a long schoolboy compilation of the history of the plant but is silent about the date of the meeting which decided to start research work on the *chukai* plant. If it was after July last, Sj. Das Gupta can certainly claim public approbation for having rousing our fat-salaried functionaries from slumber.

Recognition for National College Graduates

Kalikata Vidyapith of the Gaudiya Sarva Vidyayatan had been the national college and University which had been founded in Calcutta in January 1921 by Deshabandhu C. R. Das for higher education on national lines under the direction of the Congress and was opened by Mahatma Gandhi. During the non-co-operatiin movement many students who had boycotted the Government schools and colleges had joined this institution. Sri Subhas Chandra Bose was the Principal of the Vidyapith and Sri Kiran Sankar Roy was the Secretary of the Gaudiya Sarva Vidyayatan. The instructive staff of the college included some of the best professors of Bengal. The students of this National College and University were as meritorious as the best students of other Universities. They sacrificed their life's career and by joining the National University maintained the dignity and standard of the Congress and the Nation. After passing through regular examinations, the students received their degrees and diplomas of Adya (equivalent to Matriculation), Madhya (equivalent to Intermediate Arts), Upadhi (equivalent to B.A.) and Bishes (equivalent to M.A.).

The ex-students of the Kalikata Vidyapith have submitted a memorial to the Central and Provincial Governments praying for recognition but no heed has as yet been paid to it. They have also drawn the attention of the All-India Congress Committee in this respect.

"The First Year"

This is the title of a publication issued by the Publication Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Union of India commemorating the first year of freedom from "British control." It is a superb volume, 88 pages, superb in its make-up. To the tax-payer of India, the duplication of propaganda literature issued on behalf of their Government is a little difficult to justify. The *Indian Information's* "Independence Number" of 140 pages covers almost the same ground. *The First Year*, however, presents us with articles that are more interpretative than informative as in the *Indian Information*. Krishnalal Shridharani's character-sketch of the first Indian Governor-General tells us the familiar story of Rajaji's political life, but it does not explain the psychology of the change that came over the high-priest of Gandhism of the twenties. The other articles just touch the surface of the problems discussed in them. The only exception is K. M. Pannikar's (India's ambassador to China) article entitled *Indian History as It Should Be* ; it takes us to the heart of the subject as it has evolved through the centuries maintaining the original bias given to our people's thoughts and activities. What we have felt to be lacking is a background story that would explain the developments of this "Year," our reaching towards the ideal and our falling back on our brute heritage. We do not know the reasons which stood in the way of the editor, otherwise wide-awake and competent.

In Memoriam

At the memorial meeting held on the 29th September in Calcutta, Sj. Makhan Lal Sen said that Ramananda was one of those great sons of Bengal of nineteenth century who had devoted their versatile genius for all-round progress of the country. His strength of character and religious devotion was unsurpassed. He had dedicated his whole life to awaken the national consciousness which Indians seemed to have lost at that time.

Rai Bahadur Bejoy Behari Mukherjee said that Ramananda had a unique capacity for righteous judgment. Honest in every sphere of life, he maintained a high standard of journalism against all odds.

Sj. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh said that Ramananda had left a standard for every journalist in Bengal. Gifted with a high sense of journalistic honesty and courage of conviction, he never failed to adhere to what he believed to be true.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays "The Modern Review" Office and "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from the 8th October to the 21st October, 1948, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor.

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OUR IMMEDIATE FUTURE

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By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., Hony. D.Litt.

The Law of Our Being

India has been often called a continent (and not one country), in view of her diversity of climate and natural products. But she does not possess the advantages of a true continent, in which each country is marked off from all the others by strong physical barriers, compactness of territory, homogeneity of civilisation, and a commonness of tradition and spirit born of one uniform government within its particular limits during many centuries. The peculiar geography of India makes the defence of her frontier against foreign aggression impossible unless the armed strength and material resources of the entire country are concentrated for the purpose. No Indian province acting in isolation can long make a stand against an invader from outside. Provincial defence must be a Central subject, a concern of the Federal Government. The extremities of the Indian Dominion must be joined to its heart by an ever-present sense of vital connection and sameness of fortune.

But that is not possible unless the provinces realise that the law of their being enjoins on them mutual co-operation amounting to fusion, under one common sovereign authority, and that they must cheerfully subordinate their local interests and parochial pride to the needs of the Central Government.

At the same time the Central Government must be a true father to its numerous children. There must be a living and beneficent contact between it and the provinces. The Central leaders must frequently tour the provinces, and the provincial leaders must frequently come in contact with the Centre by means of political, economic and cultural missions of common concern to the whole land. The Central Government must be felt by the provinces almost as a part and parcel of their daily existence.

Integration of India's Provinces

Our military defence and economic advance alike require not only that all the parts of the Indian Union should be merged under one common Central authority, but also that they should be fused into one by developing uniformity of life and thought, by giving them the same system of administration and law, one official language, and a common and mutually interchangeable system of education and set of directing officers and technical experts. This is no doubt an ideal and its realisation will take time. But to forget it or to check the operation of any centre-moving force would be suicidal. Insistence on the special culture or characteristic of any province, or fanning its parochial pride would be a crime against the greater Indian nationalism.

Look at the map of India as it was under British Imperialism. The portion under the rule of the Central Government of India was usually coloured red, and embraced two-thirds of the surface-area of this country. The remaining one-third was covered by nearly *six hundred* Native States, some as large as France, others containing only a square mile or two; and yet all of them were entitled to sovereignty and independence of the Central administration of India, with varying degrees of autonomy and presenting "a veritable jig-saw puzzle of conflicting political and economic factors." On the map they look like pock-marks on the fair face of India. Some of them were too small even to be represented by dots on our maps; *e.g.*, in Kathiawar there were 449 States in an area of 22,000 square miles, or 50 square miles each on an average, and yet each was ruled by a His Highness, the political equal of the Governor of Bombay or Calcutta! Today they have all merged, with the exception of Hyderabad, which still stands as a large leprosy patch on the skin of India and continues its independence as a "feudal anachronism" in the midst of the modernised rapidly progressive Indian Union. This is the first gain of our first year of freedom; the partitioning of India rigidly maintained by the British during the two centuries of their paramountcy has been quickly undone, though not wholly as yet.

All great countries have grown great only by this process of geographical union and the consolidation of that union through uniformity of education, administration and life. This is the lesson of history. England, France, Germany and the United States, besides Italy and Switzerland have all followed the same course.

Union Makes States Strong

England before the Norman conquest, consisted of England only without Wales, Scotland or Ireland; and even in England the nobles who administered its different districts tried to assert their local independence; hence Harold could not offer a united defence against William the Conqueror. But in a few centuries the whole country—and finally the British Isles, were fused into one State, which could successfully defeat France, a country nearly six times its size. France was at first a bundle of separate provinces, each with its peculiar laws, constitution, traditions and local pride,—and sometimes local dialect. But Louis XI by long patience and artful policy united most parts of the country under the Central Government of Paris. The administrative concentration was completed by Louis XIV, and the full unification of all parts of France was effected by the French Revolution, which swept away the old provinces, with their separatist barriers, systems of government, and traditions. The country was now finally divided into 83 uniform divisions called *Departments*, which were subdivided into districts (*arrondissements*) and further into Cantons,

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The French Constitutional Assembly made this change in 1790, because the "provincial spirit is the enemy of public spirit, and the attachment of the citizen to any smaller group conflicts with allegiance to the Commonwealth. . . . The new Departments . . . presented a smooth blank surface upon which the legislator might impress whatever pattern he thought proper."—*Cambridge Modern History*, VIII, 190.

Thus France became strong, because one, and she could defy the whole of the Continent. One law, the *Code Napoleon*, was imposed on the whole of it.

Political Geography of India Wonderfully Simplified

The case of Germany is exactly parallel to that of India. Here, before 1806, there were more than 400 separate sovereign authorities (comparable to 600 for British India) over an area about one-fourth of India's size.

> But Napoleon effected a wonderful "simplification of the political geography of the country, which . . . entitles him to be called one of the makers of modern Germany." "The smaller princes who had habitually looked to Austria ["the paramount Power"] were swept away. . . . The French armies (in 1805-6) shattered the political fabric which had so long *kept Germany disunited* and *strangled all efforts at reform* . . . The process of reform would never have been completed had not the Holy Roman Empire been dissolved."—*Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 407, 91.

Here if you read *British* for *Roman* and M. Gandhi's epithet for *Holy*, you will get an exact picture of India's disunion and stagnation during the two centuries before 1947. Physically the unification of Germany thus begun by Napoleon in 1806, was completed by the "blood and iron" policy of Prussia in 1866 and 1870. But the gain was made permanent only because it was something greater and deeper than a change in the colouring of the map. Ever since Napoleon's Confederacy of the Rhine (1806), many parts of Germany felt the revivifying touch of the modern doctrines which the French Revolution had brought to Europe. The *Code Napoleon* was adopted, sweeping away the old feudal system, the peasants were freed from serfdom, and the people began to taste some (local) political freedom. See H. A. L. Fisher's *Napoleonic Statesmanship: Germany*, for the little-studied details of this momentous change. Within fifty years of the death of Napoleon the reunited Germany became unconquerable. Geographical fusion was followed by the uniform training, equipment, and control of the armies of its different constituent States under Prussia's central authority, which made the French disasters at Sedan and Metz (1870) possible and easy.

The United States, too, have grown by the coalescence of parts. At first each of the 13 States was jealous of its "independence" and resisted every attempt of the Federal Government to effect reform. Hence the bloody Civil War of 1861-65, in which *Union* triumphed over provincialism at the cost of millions of lives. India has (as yet) been spared this havoc. But since 1865, the whole trend of American history has been to strengthen the authority of the Central Government and curb the "State rights," *i.e.*, local laws, where they oppose modern progress or liberal administration. The greatest authority on the United States, James Bryce, thus describes this change in public opinion:

> "It is clear that the nation feels itself more than ever before to be one for all commercial and social purposes, *every part* of it *more interlaced with and dependent on all the other parts* than in any previous epoch of its history. This feeling . . . steadily gaining ground, cannot but have its effect upon political institutions (*i.e.*, the American constitution). It presages some further *extensions of Federal* authority."—*American Commonwealth*, ed. of 1910.

In India we have to educate public opinion on these lines if we are to combat provincialism.

Establish Uniformity Throughout Indian Union

India's geographical merger will fail to save her unless it is followed—and followed quickly—by administrative, educational, social and military standardisation, by the evolution of a common body of citizens and soldiers. It is no good denying the fact that the administration of many "independent Native States," like that of Hyderabad, is a "feudal anachronism," while certain neighbouring British-administered provinces have reached a high level of education and political experience. How to pull the bad boys up to the level of the good ones if they are to sit in the same class of the administrative school?

A fully-planned scheme of the development of "backward areas"—provinces and ex-States,—must be drawn up by the Centre and relentlessly pursued by its own agency, because there is in such provinces no local staff fit for the work and none will be found till the next generation, after receiving this training, comes into the field. The trainers will be not only school masters, but also judges, police prefects, transport officers, mechanical directors and even doctors. And they will have to work in the teeth of the most ignorant and fanatical local jealousy. This—even more than the final settlement with Pakistan—is the most difficult and vital problem before Indian statesmanship today. Success is possible if there is not only persisent drive from the Centre, but also active co-operation by preaching and voluntary service on the part of every Indian of goodwill and real patriotism.

How to Educate Backward Provinces and States

Let us now consider what this administrative unification of India implies. From the over-riding need of a common defence of the Indian continent follows the inevitable necessity that high officers,—whether military commanders, organisers of supply, technical experts, transport directors, educationists, and specialists of every particular branch,—must be freely interchangeable between one province and another at the nation's need, and the local conditions should be so

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arranged that they can feel quite at home and work with their maximum capacity in the province to which they have been deputed by Centre. This is a *sine qua non*, not only in respect of our armed defence, but also in that of development and organisation, for modern defence presupposes a complex and diversified mass of adjuncts to the mere soldiers. Here provincial exclusiveness—or insistence on *quotas* and domiciles, would be suicidal. The whole educational level of a backward province must be raised quickly by importing an army of teachers from more advanced provinces. The natural bitterness of such "foreign" importation in the hearts of the local population will be softened at the outset if only exceptionally able men are taken from outside, and it will entirely disappear if all the imported talent is replaced by local men in the next generation as a statutory obligation.

Lord Cromer raised Egypt out of the misery and degradation into which it had sunk under the Khedive's misrule, by modernising the administration, economy, education, and defence of the country. He imported Britishers for the key-posts of direction and even many lesser posts of importance, but he replaced them by Egyptians as soon as trained for these offices. It was his rule never to employ a foreigner as soon as a native of nearly equal ability was available. (No doubt the good effect of his system was spoiled by the infamous sentence in the Denshawei case). Cromer had full 23 years of continuous service at the head of the Egyptian administration to complete this training. Will our provinces and ex-States have the patience for such a long course of tutelage ?

UNIQUE PLACE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

This brings me to the last point of our future programme. For years to come the English language must continue to be used as the medium of communication at the top level (in the Centre and the Provinces alike and also between province and province). It should continue as the medium of instruction and examination for the *highest* stage of learning in the country. Furthermore, for the benefit of the inevitable and gradually expanding all-India services, there should be maintained in *every* province *some* schools and colleges with English as the principal language and one Indian vernacular (preferably a simplified gender-less Hindustani) as a compulsory second language,—exactly on the lines of the schools in India teaching for the Cambridge Senior and Junior examinations. These have been found most useful for their sons by the military, railway, engineer and other officers of high rank who, as members of all-India services, have to be transferred to widely distant places. This is a matter of common experience.

It is a foolish and ignorant patriotism that hates English as a foreign language, or a badge of servility to the British oppressors. Let me pour a little cool air into the heated atmosphere of the nationalist debating hall. The *Times* writes (19th June, 1948) :

> "Millions of people in Europe and Asia speak our language with fluency and precision. The two World Wars have caused us to realize the benefits of a common tongue. . . . As travel becomes swifter and commoner the need for easy communication of minds will grow. English is the easiest language to learn, so simple that, a Frenchman once remarked, it is scarcely entitled to be called a language. It is the nearest of all languages to the rank of a *world-speech*, and is more likely than any other to fulfil the world's need. . . . One of the most delusive of popular superstitions is the belief that its language is a nation's soul."

———:O:———

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

BY DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), PH.D. (London)

IV

In this section we propose to discuss the question of citizenship so far as it has been dealt with in the Draft Constitution. Although who should be citizens is an important matter for a state, the question is usually left to the legislatures to be determined by laws enacted after the constitution comes into force. Here in this country the question has assumed added importance because of the division of the country and the problems that it has given rise to, such as large-scale migrations of population, the psychological maladjustment of many people with the new set-up, etc. So the authors of the Draft Constitution have thought it fit to devote a section to this question so as to determine who should be treated as the citizens of the Indian Union at the commencement of the constitution. This, of course, is just a tentative arrangement and does not exclude the authority of Indian Parliament to deal with the matter as they deem fit subsequently. (Section 6).

Modern States usually follow two principles in determining citizenship—(*a*) territory (*jus soli*) and (*b*) descent (*jus sanguinis*). Under the first principle all those who are born within the territory of the state become *ipso facto* its citizens, whether they are born of citizen parents or foreigners. Under the second principle persons born of parents who are citizens of a state get its citizenship wherever they may be born.

The authors of the Draft Constitution had a difficulty in adopting either of these principles as the basis of citizenship in India. Both these principles may determine the citizenship of those who would be born after the constitution comes into force, but the immediate problem was to lay down some specific qualifica-

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tions for determining who should be treated as citizens of the Indian Union at its inception. The problem was complicated by the fact that some parts of what constituted "India" before August 15, 1947, were detached from what is now "Indian Union" without ascertaining their wishes. It was felt therefore that in all fairness the door should be kept open to admit as many as chose to adopt Indian citizenship. If residence within Indian territory was made the only criterion the door would be shut against the large body of persons in Pakistan who would like to adopt Indian citizenship. The same result would follow if descent from parents or grandparents born within the territory of what now constitutes "India" was made the sole criterion. At the same time the Drafting Committee felt that a person should have some sort of territorial connection with the Union either by birth or descent or domicile in order to be a citizen at the commencement of the constitution. They observe :

> "The Committee doubts whether it will be wise to admit as citizens those who, without any such connection with the territory of India, may be prepared to swear allegiance to the Union."

Their reason for this insistence on such territorial connection is stated as follows :

> "If other States were to copy such a provision, we might have within the Union a large number of persons who, though born and permanently resident therein, would owe allegiance to a foreign state."

So they made a compromise between the two principles in laying down qualifications for citizenship at the inception of the Union and made a special provision for the easy accession of persons 'displaced' from Pakistan to the 'citizenship' of Indian Union.

They have therefore recommended that the following two categories of persons are to be citizens at the commencement of the constitution :

> (1) "Every person *who* or *either of whose parents* or any of whose grand-parents was born in the territory of India as defined in this (*i.e.*, the Draft) Constitution and who has not made his permanent abode in any foreign State after the first day of April, 1947."
>
> [The territory referred to in this clause is the territory of Indian Union after the partition.]
>
> (2) "Every person *who* or *either of whose parents* or any of whose grand-parents was born in India as defined in the Government of India Act, 1935 (as originally enacted), or in Burma, Ceylon, or Malaya and who has his domicile in the territory of India as defined in this Constitution."

Both these are subject to the proviso that such persons must not have acquired the citizenship of any foreign state before the date of commencement of the Constitution.

It will be noticed that the provisions in the second clause regarding requirements of citizenship have been made more liberal and purposely so. A person in order to be a citizen of India needs be (1) either (*a*) himself born, or (*b*) have either of his parents or grand-parents born in undivided India *i.e.*, including those parts that are now Pakistan or even in outlying parts such as Burma, Ceylon or Malaya, and (2) have his *domicile* in what now constitutes "India." The "domicile" required is explained as follows : A person shall be deemed to have his domicile in the territory of India—if either

> (1) he would have had his domicile in such territory under Part II of the Indian Succession Act, 1925, that is, he would not only reside in India for a certain period but also demonstrate his intention, to the satisfaction of a competent authority to continue his Indian residence to the exclusion of residence in Pakistan or any other foreign country, or
>
> (2) if he has, before the date of commencement of the constitution, made a declaration before a District Magistrate, a declaration in writing that he desires to acquire domicile in India and has resided in Indian territory for *at least one month before the date of declaration.*

It is obvious that the second clause relating to the determination of citizenship at the commencement of the constitution has been formulated with the avowed object of roping in the large number of 'displaced' persons popularly called the 'refugees' from Pakistan within the category of "citizens" of the Indian Union, thus offering them the benefits of membership of the new State on equal terms with those who are nationals of present-day "India" both by birth and domicile.

Nobody would perhaps question the *bona fides* of the authors of the Draft in their genuine effort to accommodate the displaced persons from Pakistan or accuse them of lack of sympathy and consideration for the latter, although how far they have been able to meet their special requirements, admits of difference of opinion. Criticism has been made in many quarters that the concessions recommended do not go far enough.

Here it is necessary to point out that the problem is quite different so far as Western and Eastern Pakistan are concerned. In the West the problem has been practically solved, at a great cost though, by the wholesale exchange of population carried out under compulsion of events. As regards those who have come over from Western Pakistan their case is satisfactorily met by the second clause discussed above. It is otherwise, however, with Eastern Pakistan. A large section of the population there, for some reasons or other feel that they cannot adjust themselves to the new situation in which they find themselves due to the partition of India the decision for which was taken without reference to them. Many of them are valiant fighters in the struggle for freedom of India. Such persons may justifiably claim that they should get the citizenship of their choice. Some of them have managed to come over to India on their own. With regard to them there is not much difficulty. Simply by making a declaration before a Magistrate as stated above they would acquire

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citizenship of India. Exception was taken to the practical difficulty for the great majority of refugees for getting such a declaration and getting it registered, but the objection has been met by further simplification of such procedure to which we shall refer presently. The procedure might be further simplified to accommodate them, if necessary. But there are others and they constitute a majority who have not been able to migrate to India. There may be some among these who may be able and willing to adjust themselves to conditions in Pakistan. Such persons will in due course adopt the citizenship of Pakistan. With regard to them also there is hardly any difficulty. The real difficulty arises with regard to those—a very large section—who have not been able to migrate on their own, but at the same time cannot adjust themselves to Pakistan State. It would have been well if the Government of the Indian Dominion could effect a planned evacuation of such persons and thus admit them to Indian citizenship. But the Government is not at all willing to encourage the idea, as they find the problem too huge for their resources. As a matter of fact, both the Governments of West Bengal and of India refused to acknowledge the existence of a "refugee" problem at all until it was borne in upon them by continuous exodus of non-Muslim population from East Bengal to West Bengal which created serious problems for the West Bengal Government. Even now the policy that is being pursued is to provide for relief and rehabilitation of those who are coming into the province on their own and discouraging further exodus and to make all possible attempts to induce them to stay on in East Bengal by bringing pressure on Pakistan Government to accord just and fair treatment to minorities through Inter-Dominion Conferences, etc. How far this policy has succeeded in its object or whether it is not time to effect a planned evacuation of all those who want to settle in India or to negotiate for at least a partial exchange of population are questions which are not quite germane to our present discussion except in an indirect way. But supposing things remain where they are, the question is how far it is possible to offer facilities of Indian citizenship to those persons in East Pakistan who want it. On this point, we think the Drafting Committee is perfectly right to insist on some form of territorial connection, whether by birth or descent, or domicile, as the condition of citizenship, as otherwise if other States, in particular, Pakistan, were to imitate the same principle we may have in our State a large number of persons who, though born and permanently resident therein, would owe allegiance to a foreign State. Much adverse criticism has been directed against this view of the Committee, as it excludes the minorities in Pakistan from benefits of Indian citizenship. However unpalatable the position may be, it appears to us to be inevitable, as no State can allow a large part of its inhabitants permanently resident therein to owe allegiance to a foreign state, nor is it possible for a person to have dual citizenship. There is another danger also in throwing open citizenship indiscriminately to habitual residents of a foreign state, as it might be abused by interested groups to influence elections in the country detrimentally to its best interests. The only solution of the problem is either to arrange for planned evacuation of such persons to Indian Union before the commencement of the constitution or to leave the door open for them to easily acquire citizenship of the Indian Union whenever they may come over, taking due precaution against admission of undesirable elements to citizenship.

(To be continued)

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MINORITY SAFEGUARDS IN PAKISTAN

By Principal DEVAPRASAD GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

The problem of minorities has been very much to the fore during recent years both in India and abroad.

In Europe, after the conclusion of the Great War of 1914-18, when numerous new States were set up as a result of the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian Empires, the interests of the minorities in these various "Succession States" were sought to be safeguarded by the "Minorities Guarantee Treaties" drafted under the auspices of the League of Nations. About a score of such States (like Poland, Czecho-slovakia, Yugo-slavia, Estonia, Latvia, Rumania, etc.) entered into these arrangements for the protection of the "racial, linguistic and religious minorities" resident within their respective borders.

In India, ever since the days now about half-a-century ago, when the Muslim community (the biggest minority in India considered as a whole) began agitating for separate representation and weightage in order to safeguard their rights and interests, the necessity has been felt of providing for such safeguards in some shape or other in the various stages of constitutional reforms through which India passed during this period, *viz.*, the Morley-Minto Reforms (1909), the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919), and the Government of India Act (1935) following upon the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conferences.

Latterly, the Muslim leadership felt—whether rightly or wrongly is beside the point in the present context—that the differences, racial, cultural and religious, that divided the Muslims from the Hindus, were such as to amount to altogether distinct nationalities.

It will be interesting to recall in this connection what Mr. Jinnah wrote in September, 1944, in course of a letter to the late Mahatma Gandhi :

"We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or

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test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation."

As a result of the development of this outlook, there has been a cataclysmic change in the political set-up of the Indian sub-continent. The State of India has been partitioned into two separate and independent Dominions, the Indian Union and Pakistan. Thus the *raison d'etre* of the emergence of Pakistan as an entity independent of the rest of India has been the recognition of the distinction in the rights, interests and culture of the Hindus and Muslims considered as distinct Nations. Much might be said, theoretically speaking, both for and against the recognition of such distinctions as calculated to foster dissensions, stereotype differences, retard the growth of a sense of common nationality, etc. etc., but considered in the light of the actual historical developments up-to-date in India, such discussions would be of merely academic interest; for the plain blunt fact is that the new State of Pakistan has been ushered into existence on the basis of Hindus and Muslims as distinct nationalities, and upon that basis it must rest; otherwise, that is to say, if that basis is to be given up and if the concept of a composite nationality in Pakistan be now sought to be developed instead, the State of Pakistan itself will have no moral basis to stand upon as an entity separate from the rest of India, with which it is economically, culturally, geographically, connected in an indissoluble manner.

It is therefore hardly necessary at this stage to indulge in elaborate argumentation on the necessity of safeguards for the minorities in Pakistan, for it is an agreed proposition. I would therefore content myself with attempting to make some suggestions as to how such safeguards, political, economic and cultural, can be effectively secured.

It is a trite saying that the best and surest safeguard for a minority lies in the good-will of the majority. Undoubtedly so. If the majority so behaves and comports itself that the minority instinctively feels that although belonging to a different community or even nationality, its members are looked upon as co-equal and honoured citizens of the State with no mark of inferiority branded upon them; and if the high policy of the State itself be to treat all its citizens on a footing of perfect equality with the fundamental rights of free speech, free press, free association, free exercise of social customs and usages, religious rites and ceremonies, etc. etc., guaranteed to all—then the minority will have no cause for complaint and will naturally develop a sense of loyalty to the State that no amount of coercion and admonition can evoke.

It must be said to the credit of the first Governor-General of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, that in his inaugural speech at the first session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, he struck the right chord and made this heartening declaration:

> "We are starting the State with no discrimination, no distinction, between one community and another, between caste or creed. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of our State. We should keep that in front of us as our ideal; and you will find that in course of time, the Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as the citizens of the State."

It is a good beginning and an excellent ideal; but in the hard work-a-day world of stern realities, there are fallings-off from the ideal, as a result of communal bickerings and jealousies, individual preferences and idiosyncrasies, lust for domination and supremacy, and such-like tendencies. And against such fallings-off, there must be safeguards for minorities embodied in the written constitution.

Particularly so in the present circumstances; for the feelings of hostility on the one hand and nervousness on the other, roused by the intensive political campaigning of the last few years that ushered in the advent of Pakistan, though happily on the wane, will take a long time to disappear altogether; and in the meantime, for at least a generation (or, say, a quarter of a century) very definite measures will have to be taken, if this nervousness and sense of helplessness and insecurity on the part of the Hindu minority in Pakistan are to be effectively removed. And this restoration of the sense of confidence in the minds of the minorities so very essential in the present circumstances can only be brought about by adequate safeguards for them.

I am accordingly proceeding to suggest some such safeguards below:

First, as to political safeguards for the minorities.

In Pakistan, the Hindus (including the Depressed Classes) constitute the biggest minority. Among the smaller minorities (in fact, they are exceedingly small) might be mentioned the Buddhists, the Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. What I am going to suggest with regard to the Hindus may be taken to apply *mutatis mutandis* to all these smaller minorities.

In all constitutions based upon the principle of responsible Government, it is the Legislature (or Parliament) representing the people which wields supreme political power, for the Executive is responsible to itself. Consequently, for any safeguards to be politically effective, the composition of the Legislature must be such that the minorities have adequate and effective representation therein. Many methods of such minority representation are known to political science; and one or more of such methods have found their way to actual practice in various constitutions all the world over; *e.g.*, separate electorates, joint electorates with reservation of seats, proportional representation (on the

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Hare or Andrae or other models), cumulative vote, limited vote, etc.

In India, in the actual development of its constitutional history, proportional representation (with its variants) has hardly been made use of, except on a very limited scale (*e.g.*, in the election of members to the Upper House from the Lower House in the Provinces for instance). The main reason for its non-adoption has been that the "choices" or "preferences" in the multi-member constituencies involved in this system are hardly understood by the vast majority of the electorate who are mostly ignorant and uninformed, and also because of the great complexities in counting votes on the "single transferable vote" system, with its "quotas" and "surpluses" and "transfers" to the "continuing" candidates. The cumulative vote and the limited vote system, too, have been rejected as unsatisfactory.

Practically, the choice has lain between separate electorates on the one hand, and joint electorates with reservation of seats for the minorities on the other.

There are arguments on both sides. Those who prefer separate electorates for the minorities do so on the ground that the candidates returned on this basis will *really* represent the minds, the ideals and the interests of the minorities concerned; while, on the joint electorates with reservation basis, the candidates returned with the help of the majority community votes are likely to be merely "stooges" or "puppets" of the latter, and will not be *real* representatives of the minorities concerned. There is much substance in this point of view. And as a matter of historical fact, the Muslim League has been the stoutest champions of this point of view ever since the days of the Morley-Minto Reforms; it has consistently rejected joint electorates with reservation of seats for the safeguarding of Muslim interests. Even the modified form of such joint electorates with reservation—suggested by the late Maulana Muhammad Ali—to the effect that the candidate must obtain at least 40 per cent of the votes cast by his own community, did not find favour with the Muslim League. The Muslim League stood firm in its demand for separate electorates with weightage in its favour, and got it sanctioned both by the Indian National Congress and the British Government (*vide*, the Lucknow Pact and the Communal Award).

Those who dislike the system of separate communal electorates do so on the ground that it is likely to stimulate and perpetuate communal separatism and retard the growth of the sentiment of a common nationality. This argument, too, has great force, but only in a State like the Indian Union, for instance, which is professedly and (one might say) almost ostentatiously a Secular State, but not in a State like Pakistan, which is admittedly based upon the fundamental concept of Hindus and Muslims as distinct Nationalities and is thus in effect a multi-national State with only the bond of common citizenship binding them together. Hence the system of separate electorates with weightage for the Hindu minority forms the only logical basis of communal representation in Pakistan.

With respect to the Depressed Classes among the Hindus (now styled the Scheduled Castes), they constitute an integral part of the Hindu community, upon which devolves the responsibility of improving their condition and removing their social disabilities, if any. As the Donoughmore report put it pithily, "The enfranchisement of the Depressed Classes and the provision of equal adequate educational facilities are the true remedies for their condition." Untouchability, as such, might be declared unlawful, and not recognized by the State as being inconsistent with human dignity. If that be done, only the minor social disabilities would remain. These too would fast disappear under the impact of enlightened public opinion amongst the Upper Caste Hindus, who will naturally try to remove the backwardness of their depressed brethren, if for nothing else, at least in their own interests to strengthen the Hindu minority as a whole. Consequently, it is not necessary to have safeguards separately for the Scheduled Castes of the Hindu community, and the safeguards suggested are accordingly intended for the Hindu community as a whole (including its Scheduled Castes).

As to the precise figures for such separate electorates and weightage for the minorities, I shall confine myself to the Central Pakistan Dominion and the province of East Bengal; for I am not conversant with the present state of things in the provinces of West Pakistan, radically modified as their population-figures have been on account of the disturbances in that region.

In East Bengal, the Hindus constitute about 30 per cent of the entire population, and at the Centre, about 20 per cent. I would accordingly suggest that Hindu representation in the Legislature of East Bengal should be 40 per cent, and in that of the Centre 33⅓ per cent of the entire strength. The weightages in favour of the Hindus implied by these figures are exceedingly moderate compared to the weightages enjoyed by the Muslims (where they were in a minority) for the last thirty years. The following figures of Muslim representation in the various Assemblies, Provincial and Central, under the Government of India Act (1935) will bear out the above statement:

	Seats due on population basis	Seats allotted under the Act
Madras	17	29
Bombay	16	30
U. P.	35	66
Bihar	20	40
C. P. (with Berar)	5	14
Orissa	1	4
Centre	67	82

As to the other minorities (*e.g.*, Buddhists, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, etc.), I would suggest 5

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per cent seats for all of them taken together, both in East Bengal and at the Centre. These allocations would still leave the majority of seats (55 per cent in East Bengal and about 62 per cent at the Centre) for the Muslim majority community.

These figures should as far as possible be reflected in the formation of the Cabinet Executive also—the ratio of Hindu Ministers to Muslim Ministers in the Cabinet should be 40 : 60 in East Bengal and 1 : 2 at the Centre. If the Legislature and the Executive are constituted on this basis, there will be a returning sense of confidence, fair-play and self-respect in the minds of the Hindu minority which at the present moment is so sadly lacking.

Secondly, as to economic safeguards.

In the economic sphere, much can be done to safeguard the interests of the minorities and instil a sense of confidence into them if the Fundamental Rights of equal and impartial treatment of all citizens are strictly enforced. If there is no discrimination in the matter, say, of granting permits and trade licenses, of the assessment of income-taxes and other rates, of arranging trade facilities and Banking transactions, etc., then the sense of uneasiness that is sitting like a nightmare upon the Hindu minority will disappear over-night. But these are matters of administration and can be hardly embodied in a constitution ; these really depend upon the spirit in which the administration is actually carried on by the officers concerned.

But something can be done regarding the manner in which these officers are recruited by the State. As in the Legislature and Executive, so in the matter of officer recruitment, subject of course to the primary requirement of efficiency and qualifications, communal ratios can be laid down. And in this connection, too, I would suggest the same ratios as before, *viz.*, the ratio of Hindu to Muslim officers recruited every year to be in the ratio of 40 : 60 in East Bengal, and in the ratio of 1 : 2 in the Central Services. How the absence of officers belonging to one's own community affects the morale of that community hardly needs any stressing, in view of the utter demoralization that set in in the wake of the partition as a result of the ill-advised "option" that was practically forced upon the officers of both the new-born Dominions.

Thirdly, as to religious, educational, social and cultural safeguards.

In this domain, too, if the Fundamental Rights guarantee freedom of worship, freedom in the practice of religious rites and ceremonies, social customs and usages, cultural and educational activities, and complete religious toleration, and these rights are enforced in an impartial manner, the religious, educational, social and cultural interests of the Hindu nation will be adequately safeguarded.

Besides these Fundamental Rights embodied in the constitution, another safeguard for the cultural and religious interests and personal laws and usages of the minority may be devised. In fact, such a safeguard was demanded on behalf of the Muslim League by its President, Mr. Jinnah, in one of his famous "Fourteen points"; and it runs thus :

> "No Bill or Resolution, or any part thereof, should be passed in any Legislature or any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such Bill or Resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community."

The Cabinet Mission sent out by the British Government in 1946, too, embodied such a safeguard in its proposals of May 16, 1946, in paragraph 15, clause (2), as follows :

> "Any question raising a communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting."

Fourthly, as to methods that might make the safeguards effective, there might be brought into existence a "Communal Council" to protect the cultural interests of the minority community (as discussed in the Nehru Report of 1928)—a standing Minority Board, whose function would be the supervision of educational institutions, orphanages, widows' homes, temples and *Maths, Dharamsalas* and *Serais*, etc., of the Hindu community ; and the encouragement of their languages, scripts, literature and other cultural activities ; and its other important duty would be to bring to the immediate notice of the authorities any instances of injustice, oppression, unfair discrimination, etc., that may be done to the Hindus, so that their grievances may be remedied without delay.

Fifthly, these safeguards, political, economic and cultural, will have to be continued for a pretty long time, at least for a generation (or, say, twenty-five years) to come ; and the question of their elimination (or of some of them) can only be seriously considered when the feeling of nervousness and the sense of inferiority have been totally removed from the minds of the Hindu minority as a result of the continued good and sympathetic attitude of the Muslim majority.

Sixthly, with respect to other safeguards for the minorities, I would suggest that in all elective bodies, like Municipalities, District Boards, etc., the same system of separate electorates be followed ; and the formula recommended in the late Deshabandhu Das's famous Bengal Hindu-Muslim Pact of 1923 be adopted; *viz.*, that the minority seats and the majority seats be in the ratio of 40 : 60 throughout the Municipalities, District Boards, etc., whichever community may be in the minority.

In conclusion, I would draw attention to the very emphatic manner in which the rights of the minorities were sought to be safeguarded in the celebrated resolution of the Muslim League at its Lahore session, held on the 26th March, 1940—the session which marked an epoch in modern Indian history by its adoption of Pakistan as the constitutional goal of the Indian Muslims ; and it runs thus :

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"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for the minorities in Pakistan for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them."

Brave and generous and re-assuring words these; and if the leaders of the majority community in the Dominion of Pakistan act up to the spirit of this declaration and ensure by their attitude and conduct that all the legitimate safeguards that the minorities want will be vouchsafed unto them, and that the minorities will have nothing to fear in the pursuit of their normal avocations with dignity and self-respect, then one can hope that in the fulness of time all the uneasiness, the defeatism, the bitterness that is poisoning the political atmosphere today will pass away, and the new Dominion will launch upon a progressive and prosperous career with the goodwill of all its citizens and the blessings of Providence.*

* Memorandum submitted to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

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LINGUISTIC PROVINCES AND THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

By SUDHANSU MUKHERJI, Advocate, High Court

Under Section 290 of the Government of India Act of 1935, as adapted by the India (Provincial Constitution) Order of 1947, the Governor-General may by Order create a new Province, increase the area of any province, diminish the area of any province and alter the boundaries of any province, provided that before making any such Order the Governor-General shall ascertain the views of the Government of any province which will be affected by the Order, both with respect to proposal to make the Order and with respect to the provisions to be inserted therein. And it is provided by Section 8 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, that except in so far as other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion, each of the new Dominions (*i.e.*, India and Pakistan) and all provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that the provisions of that Act shall, so far as applicable, and subject to any express provisions of Indian Independence Act, 1947, and with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as may be specified in orders of the Governor-General, have effect accordingly.

Thus, under the law as it stands at present, the Governor-General has ample powers to increase the area of or to alter the boundaries of a province. There is only one restriction, that is to say, he has got to ascertain the views of the Government of the province that may be affected. It does not mean that the Governor-General is bound by such views.

In the case of West Bengal and Bihar, the matter of the alteration of the boundaries should be beyond the pale of controversy.

The Congress is now in office and can put the saddle on the right horse. The Congress unanimously passed in the 1911 Sessions a resolution stating *inter-alia* that

"In readjusting the provincial boundaries the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

There is no reason why the Congress should not in 1948 swear by the 1911 resolution. If there can be no opposition between reason and common sense, the dismemberment of Bengal should make it clear that there is great reason in what West Bengal claims for.

On top of it the leading lights of the province of Bihar (to be affected by the Order of the Governor-General) published a statement in 1912 suggesting that "the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal."

If still any one in Bihar now recant the Congress resolution and show truculence, India should not lose a moment to restore the recalcitrant to reason, and also take immediate action under Section 290 of the Government of India Act.

Dr. Ambedkar points out the necessity of taking such steps in his letter to the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly. This is what he writes in paragraph 20 of his letter:

> "I would invite special attention to Part I of the First Schedule and the foot-note thereto. If Andhra or any other linguistic region is to be mentioned in this Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted, steps will have to be taken immediately to make them into separate Governors' provinces under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, before the Draft Constitution is finally passed. Of course, the new Constitution itself contains provisions for the creation of new States but this will be after the new Constitution comes into operation."

Part I of the First Schedule enumerates the present nine Governors' provinces and states that these are the territories known immediately before the commencement of this Constitution as the Governors' provinces. There is a long foot-note which will at once show that the "clamour" of West Bengal is not at all inopportune. Nor can it be said that her claim is anyway extravagant.

The foot-note reads as follows:

> "The Committee has anxiously considered the question whether Andhra should be specifically mentioned as a separate State in this Schedule. There was recently a statement by the Government on this subject, in which it was said that Andhra could be included among the provinces in the Constitution as was done in the case of Orissa and Sind under the Government of India Act, 1935. Accordingly, the Committee was at one stage inclined to mention Andhra as a distinct State in

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the Schedule. On fuller consideration, however, the Committee feels that the bare mention of the State in the Schedule will not suffice to bring it into being from the commencement of the new Constitution. Preparatory steps will have to be taken immediately under the present Constitution in order that the new State, with all the machinery of Government, may be in being from the commencement of the new Constitution. This was what was done in the case of Orissa and Sind under the Act of 1935; they were made into separate provinces with effect from April 1, 1936, while the Act came into operation on April 1, 1937. The Committee therefore recommends that a Commission should be appointed to work out or inquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions with instructions to submit its report in time to enable any new States whose formation it may recommend to be created under Section 290 of the Act of 1935 and to be mentioned in this Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted."

Dr. Ambedkar as Chairman of the Drafting Committee made these observations on 21.2.48 when he submitted the Draft of the new Constitution of India to the Hon'ble the President of the Constituent Assembly of India.

Have Government of India, in accordance with the recommendation of the Draft Committee, appointed any Commission "to work out or inquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions"? If no such Commission have yet been appointed as regards "other linguistic region," do not our National Government owe an explanation to us? It cannot be said that the recommendation emanated from a handful of wicked agitators. The recommendation emanated from distinguished and responsible men of the day like Ambedkar, Gopalaswami Ayengar, Alladi and Munshi and others who constituted the Draft Committee and who had a long session before they forwarded their views to the authorities. If Government have not yet taken any steps, let us hope that it is not due to any disinclination on their part to accept the recommendation of that illustrious Committee.

Pandit Nehru in one of his Ooty speeches declared that he refused to be rushed. But Dr. Ambedkar and the other members of the Draft Committee took a different view and recommended the appointment of a Commission to work out all relevant matters and to submit its report before the Constitution is finally adopted.

With respect to Panditji, I should like to submit that there should be no further adjournment of the case of West Bengal and my reason are as follows:

(*i*) Hindi is being disseminated so vigorously that it is apprehended that by the time Panditji may take up the claim of West Bengal (as I stated on another occasion) he will perhaps find no vestiges of Bengali in any part of Bihar. So long Bihari was only an additional Court language in Manbhum. Bengali really occupied the pride of place. It is now understood that henceforth Bihari is the only language that will hold the field in the law-courts of those places.

(*ii*) The provisions contained in the New Draft are far more complicated than those stated in Section 290 of the Government of India Act. They are thus bound to cause enormous delay. But West Bengal cannot afford to wait any longer.

(*iii*) The Draft Constitution contains provisions relating to the creation and administration of Scheduled and Tribal areas and it is obvious that the Singbhum and Santhal Parganas districts are bound to present a number of very hard nuts to crack.

I should like to take just a bird's-eye view of the provisions of the Draft Constitution corresponding to Section 290 of the present Act in order to impress upon all that if you postpone the case of West Bengal, you will perhaps defeat her claims altogether.

Under Article 3 of the Draft Constitution Parliament may by law increase or decrease the area of any State or alter the boundaries thereof: Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House except by the Government of India and unless (*a*) either

(*i*) a representation in that behalf has been made to the President by a majority of the representatives of the territory in the Legislature of the State from which the territory is to be separated or excluded; or

(*ii*) a resolution in that behalf has been passed by the Legislature of any State whose boundaries or name will be affected by the proposal to be contained in the Bill; and

(*b*) Where the views of the Legislature of the State whose boundaries or name would be affected by the Bill are ascertained by the President both with respect to the proposal to introduce the Bill and with respect to the provisions thereof.

A bare reading of these draft provisions and of the existing provisions embodied in Section 290 of the Government of India Act hereinbefore reproduced should make it crystal clear that to put off West Bengal's case is practically to smother a decision thereof.

There are now two mighty sons of Bengal in the New Delhi Cabinet. It is their sacred duty to take up the cudgels for West Bengal with courage and tact. They must not fail their country in need. If any of their colleagues take a mistaken view of West Bengal's claim, it is their bounden duty to take their courage in both hands and point out his mistake then and there.

West Bengal is down on her luck. Radcliffe has ripped her up. Her troubles are too many. If she want to live, her lost territories must forthwith be restituted to her.

The authorities at New Delhi should realise that this is a very live issue in West Bengal. They must not touch her on the raw. They must show sympathy and they must proceed boldly and decide justly.

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THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GREAT POWERS' VETO

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If the United Nations, like its predecessor, the League of Nations, fails to achieve its purposes, the failure, I think, will mainly be due to its provisions relating to the rule of "Great Power Unanimity," more popularly known as the "Veto." In fact, recent comments on the United Nations are mostly directed against this Veto.

But what is this Veto ?

To understand this we must refer ourselves to the Charter of the United Nations. There in the Article 27 we find that

> "Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote," that "Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members" and that "Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members."

The same Article further provides that

> "In decisions under Chapter VI and under paragraph 3 of Article 52," that is to say, when the Council is taking measures for pacific settlement, "a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting."

Now, as it is well-known, the Security Council consists of 11 members of the United Nations. Of them, the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America are permanent members of the Security Council and the General Assembly elects six other members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council for a term of two years.[1] Thus it appears that under Article 27 of the Charter any one of the Big Five could block any action by the Security Council except in two cases : First, no Great Power may veto decisions on matters which are recognised as 'procedural'; and secondly, no Great Power may even vote on decisions solely concerned with pacific settlement, if it is itself a party to the dispute ; for in such a case the disputant Great Power is required to abstain from voting at all.

But these limits on the right of veto are not at all substantial. There is no official definition of 'procedural matters.' It is, of course, true that on June 7, 1945, at the San Francisco Conference, the delegations of the four sponsoring Governments of Britain, China, U.S.A., and U.S.S.R. in a statement suggested that procedural matters include the following : adoption and alteration of the rules of procedure of the Security Council, selection of times and places of special and regular meetings of the Security Council, establishment of such agencies as the Council may deem necessary for the performance of its functions, organising the Council in such a way as to enable it to function continuously, determination of the method of selecting the President of the Council, invitation of a member of the organisation not represented on the Security Council to participate in its discussions when that member's interests are specially affected, and invitation of any state when it is a party to a dispute being considered by the Council to participate in the discussion relating to that dispute.[2] But since this statement was not formally accepted by the San Francisco Conference as the official interpretation of Article 27, it is obvious that any of the Great Powers may consider themselves as not bound by that interpretation. The Delegations of the sponsoring Governments believed that the Charter itself contained an indication of the application of the voting procedures to the various functions of the Council and thought it unlikely that there would arise in the future any matters of great importance on which a decision would have to be made as to whether a procedural vote would apply.

> "Should, however, such a matter arise," they maintained, "the decision regarding the preliminary question as to whether or not such a matter is procedural must be taken by a vote of seven members of Security Council, including the concurring votes of the permanent members."[3]

If we turn to the Provisional rules of Procedure of the Security Council adopted by it at its first meeting and amended at its forty-eighth meeting, there also we do not find further clarification of 'procedural matters.' There it is only stated that

> "Voting in the Security Council shall be in accordance with the relevant Articles of the Charter and of the Statute of the International Court of Justice."[4]

Let us then study the different Articles of the Charter and the Statute to get an idea as to the extent of the right of the Big Five to exercise a veto in the decisions of the Security Council. Now any one who studies the Articles from this point of view will simply be surprised by the bewildering variety of matters which may be and in many cases have already been considered as non-procedural or substantive :

(1) A state may be admitted to the membership of the United Nations, expelled from it and have its rights and privileges suspended and later on restored only on the basis of a decision of the Security Council and any one of the Big Five may exercise a veto in all these cases.[5]

1. United Nations Charter, Art. 23.

2. *Yearbook of the United Nations*, p. 24 and United Nations Charter, Arts. 28-32.

3. *Yearbook of the United Nations*, p. 25.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 457.

5. United Nations Charter, Arts. 4, 5, 6.

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(2) Special sessions of the General Assembly may be convoked by the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the request of the Security Council and any one of the Big Five may exercise a Veto.[6]

(3) The Security Council deals only with those disputes or situations which if allowed to continue are "likely to endanger" in its opinion the maintenance of international peace and security. Any one of the Big Five may claim a veto on decisions as to this likelihood.[7]

(4) When the Security Council deals with a dispute as a problem of pacific settlement under Chapter VI of the Charter, it is true that the disputant Great Power may not vote; but obviously any Great Power could have its veto right if it is not disputant, that is to say, not a party to the dispute.

(5) When however the Security Council deals with a dispute not as a matter for pacific settlement but as a matter requiring action on its part to enforce its decisions under Chapter VII of the Charter, then a Great Power, even though party to the dispute, recovers its right of veto, which it might have lost during the discussion of the subject in the Security Council as a matter for pacific settlement.

(6) "All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreement and of their alteration and amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council" and "The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas."[8] In all these decisions of the Security Council any one of the Big Five could exercise its veto.

(7) "A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."[9] But there could be no recommendation of the Security Council, if any one of the Big Five liked to exercise its right of veto.

(8) The Security Council may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment of the International Court of Justice, if any party to a case fails to perform the obligations imposed upon it under the judgment.[10] But then there might be no agreement among the Big Five and any one of them might exercise its right of veto.

(9) The Security Council may approach the International Court of Justice with a request to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.[11] But on account of the veto right of the Big Five there might be no such request to facilitate action in international affairs.

(10) Even the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations might not be filled as a result of a veto in the Security Council.[12]

(11) Any amendment or alteration of the Charter of the United Nations may not be possible, if only any one of the Big Five did not like any amendment or alteration and therefore exercised its right of veto.[13]

(12) The Security Council could, where appropriate, utilise regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no use could be made of such regional bodies, if there were no unanimity among the Big Five.[14]

(13) The conditions under which a state which is a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice but is not a Member of the United Nations may participate in electing the Court are, in the absence of a special agreement, to be laid down by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.[15] Here also the veto might be applied by any one of the Big Five.

(14) Under certain circumstances the Security Council is required to fix a period within which elections to the International Court of Justice are to be held. But any one of the Big Five might so apply its veto that no such date could be fixed.[16]

(16) The Security Council could lay down conditions under which the International Court of Justice would be open to the states which are not parties to the Statutes of the International Court of Justice. Here also the Veto might apply.[17]

This is a fairly exhaustive list of matters which under the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice may be considered as non-procedural or substantive and therefore subject to the veto power of the Big Five.

The second limitation upon the Great Powers' veto is not at all important. It simply states that when the Security Council is dealing with a dispute as a problem of pacific settlement under Chapter VI of the Charter, a Great Power which is a party to the dispute may not vote. But obviously the Great Power will have its right of veto, if it is not a party to the dispute. Besides, when the Security Council's decision would involve action under Chapter VII of the Charter, then the Great Power, even though party to the dispute, recovers its right of veto. Moreover, as the Russians

6. *Ibid.*, Art. 20.
7. *Ibid.*, Arts. 33, 34.
8. *Ibid.*, Art. 83.
9. *Ibid.*, Art. 93.
10. *Ibid.*, Art. 94.
11. *Ibid.*, Art. 96.
12. *Ibid.*, Art. 97.
13. *Ibid.*, Arts. 108 and 109.
14. *Ibid.*, Art. 53.
15. Statute of the International Court of Justice, Art. 4.
16. *Ibid.*, Arts. 12 and 14.
17. *Ibid.*, Art. 35.

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have pointed out, Art. 27 of the Charter refers only to a 'dispute' but not to a 'situation', and under Arts. 34 and 35 the Security Council is empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. The Russians have, therefore, claimed that the limitation of the veto right applies only to disputes, and not to situations, and further that decisions as to which label should be stuck on are not procedural, but substantive and, therefore, subject to the veto.

One is almost tempted to say that there is veto here, there and everywhere in the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice. Let it be remembered further that the matters in respect to which the Security Council is expected to decide and therefore the veto may be applied are not only numerous but also of vital importance to the United Nations. The Security Council has the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security",[18] and in view of this importance of the functions of the Security Council the Members of the United Nations have agreed to accept and carry out its decisions in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.[19] The decisions of all other bodies of the United Nations are nothing more than recommendations. It is only the decisions of the Security Council which are binding, even though these decisions may relate to matters which may be considered by a Member State as falling within its domestic jurisdiction.[20]

I do not deny that the United Nations experiment in respect of the veto represents a definite improvement upon the League of Nations. Under Art. XV of the League Covenant substantive decisions of the League of Nations Council could be taken only by the unanimous vote of all its members, permanent or non-permanent with the exception only of parties to a dispute. However, it was under Art. XI of the Covenant that most of the disputes brought before the League were dealt with and decisions to make investigations taken, and there the unanimity rule was invariably interpreted to include even the votes of the parties to a dispute. The voting formula under the Charter of the United Nations substitutes for the rule of complete unanimity of the League Council a system of qualified majority voting in the Security Council. Under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations non-permanent members of the Security Council individually can have no veto. There is nothing new in the veto right which the Great Powers now possess under the Charter of the United Nations. It is a right which the permanent members of League Council always had. It might, therefore, be reasonably expected that, other things being equal, the voting formula in the Security Council would make the operation of the Council less subject to obstruction than was the case under the League of Nations rule of complete unanimity.[21]

I do not even forget that the Charter of the United Nations does not allow the Big Five to act in complete independence of all the rest in the Security Council. Even under the unanimity requirement, the Big Five must be able to carry with them at least two of the non-permanent members in the Security Council. Thus if the non-permanent members in the Security Council could act as a group, they also could exercise a veto.[22]

I even concede that some sort of an argument could be put forward on behalf of the Big Five for their possession of the right of veto. The Charter of the United Nations gives the Security Council a governmental responsibility for taking decisions that might involve major political consequences for all the members, especially for those who command great power in international politics. The Great Powers, especially U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and United Kingdom thought that it would be an excessive dose of "world government" to allow the Security Council to decide and act on the basis of the usual democratic principle of majority rule, because the structure of the Security Council did not recognise the greatness of the Great Powers whether in respect of population or in respect of real power. This view was clearly stated by the British Government in their Foreign Office commentary on the Charter of the United Nations.[23]

> "At least until some system is worked out and accepted by the majority of States ensuring that votes in a Council represent both the population and the real power of State, the special position which has been granted to the Great Powers for more than a century must be maintained."

After all this has been said I find it still difficult to accept the view that the voting formula in the Security Council affords any sound basis for the building up of a reliable system of collective security in the modern world. There is an inherent defect in the formula adopted. Disputes in international politics may not be always pacifically settled. It is obviously necessary that in some cases at least decisions about pacific settlement should be followed by enforcement action. As Mr. W. Arnold Foster has said :

> "The Council ought not to make corporate decisions of importance unless it can be reasonably sure of being able to follow them through without being blocked at a later stage by the veto. Thus the fear of the veto permeates the whole system. Such a system has paralysis in its blood. It is like a car whose starter is apt at any time to engage the mechanism for switching the engine off."[24]

The machine for maintaining peace is thus very ill-designed. In fact, it has been also very ill-used. The

18. United Nations Charter, Art. 24 (1).
19. *Ibid.*, Art. 25.
20. *Ibid.*, Art. 25 and Art. 2 (7).
21. *Yearbook of the United Nations*, p. 24.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
23. Cmd. 6666.
24. *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, No. 1.

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Russians have already used their veto power for about twenty-five times.

There is not only paralysis in the system ; it is based on the vicious anarchical principle of conceding to each Great Power a wide license to be judge in its own cause, and thus violates the principle of 'equality before law.'[25]

Finally, the formula is such that sanctions are now possible only when they are least likely to be necessary. The Charter allows any Great Power to veto all decisions on disputes to which it is not directly a party. Obviously a Great Power may choose a 'client' state and proceed to shield it by the veto.[26] The ill-will that has already been generated between the communist East and the non-communist West does not encourage us to believe in the hypothesis that in a critical situation the Great Powers would agree "in lifting the Charter's sword to protect the common peace."[27]

What then should we do in relation to the Veto ?

I think there are four alternative courses of action. First, we might simply do nothing for the present and take up rather an attitude of "wait and see." Secondly, we might ask the Great Powers to agree among themselves to regard certain subjects as procedural, not substantive, and thus liberalise the veto. Thirdly, failing such an agreement among the Great Powers, we might attempt to circumvent the veto so that peace at any rate could be maintained and aggression stopped. Finally, we could even take steps of changing the Charter itself.

Those who advise us to "wait and see" believe that time is not yet for any change at this early stage in the life of the United Nations. They argue that we are passing through a period of dangerous tension between the communist East and the non-communist West and that in a critical situation like this we should do all that is possible to limit the burden put on the Security Council and to discourage all forms of challenge to veto lest tension between the two blocs might be increased.

But I think the argument advanced for a policy of "wait and see" ought to lead us to a contrary conclusion of doing something urgently for establishing a reliable basis of collective security. If the faith of the peoples in the United Nations is not to wither away, if in fact, U.N.O. is not to fiddle, while the world burns, something must be done to remove the veto. Otherwise, the system that is designed to act as a brake may suddenly break the machine, throw the world into flames and leave us completely helpless.

The Interim Committee, more popularly known as the Little Assembly, appointed by the General Assembly at its second session in 1947 to consider among other things also the question of veto has received from the Governments of China, Britain, U.S.A. and Canada certain suggestions based apparently on a policy of liberalising the veto. The Chinese proposal lists four decisions which should be regarded as procedural and therefore not subject to veto. These are : (*a*) The determination of whether a question brought before the Council is a situation or a dispute ; (*b*) the determination of whether a member of the Council is party to a dispute and thereby required to abstain from voting ; (*c*) the fixing of conditions under which a state not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice ; and (*d*) a request to the Court to give an advisory opinion. It is also suggested in the Chinese proposal that the Assembly should make a recommendation to the permanent members of the Security Council to waive their veto right in all proceedings arising under Chapter VI of the Charter, the pacific settlement of disputes. It is further proposed that whenever the Council fails to adopt a resolution voted for by a majority of seven or more members, including four of the permanent members, a special session of the Assembly to consider the question might be called at the request of such a majority, provided the question is removed from the agenda of the Council.[28]

The essence of the British proposal is also a similar "code of conduct". The British suggestions are in fact a revised version of a memorandum submitted by the Foreign Secretary Bevin at the Council of Foreign Ministers in November 1946. The point in the original memorandum dealing with an abstention not being considered as a veto has been omitted, because that practice is now recognised in the Council. It is now proposed that there should be an agreement among the Big Five to consult each other where possible before a vote is taken, if their unanimity is required to enable the Council to function effectively. If unanimity is not achieved, it might be agreed that the minority of the permanent members would exercise the veto only where they consider the question of vital importance to the United Nations as a whole, and they would explain on what grounds they consider this condition to be present. Further, the United Kingdom proposes that the permanent members might agree not to exercise their veto against a proposal simply because it does not go far enough to satisfy them. It is also proposed that another agreement among the permanent members might be to the effect that questions should be brought before the Council only after other means of settlement have been tried, and that they must then be presented in proper form. The permanent members might also agree, according to the United Kingdom proposal, that they would support further rules to provide that for the consideration of any question the Council should appoint a rapporteur or a committee of some of its members to make a further attempt at conciliation before resorting to the final discussion and voting. The last point in the United Kingdom proposal suggests a formula for the definition of a "dispute."[29]

25. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
28. *United Nations Weekly Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 7, p. 271.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 271-2.

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The United States also considers that to liberalise the veto is a more practical procedure than to amend the Charter and that on the most important decisions on enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter unanimity is a necessity and corresponds to the political realities of the international situation. The United States therefore proposes that the Interim Committee should study the categories of decisions which the Council is required to make and should submit to the General Assembly a list of categories of decisions which should be taken by an affirmative vote of any seven members of the Council, whether or not they are regarded as procedural or non-procedural. In a provisional list of 31 such categories the United States includes decisions with respect to such matters as the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the pacific settlement of disputes, and obtaining the assistance of other organs such as the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the International Court of Justice. The United States further favours mutual agreement by the permanent members of the Security Council to follow such voting procedures, and consultation among themselves wherever feasible concerning important decisions to be taken by the Council.[30]

Canada also does not favour any attempt to amend the Charter until the possibilities of reforming the Voting procedure within the present frame-work are exhausted. Nor does it like to accept indefinite postponement of any solution or the ignoring of all proposals put forward in the General Assembly. Canada wants that not only should the means of restricting the veto be considered, but also that positive steps should be taken to improve the over-all procedures of the Council. Canada therefore proposes that (*a*) when a state brings a dispute or situation to the attention of the Council, it should submit a written statement showing how continuance of the dispute or situation might endanger international peace and security, and what steps the parties had taken on their own toward a peaceful solution ; (*b*) that the Council should work out agreed procedures to ensure that the question of its jurisdiction in a dispute or situation which is restricted by the Charter to those which are likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, is settled at an early stage ; (*c*) that the rules and practices of the Council should be based on a recognition of its obligation to deal with disputes and situations within its jurisdiction, for the Council's primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security was conferred on it by the Members of the United Nations in order to ensure prompt and effective action ; and (*d*) that the Council should work out agreed procedures to ensure that no state is judge in its own cause.[31]

It is easy to see that in none of these proposals there is any suggestion of abolishing the veto altogether. The essential merit of all these suggestions is that they could be easily accepted by the Great Powers, if they so liked. In fact, the Great Powers are not being asked in any of these suggestions to surrender their vital privilege of veto. But this privilege of the few may mean disaster for the many, if in a critical situation requiring urgent action the machine designed to establish peace is paralysed by the use of veto by any of the Big Five. Even if a country be subject to aggression by another country, nothing could be done by the Security Council, if the Big Five could not agree among themselves.

Here comes the proposals for "circumventing the veto." One such proposal has come from the directors of the American Association for the United Nations. They propose that the U.S.A., "pursuant to its freedom under Article 51," should declare as a national policy that, if the Assembly finds that a Member is the victim of armed attack and that the Security Council has failed to discharge its responsibilities for maintaining peace, the U.S.A. will "in co-operation with other nations so inclined, take measures which it deems necessary in support of the nation so attacked. In case the U.S. deems action necessary before the General Assembly can meet, and gives assistance to the nation attacked, it will report both to the Security Council and to the General Assembly. It will be prepared to abide by the General Assembly's decision as to whether such aid should be continued."[32] I think this freedom of action is permissible under Article 51 of the Charter, which says that

> Nothing in the Charter "shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence, if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security."

The paralysis in the system is thus being removed by removing the centre of decision and action from the Security Council to an outside authority.

But the difficulty is that in the modern world this type of action in self-defence is possible only when great nations like U.S.A. are prepared to help the victim or victims of aggression. Besides, it may not be safe to transfer the judgment whether aggression is being prepared or committed from the Centre of the United Nations, that is, the Security Council to the individual Members or the majority vote in a Committee less representative than the Security Council.

We are thus left with the last alternative of changing the Charter. But perhaps the Great Powers will not agree to any textual amendment of the Charter. The veto is for them a privilege, and the privileged never give up their privilege unless they are forced to do so.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
32. *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 1.

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If we turn to Articles 108 and 109 we will find that veto is being guarded by veto. It is not even possible to expel any of the Big Five from the United Nations nor to suspend the rights and privileges of any one of them.[33]

From this point of view it is easy to see that the New Zealand proposal for an amendment of the Charter with the specific purpose of providing that the concurring votes of only four of the five permanent members of the Council would be required in reaching a Council decision is an impractical proposition.[34] Argentine makes a peculiar suggestion for amending the Charter. It proposes the summoning of a General Conference of the Members of the United Nations in order to study the privilege of veto with a view to its abolition. Under Article 109 of the Charter any alteration of the Charter recommended by a two-third vote of such a Conference would take effect when ratified by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. Dr. Jose Arce, representative of Argentine, however, argues that once an amendment is ratified by two-thirds of the Member States, it should then become the law of the United Nations. Those nations which do not agree will have their sovereign right of withdrawing from the organisation, if they so desire.[35]

But what Dr. Jose Arce seems to have forgotten is that the Members who do not agree to the amendment proposed have also the sovereign right of staying in the United Nations.

33. United Nations Charter, Arts. 5 and 6.
34. *United Nations Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 7, p. 271.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

It seems to me that some political action on an international scale, it may be some form of non-co-operation against the permanent members of the Security Council, may have to be restored to to bring them to a reasonable frame of mind so that they agree to surrender their veto power. Here two courses of action could be suggested. First, the non-permanent members of the Security Council could approach the permanent members with the proposal that if the latter did not surrender their veto power, the former might as a matter of policy decide to veto all the decisions of the Security Council.

Thus we could meet the Great Powers' veto (which each of the Great Powers is entitled to even individually) by the Small Powers' veto (which they can exercise if they act together as a group). Secondly, if the Small Powers' veto was not sufficient to change the attitude of the Big Five, or if in any case, the Small Powers in the Security Council did not act together, the Members who want to break the deadlock might notify their intention of withdrawing from the United Nations.

Let me state it clearly that I am not an enemy of the United Nations. But I am convinced that unless something is done to reform the machine and to make it more effective for international action, peoples' faith in it will wither away. Once the veto is removed it will not be difficult to introduce further changes with a view to make it more and more democratic. What I want is a democratic world-state, which the United Nations is not, and which it also cannot be so long as the veto remains to stem the growth of this international organism.

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THE NEW MONROE DOCTRINE

By P. L. MEHRA, M.A.

Even as free India was being born out of the womb of time, she took a stride that surprised friend and foe alike. The raising of the Dutch-Indonesian question before the Security Council of the U.N.O. heralded indeed a new phase in Asian—nay in world history. On behalf of the down-trodden, submerged humanity in a far-flung corner of the Indian Ocean we took up cudgels. What is more, we followed this up with a clarion call: "Foreign armies have no business to stay on Asian soil.. ....we shall not tolerate foreign troops operating in Asian countries." Nehru's words were clear and emphatic. Here was a new Monroe Doctrine of the East, a driving of the first nail in the coffin of European Imperialism in this part of the globe.

A reference, however brief, to the Monroe Doctrine, in the context especially of events that led up to it, would help considerably in a more correct appraisal of its present version.

Much as 1945 with the defeat of Nazi Germany presented Europe with a skein of highly entangled and complex issues, issues that have baffled solution so far, 1815 with the defeat of Napoleonic France faced Europe and its "Big Four" (Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria) with an equally bewildering variety of new problems. Not the least important among these was the question of the vast South-American possessions of Spain. Overrun by Napoleon and his proteges, honeycombed with Monarchist intrigues, beset with the most urgent problem of national rehabilitation, Wellington's Peninsular campaigns had spelled rack and ruin, Spain was diseased at once of limb and body. For her it was difficult, if not indeed impossible, to recover the dominions that sprawled across the span of oceans. In that hour of dire need, royalist and resurgent France, the old neighbour across the Pyrenees, aided and abetted by the powers of the Holy Alliance (Austria, Russia and Prussia), came to her

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rescue. It was decided that expeditionary forces be dispatched and Spain's lost possessions be reclaimed.

Just then President Monroe of the United States of America in a message to Congress made a veiled reference to these designs. His people, he declarel, could not look with equanimity upon European Powers 'interfering' in any part of the American hemisphere. America, in other words, would not take it lying down. It was a brave, a revolutionary, declaration that set the European dovecots a-flutter. And yet for all their boldness the words of President Monroe or the sentiments of his people could not have stood in the way of the troops of the Holy Alliance. America then, a shrivelled-up state of hardly 20 colonies, was not what she is to-day. She hadn't the wherewithal to meet the challenge.

Britain came to America's aid. For motives, a jumble at once of altruistic and mundane, she decided to underwrite the Monroe doctrine. The naval squadrons of the 'Mistress of the Seas' blockaded the path of the expeditionary forces. What was more Britain hastened to recognise the 'independence' of the 'republics'. Canning could indeed say, as he did, that he had called a New World into being to redress the balance of the Old. What he forgot to say was that the rough outlines of his brave New World had been drawn by his great counterpart across the Atlantic.

It would be beyond the scope of this short essay to examine all that the Monroe doctrine has entailed in subsequent history; pan-Americanism, Yankee Imperialism, the Big Stick policy, the Dollar Diplomacy, to mention but a few. To our present purpose it would suffice to say that in 1822 President Monroe saw with a prophetic eye far into the future, foresaw fairly clearly all that European colonial expansion meant in the Americas. He was indeed a statesman, helped in a remarkable measure by fortuitous circumstance: the split of European Powers, Britain's break with her continental allies, her vision of trade prospects in the New World.

The problems in Asia to-day are in no wise different from those of the Americas in the early 19th century. They might indeed have been different if the Japanese, the first to raise the political stature of the Asiatic, had not been lured into the shadowy illusion of a Herrenvolk of the East. The quivers of hope which they sent into many a breast struggling against foreign domination proved false and illusory. The conquest of Korea and Manchuria in the early thirties, followed close on its heels by the attempted strangulation of China, came as bitter disillusionments to not a few. And long before Pearl Harbour, with the brilliant military campaigns in awning and what turned out to be the rout of the aliens from the sacred soil of Asia, it was plain that Asia's salvation lay not through the race of Nippon.

Asia to-day is a boiling cauldron, a seething mass of humanity struggling against colonial imperialisms of the worst type. In certain parts—Iran or China—the struggle is not so apparent as in others—Indonesia and Indo-China. Essentially however, beyond the shady oil deals of the Kremlin in Iran, or the secretive help of the Yankees to parties and factions in China is the bare reality of Western powers controlling—or attempting to control—the economic life of these peoples. In Indonesia and Indo-China the outline is bolder and clearer. Here we are face to face with a naked 17th century colonial system trying to establish its stranglehold in the face of resurgent nationalist movements. These movements were seasoned in the fires of World War II, when the 'masters' abandoning their wards to the tender mercies of invading hordes took to flight. The invaders in turn for the economic slavery they imposed conferred the much clamoured-for 'independence'. But to-day the masters are come back again!

The pattern is closely akin to that of 1822. Then as now across the mighty oceans ply ships carrying men and munitions to help establish 'law and order' in the far-off colonies. These in turn show a strange reluctance to accept the gracious offers of 'equal partnership' with the Mother-country in a joint Commonwealth. And all the while independent India, her position in the present set-up not radically different from that of the United States in the twenties of the 19th century, makes it plain that she dosen't like European powers poking their little noses in the internal affairs of these nascent republics. What the pattern lacks is a guarantor, a someone who will underwrite India's Monroe Doctrine.

In the gloom that grows thick and fast as the Hollanders' 'Police Action' carries all before it, or as the Reds succeed in extorting oil concessions under duress, a glimmer of hope beckons too. A factor of no mean import is the voluntary quittance of the British from the field. Mr. Churchill's doughty successor is fast "liquidating" the "Empire," a course of action pregnant with vast potentialities. India's liberation, with that of Burma and Ceylon round the corner, will release progressive forces of no mean magnitude. What is more, Australia's consistent championing of the underdog in lands close to hers is something not to be lightly trifled with. And finally 1947 is not 1822; world opinion to-day could not be flouted with the callousness and impunity of the days of Metternich and Louis XVIII. What the future holds in store for Asia's awakened masses would be hard to presage, what is certain is that a New World is being born here in the East, to redress the balance of the old, war-torn, bankrupt West.

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HOW HINDU CULTURE HAS INFLUENCED CHINA

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By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG, M.A.

It was, I think, 15 years ago that on a moon-lit night in our home garden, my mother told me several Buddhist stories; she talked of the happiness of Western Paradise, how everything there was exquisitely adorned with gold and silver and precious gems; how the pure waters there, over the golden sands and surrounded by pleasant walks, were covered with large lotus flowers. Thus was this happy abode perfected and adorned. Moreover, heavenly music was always heard in this abode; flowers rained down three times a day; and the happy beings born there were able, on going to the other world, to wave their garments and scatter flowers in honour of countless other Buddhas dwelling therein. In the end she said that what we called the Western Paradise was the India of today. It made a deep impression on me in my boyhood.

When I had finished the senior middle school course and attended the university, I chose Classical Chinese as my subject and besides I took up a course in Buddhism as my optional subject. After my four years in the university it seemed quite clear to me that China and India were the only two very ancient countries whose living civilizations and cultures were truly venerable; that there had been a close contact of friendship between the two countries for many many centuries; that during the last two thousand years India has not coveted anything of China but instead, gave us the *sadhana* of freedom and *maitri*. Along with that message came the wealth of her literature, art and education. We had received inspiration from India in the fields of music, painting, drama and poetry. Her apostles had brought with them great gifts of Astronomy, of medicine and of educational institutions; nor had they ever been sparing in their gifts and all their gifts were accompanied by deep love and friendship which were based on Buddhism.

Now what is it that we thus received from India? In the spiritual plane, she taught us two important things:

(1) India taught us to embrace the idea of absolute freedom—that fundamental freedom of mind which enables it to shake off all the fetters of past tradition and habit as well as the customs of the particular contemporary age, that spiritual freedom which casts off the enslaving forces of material existence. In short, it was not merely that negative aspect of freedom which consists of ridding ourselves of outward oppression and slavery, but that emancipation of the individual from his own self, through which men attain great liberation, great ease and great fearlessness.

(2) India also taught us the idea of absolute love, that pure love towards all living beings which eliminates all obesessions of jealousy, anger, impatience, disgust and emulation, which expresses itself in deep pity and sympathy for the foolish, the wicked and the simple—that absolute love, which recognises the inseparability of all beings: "the equality of friend and enemy," "the oneness of myself and all things." This great gift is contained in the Buddhist *Tripitaka*. The teachings of those seven thousand volumes can be summed up in one phrase: "Cultivate sympathy and intellect, in order to attain absolute freedom through wisdom and absolute love through pity."

In the cultural field, India brought us invaluable assistance. Of these influences I enumerate some.

Since India and China came into contact with each other more than two thousand years ago through Buddhism, it is natural that what has influenced Chinese culture should be through Buddhism. The translation of the Buddhist canons into Chinese gave us new ideas, new systems and new materials for our literature.

Enrichment of Phrases

According to a Japanese Buddhist Dictionary, during the eight hundred years between the Han and the Tang dynasties prominent Chinese Buddhists created more than 35,000 new phrases and words. There were two methods: one was that of combining Chinese single words into another new meaning; such as *Chin-ju*. *Chin* means *real*, the word *Ju* means *likely;* their combination means *Bhuta-tathata*. The world is fundamental to Mahayana philosophy, implying the absolute, the ultimate source and character of all phenomena. Another example is the word *Chung-Sen; Chung* means *all* or *many; Sen* means *born;* and the combination is a new phrase meaning *Sattva*, all the living beings. A third example: the word *Ying* means *first cause, Yuan* mean *second cause;* when these two words are combined it is translated as *Hetupratyaya*.

Another method was the adoption of a Sanskrit word with its original sound; an instance of this is the word *Ni-Pan* which is the rendering of the Sanskrit *Nirvana*. And *Cha-Na* came from the Sanskrit *Ksana*. At that time, the Buddhist translators not only created many new phrases but also saw to it that they were distinct and correct. This is truly a great contribution to our literature.

Widening the Chinese Writers' Horizon

The Indian literature was so fraught with the exercise of imagination that it liberated our Chinese literature which was lacking in deep imagination. Indian writers when writing had a fund of thousands of verses of the two great epics the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, the richest poems in the world, to draw upon. The Buddhist poet Sri Asvaghosa whose main poetic work is known as the *Buddha-Charita-Kavya-Sutra* which had been translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksa, exerted great influence not only on Chinese Buddhism but also on Chinese literature. As the late Prof. Lian Chi-chao said, our long poems of *A Heroine of Mo-lang* and *The Peacock Flying towards The South-east* belong to the style of the Buddhist literature. The novels and dramas of the Tang, Sung, Yuan and Ming dynasties were influenced by Buddhism indirectly. *The Record of a Pillow* of the Tang dynasty, which narrates how there was a Taoist named Lu who

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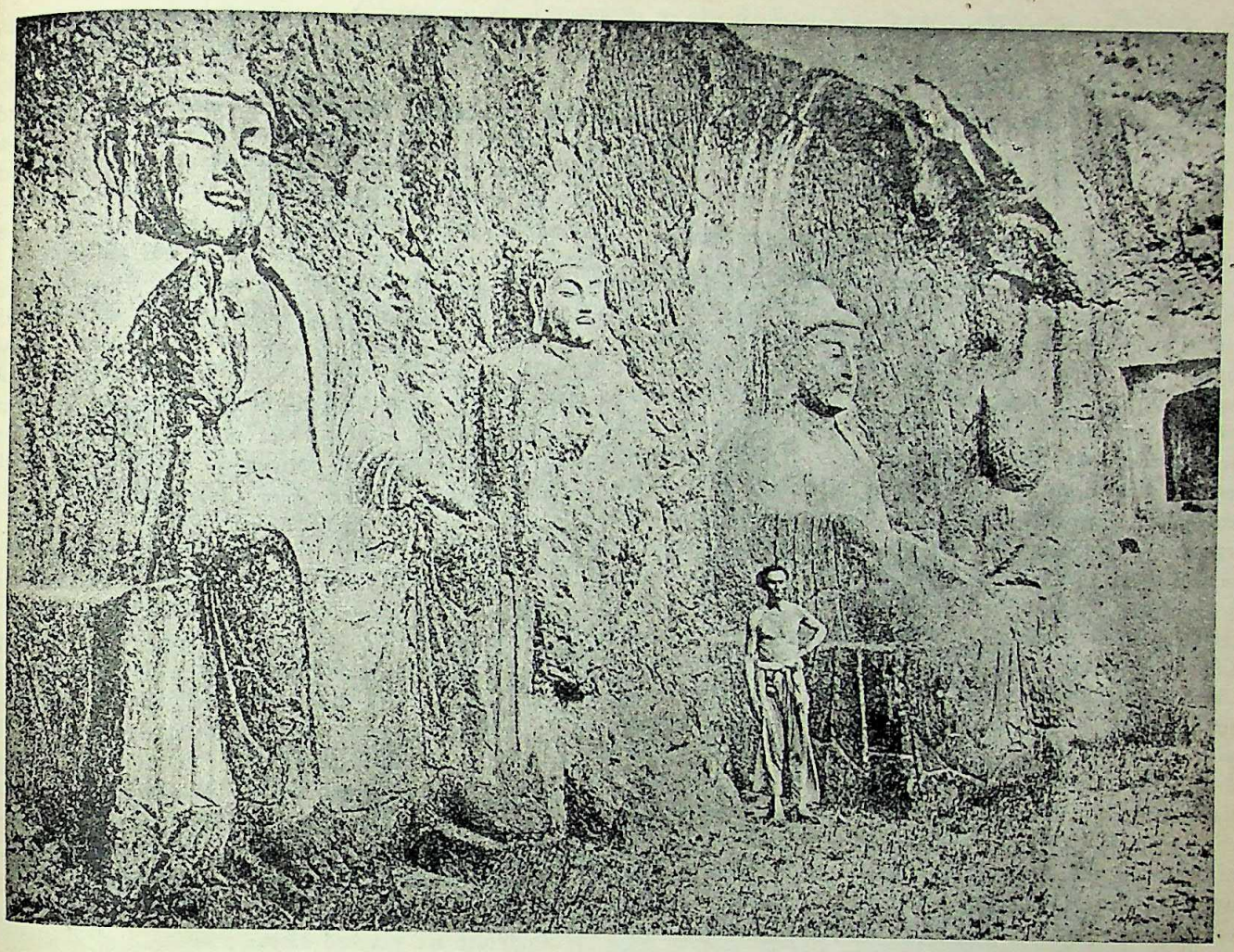

Buddha images in rock-cut caves

having once stayed at a *serai* had conversed with a scholar who deplored the poor conditions under which he laboured; and then the Taoist Lu gave him a pillow and asked him to go to bed. He immediately dreamt how he passed his time in good fortune throughout his whole life; awakening, he perceived that everything that had happened was illusory. Another popular novel *The Plum of the Golden Bottle* of the time of the Sung dynasty states that there was a young man, the son of See-men-Ching, whom a Buddhist priest Po-chen taught the noble preachings of Buddha; the boy then changed his surname from Hsao-ko into *Ming-nu* and finally followed the priest as a *Sramana*. Such a religious novel bears obviously the influence of Buddhism.

The field of drama is complicated in itself; a famous writer of modern China Mr. Cheng Chin-tu divides a play into three parts: (*a*) the main body, (*b*) the minute details and (*c*) the local drama. Dramatic dancing and singing had their respective origins in ancient days, but a combination of the two does not seem to appear till after the period of the Wei and the Tsin dynasties. The earliest opera play we know of was called Pu-tow (Wedge). Modern research has shown that it was introduced from a country called Bato in South India. Till the end of the dynasties of Northern and Southern China several musical instruments introduced into China from India passed through Central Asia. The Yang Emperor of the Hsu dynasty collected all instruments and divided them into nine groups; among them, there were some instruments of Khotan and Indan.

The popular instrument of that time was the Kon-ho, a stringed musical instrument used by the ancients which came from India during the Han dynasty. An important musical instrument used during the Han and the Tang dynasties, was called the Pi-Pa, a guitar which came at that time from Egypt, Arabia and India, along with Buddhism down to China. We can therefore trace how both the literature and music of China have been deeply influenced by India. We also see that the stories of the Chinese plays, such as *A Record of South Trees, A Record of Soul Returning, A Play of Thunder-peak Pagoda* and *A Dream of Butterfly*, were Buddhist. A style of Chinese essays called *Prose* has been discovered from Tung-huang caves; it occupied an important place in Chinese literary field. A modern Chinese scholar Mr. Lu Chien-yu calls this the Buddhist lyric. Actually there are some differences between "Reading Prose" and "Buddhist lyrics"; the latter body consists of religious songs translated from Sanskrit. It was prevalent in the Tang dynasty; the former is a system of prose which consists of two parts,

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both for reading and singing such as the "reading prose" of Vimalakirti. Another popular reading prose is known as *Mahamaudgalyayana Seeking his Mother from Hades.* It describes how Mahamaudgalyayana to save his mother from hell made all people be inspired with the sublime ideal of "universal love" of Buddhism.

The Transformation of Chinese Literary Styles

Ancient Chinese written books do not show sufficient effect at organization and therefore lack clarity of presentation. With the advent of Buddhist classics, it began to be more systematic and consequently more lucid and logical in the exposition of ideas. Indian Hetuvidya and methodology ushered in a new era in China in the art of writing. At the same time, the Buddhist translations were being written both in verse and prose. It created a new field for Chinese literature. All translations of Buddhistic literature were written simply, because in the study of Buddhist books the aim is to emphasize original meanings and not to fashion fine sentences. Dr. Hu-hsieh in his work, *The History of Dialect Literature of China,* states that the story of Jen-pan minister (see *Astasahasrika-Prajnaparamita*) was written in a style of revolutionary dialect in that age. He also says that the prose of Dharamaraksha and Kumarajiva were written in the then patois. Dharmaraksha and Po-yuan had translated several Buddhist Sutras in the literary style of the enigma, it was composed according to the rhyming tone of mass songs. During that time, poets wrote several poems containing Buddhist thoughts. For example, there was a great poet of the Tang dynasty named Lee-po whom his friends called "the god in exile" because he seemed to have come from a higher world than this one and to have looked into realms that most men cannot see. Here are his verses, full of Dhyana:

> Why do I live among the green mountains?
> I laugh, and answer not, my soul is serene; it dwells in another heaven and earth belonging to no man;
> The peach trees are in flower, and the water flows on.

Afterwards there was a development in the style of the proverb generally used by the Zen school and Neo-Confucians. This likewise was related to the Buddhist literary writing.

The Birth of the Chinese Alphabet

Written Chinese consists of numerous symbols which in the earliest stage of their history were mainly pictographic in form. This was a great handicap. With the introduction of Buddhism and Sanskrit a number of Indian scholars attempted to invent an alphabetical system to solve our difficulties. The first alphabet that was thus introduced appears to have been one of 14 symbols. It is called "Si-yo-hu-shu" or "Foreign Writing of the Western Countries" and also named as "Ba-laman-shu" "Brahmanical Writing." It was then that the Indian Buddhists who had come to China assisted in forming, according to the model of the Sanskrit alphabet, a system of 36 initial letters, and described the vocal organs by which they are formed. They also contributed tables, in which, by means of two sets of representative characters, one for the initials and another for the finals, a mode of spelling words was initiated. Shen-kung, a Buddhist priest, is said to have been the author of the system and the dictionary Yu-pien (Discrimination of Language) was one of the first extensive works in which it was employed. There was also a famous historian named Shen-yo, to whom has been attributed the discovery of the Four Tones. In his biography in the *History of Liang Dynasty* we find: "He wrote his *Treatise on the Four Tones* to make known what man for thousands of years had not understood; the wonderful fact which he alone in the silence of his breast came to perceive." When the Republic was established in 1911, our government introduced the alphabet of the standard language to the people. Although it was rather crude and did not yield very satisfactory results, it furnished us with valuable materials for further experiment.

In respect of the field of art which has been so much influenced by Buddhism, we know that Indian art was carried to China through Central Asia, where we had had trade with Indians during the early Han dynasty. Modern research has shown that the vestiges of Indian art have been discovered by archaeologists all along the Central Asian routes. In all the chief cultural outposts of China, such as Bamiya, Bactria, Khotan, Miran, Turfan and Tun-huang they have discovered remains of Buddhist grottos, sculptures, paintings, etc., which bear testimony to the great effort made by Buddhist India to bind China with lasting ties of cultural relationship.

Buddhist art reached China proper. It had strength enough to impose itself on the national art of the country and influenced it for several centuries. I think Buddhism gave a new life to the development of art in China. This art did not follow the Chinese classical traditions but represented a synthesis of strong Indian and Ser-Indian elements which gradually adapted themselves to Chinese genius. I shall give the following examples of various arts in China.

New Style of Buddhist Temple Construction

Indian architecture followed Buddhism to China; there were several new innovations, such as Buddhist temples, stupas and stone caves. Among them the temples were important to the common people for worship on the one hand and for the monks' meditation on the other. According to our tradition, those temples were built either by individuals or by prominent monks in ancient times. We have no details of architecture as there are now extant only a few ruins which tell us of the glory of those olden days. According to a Japanese engineer, the ancient construction of Pa-Ma-se (Monastry of White Horse) of Loyang was copied from the architectural style of Anathapindadarama in Kosala State. The *Records of the Nanking Buddhist Temples,* although they mention many events of note in temples, give no details. A better source of information in this matter is the *Records of the Lo-yang Temples,* in which are written details about the

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construction of Yong-Ning-se (Monastery of Permanent Peace) which was built by an Emperess of the Wei dynasty in 516 A.D. It was an enormous Buddhist stupa in nine stories, more than 90 Chang (about 900 feet) in height and the temple was 100 Chang in height. The entire construction was in wood and occupied more than 10,000 square feet of land. It was about 100 Li (about 30 miles) from the capital whence we can see that stupa. "On the top of the tower, there was a golden mast." This was a temple constructed in Indian style; we never had such a one before the days of Indian influence. The late Prof. Liang Chi-chao says that we do not always realise how much this particular form of architecture adds to the natural beauty of our landscape. We cannot think of the West Lake in Han-chow of Chekiang province without its two Pagodas, the grand Luey-fong (Thunder Peak) and the graceful Po--su. The oldest piece of architecture in Peking is the Pagoda in front of the temple of Tien-ning (Heavenly Peace) built during the close of the 6th century A.D. What beauty of harmony does the island of Chung-Hwang (Fairy Flower) in Pei, with the white Pagoda on its peak and the long verandah below reveal! This was what the combination of Chinese and Indian architecture alone could have achieved.

Sculpture of Caves

In ancient times we had carvings upon stone but never, I think, sculpture in three dimensions before the introduction of Buddhism. Modern research has shown that stone sculpture began with the Wei dynasty, as the King, Wen-chen, was in favour of Buddhism. Thereupon, later emperors and empresses wished to have a stone cave in the hills where there would be sculptured Buddha's statues for religious purposes. From the biographies of prominent monks of China, we learn that Tai An-tao of the Tsin dynasty, who was generally known as a painter and literary man, was also a sculptor. He and his brother worked together upon a large image of Buddha, which enjoyed great fame in its days. After that time, there are several records of famous sculpture being executed during the Six Dynasties and the Hsu and the Tang dynasties. Unfortunately all these were destroyed during the civil war between the Northern and the Southern dynasties; as well as by the deliberate vandalism of three emperors, who were bitterly opposed to Buddhism. We still possess today the great rock sculptures and reliefs, three or four thousand in number, at Ye-khu (near Lo-yang) and Lung-men (Dragon Door) executed during the Wei and the Tsin dynasties. But the great treasure we have is the group of figures at Yung-kuang (Clouds Hills) Da-tung (great Commonwealth) large and small, not less than a thousand in number. Yung-kuang caves were located 30 Li (about ten miles) off from Ping-chen, the old capital of the Wei dynasty. Yung-kuang is situated on the bank of the Chuang river of Wu-chow, and Ye-khu is on the bank of Yi river. Both of them are similar from the geographical point of view. Hence during the Wei dynasty, the people called Yung-kuang the Northern caves and Yi-khu the Southern caves of China. According to the Book of Wei dynasty, there was a Sramana named Tan-yao who got permission from the king to carve cut five caves in the Wu-chow, by the west side of the capital. There were two Buddha images carved on hill stone, one is 70 feet in height and another 60 feet. We thus come to know that cave-sculpture in the hills was introduced by Sramana Tan-yao.

The influence of Indian Art on Chinese sculpture

The Buddhist art of sculpture during the time of the Wei dynasty is best represented in the grottos of Yung-kuang and Lung-men. It is best to describe the art of Yung-kuang in the words of Chavannes, who was the first to explore the region:

"To appreciate the fineness and elegance of the art of the Northern Wei, we should study these statues

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which are life-size. We shall see in them a gentleness of expression and a gracefulness of pose which other periods have not been able to render so successfully. Several of these statues are seated in a cross-legged posture in front of each other; this posture is no longer seen in the Buddhist carvings executed under the Tang dynasty."

But it has since then been recognized that the art of Yung-kuan and Lung-men is much more than what Chavannes held it to be.

Yi-khu caves were constructed by Emperor Hsao-wen of the Wei dynasty when their capital was transferred to Lo-yang. By the west side of Yi-khu mountains is Lung-men. On the east of that mountain is Hsian Hills; several Buddhist caves were carved on those two hills, they were very like the Yung-kuang caves.

The Yung-kuang caves were completed during the Wei dynasty. The Yi-khu (or Lung-men) caves were being executed during the period extending from the Wei to the Tang dynasty. Because there was a civil war during the period of Hsao-ming emperor of the Wei dynasty, it was natural that little attention was paid to the construction of Buddhist caves. During the emperor of Chin-Kuan's reign (Tang dynasty), there was a chieftain of Wei state named Tai, who carved three caves in the north side of Yi-khu. These exist to this day.

The third great seat of Buddhist art of sculpture in China is Tung-hwan caves, better known as the "Grottos of the Thousand Buddhas" as there are a thousand Buddha images in them. Situated as it was at the meeting place of the Central Asian highways on the frontier of China, it has rceived almost all the Ser-Indian influences which have been observed in the art of Khotan, Kuchar and Turfan.

The construction of the grottos was started in the 4th century A.D. but the oldest dated grottos go back to the Wei dynasty. There are four different stages in the development of the art at Tung-hwan: (1) the art of the Wei dynasty (5th and 6th centuries A.D.), (2) the art of the early Tang dynasty (7th century), (3) the art of the late Tang dynastry (from the middle of 7th century to the 10th century A. D.), (4) restorations and additions were carried on up to the middle of the 11th century A.D.

From Stupa to Chinese Tower

The construction of towers began after Buddhism has been introduced to China. In India, the purpose of the Stupa was to keep either Buddha's or a saint's relics. But the tower in China was used not only for keeping a saint's relics and the Buddhistic Sutras, but also as a memorial to prominent personalities. The earliest Chinese tower was built at Po-ma-se of Lo-yang during the Han dynasty. By the time of the Hsu dynasty, it became a common constructional operation. For example, in the 1st year of Wen-ti reign of the Hsu dynasty (601 A.D.) the emperor gave a royal mandate to the 30 Chinese monks who were responsible for the construction of such towers in various districts of the country.

Another example is provided by the pair of the so-called winged lions which guard the gates of the Han graves, set up at the beginning of what is known as the "spirit path" which led up to the burial mound. It has been suggested that the impulse for the use of such guardian animals came to the Chinese from the West, probably by sea and through India, although they reshaped these impulses according to their own creative genius and stylistic tradition, which survived from the Han period. Again, the Chinese Shen-tao pillar (spirit path pillar) was also copied from the Indian Asoka pillar.

Painting

The paintings of the most ancient period of our history have disappeared. From several records, we only know that there was painting before the Han dynasty; when Confucius visited Lo-yang in about 526 B.C., he saw a picture of the Duck of Chou holding his young nephew Cheng on his knees. After Buddhism had been carried to China there was a new encouragement to our Chinese painting. Buddhism gave new ideas to the painters. The temple murals and Buddhistic pictures might have been influenced by Ajanta's wall-pointings. The most renowned painters in our early history were Kuo Tan-wei and Kuo Ha-to. They were famous for their paintings of Buddha. For instance, a straight still figure of Buddha, his eyes half-closed in meditation, his face quiet with inner concentration, helped the beginner to meditate. A picture of heaven or of a procession of saints moving with stately steps from cloud to cloud showed people the grace and beauty of holiness. In China, many artists lived in the quiet Buddhist monasteries and the walls of the temple were filled with decorations that showed the life of Buddha or other saints, and even the western paradise.

The most famous Buddhistic painter was Woo Tao-tze, who lived in the first part of the 8th century A.D. He was a Buddhist and worked a great deal in monsteries. He executed many paintings on the temple wall. It is learnt, that he painted three hundred frescoes on the wall, but, unfortunately, they have crumbled and disappeared, and his smaller paintings are lost, for even from the Tang dynasty, very few pictures have come down to us. Landscape painting was carried to its greatest perfection as the Chinese always loved Nature and felt very close to her. I think, it may be the influence of Buddhism which strengthened their love of nature, for did not Buddha say, "Truly, trees and plants, rocks and stones, all shall enter Nirvana."

We have cited enough examples in which the ideas of Indian art have deeply fertilized Chinese art.

The influences of Buddhism were also felt in the scientific field; there were four important influences:

Astronomy and the Calendar

About the first part of 8th century A.D. there were some Indian monks employed to regulate the national calendar. The first mentioned is Gaudamara whose method of calculation was called "Kwang-Tse-Li" (the Calendar of the Bright House). It was used for three years only.

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Another Hindu monk named Siddhartha had presented a new calendar to the Tang Emperor in 718 A.D.; it was translated from an Indian calendar, which was called Kiu Che Li or Navagraha-Siddhanta. It had greater success in China and was in use for four years. It contained a calculation of the moon's course and the eclipses. In 721 A. D. the Chinese Buddhist named Yi-hing adopted a new method of calculation which was evidently based on the Indian astronomy as it contains the nine planets in Indian fashion: the sun, the moon, the five planets and the two new ones, Rahu and Ketu by which the Indian astronomers represent the ascending and the descending nodes of the moon.

Ayurveda Carried to China

The Indian Ayurvedic system was taken into China. The earliest date was the middle of 5th century A.D. when a Chinese noble named King-sheng, who was a Buddhist had gone up to Khotan State. He has left us a work which, although it does not seem to be an exact translation from any Indian source, is at any rate a compilation from different texts of the same origin. It is called Che-Chan-Ping-Pi-Yao-Fa or the method of curing the diseases concerning meditation.

During the Tang dynasty, Emperors and nobles of the court sent a special envoy to India to hunt for Indian Thaumaturges (Tantrik Yogis) who were supposed to be in possession of secret methods of curing the effects of old age.

In the 11th century A.D., an Indian Ayurvedic book named Ravanakumara-tantra was translated into Chinese from the original Sanskrit. It is a treatise on the method of the treatment of children's diseases. The book, Kasyapa-samhita, was also translated into Chinese at the same period and it deals with the treatment of pregnent women's diseases. Actually the Chinese had their own medical system and they took every care to enrich it from time to time with materials received from outside.

Block Printing

In ancient times transcription of books was the only method to diffuse knowledge in China. It was so till the Ch'en and the Han dynasties. Though we had discovered a stone plate printing method, it was not so easy for printing purposes as the stone itself was rather heavy and it was also a clumsy thing. During the Hsu dynasty, the carved-wood plate printing method was introduced in China from India. Since then the Buddhist priests have been in the habit of giving people little paper charms, stamped with a picture of Buddha, to protect them from demons or illness. To have a quicker way of copying books and spread their teachings, Chinese Buddhists adopted this printing method and made experiments in the quiet and leisure of Buddhist monasteries. Thus the first book was printed in 868 A.D. It was one of the sacred books of Buddhism called the Vajra-cchedika-prajna-paramita-sutra. A copy of it has been found recently, walled up in a temple in Chinese Turkestan. It is the oldest printed book in the world. Several other books on Buddhism printed during the Tang and the Sung dynasties have also been brought out from Tung-hwang caves. Afterwards this wood-block printing method was taken over to Europe and it developed into fine copper printing, it has also become a wood-cut art at present.

New Educational Method

How education was exactly conducted in ancient China, no one is able to tell; but we are quite certain that Confucius and Mencius did not resort to the method of addressing a large number of audience for the preaching of their teachings, and it is quite likely, therefore, that the system of formal lecturing, with which we are so familiar to-day, came from India. For instance, several institutions were established during the Sung, the Ming and the Ching dynasties, called "Shu-yuan," each run by some prominent scholar, who collected round him a large number of pupils to be taught a certain course. This seems to have been the same as the system of Gurukula or Asrama of ancient India. The teaching of the Shu-yuan emphasized moral discipline as well as intellectual training; it specially gave instructions on how to encourage self-cultivation which had been introduced from the Buddhistic meditational method. In the Shu-yuan system of the Sung and the Ming dynasties, great emphasis was laid on personal cultivation, contemplation, and introspection; and this was in fact the key point which brought the change in social ideas and customs. Our Chinese proverb states that we keep our mind only when we hold it fast, we lose it when we give up our hold. This is a course of mental hygiene in one of our educational methods and western scholars are going to realise the power of mind in the same way.

Furthermore, our educational method not only involves teaching of knowledge, but also the training of the spirit. Hsu Chin-yuan, the Neo-Confucian scholar of the Ming dynasty, said of learning:

> "Learning is of great importance to man. One who is born intelligent would lose what one originally has without it. Without it one would not be able to maintain dignity. Without it moral transformation, as from weakness to strength or from evil to good, would be impossible. Without it one can never reach the state of perfection in moral virtues of love, righteousness, reasonableness, wisdom and truthfulness. It would be impossible, without it, for one to discharge dutifully one's function in this world of complicated relationship . . . Without it one would not know what would be the proper thing to do under different circumstances...."

Thus we find that the definition of the word learning in China, consists of two things, one is knowledge and another is spiritual experience. That is exactly what Buddhism taught its followers.

What I have referred to above comprise the main elements of our Buddhistic heritage and I am proud to say that we have made use of it to good purpose; Indian thought has been entirely assimilated into our own world of experience and has become an inalienable part of our consciousness. Indeed, Buddhism in China became much more than a second religion. It became the most

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influential religion of the country and occupied the first seat of honour. Buddhism not only influenced China in the field of culture, in art, literature and science, etc., but also influenced Confucianism which as mixed with Buddhism during the Sung and the Ming dynasties developed into the school of Neo-Confucianism. The teaching of Neo-Confucianism was more spiritual than material, and more philosophical than political. It began with the Sung dynasty and ended with the Ming dynasty.

India and China have had such cultural ties for the last two thousand years. I love India, I admire India, as India has her own philosophy which made her stand and hold her head high in the world from the Vedic period till now. The Indians prized neither wealth, nor power, nor glory, nor martial prowess; the final criterion of human worth was knowledge,—knowledge not wealth, sacrifice not accumulation, beauty not ugliness, giving not taking, the seeking rather than the end of the search. These were the things that kept the spirit of man alive and related him to God. I also love China, I admire China, not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, not because I have chanced to be born on her soil but because in China we possess a philosophy which has never asked people to cultivate the sense of individual comfort, and because China has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons, Confucius, Laotze, Mencius and Chaungtze and others who taught us the truth of universal wisdom, peace, goodness and the unity of all beings.

We have unfortunately been separated from one another for at least a few centuries, and the way of living in our two countries has been greatly affected by foreign influences both political and economic. We have to pave the way for new messengers. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's visit to China in 1924 and that of Pandit Nehru in 1939 on the one hand, and Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek's visits to India and His Holiness the late Tai-hsu's on the other hand have done a great deal to revive our old relation and our old friendship. Furthermore, we have been exchanging students and professors between our two countries since the war and recently our Chinese Government has appointed Prof. Tan Yun-shan as China's cultural and educational representative in India. Now that India has become an independent country, and China has also achieved her own freedom after this war, India and China should have a closer tie of friendship. I have no better words for expressing my feelings than the words which Pandit Nehru has used:

> "And now the wheel of fate has turned full circle and again India and China look towards each other and past memories crowd in their minds; again pilgrims of a new kind cross or fly over the mountains that separate them, bringing their messages of cheer and good-will and creating fresh bonds of a friendship that will endure."—*The Discovery of India.*

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ANCIENT REFUGE HOUSES IN BRITAIN

By NORMAN HILLSON

One of the most attractive features of nearly every English town or village of any antiquity is the row of alms-houses—period cottages dating from the time of a generous bequest by a contemporary benefactor. At the same time, there are a number of larger hospitals for the poor which are worthy of attention, by reason of their ancient history and their beautiful buildings.

Let us start with the Royal Hospital at Chelsea in London. It is the work of Sir Christopher Wren, the designer of St. Paul's Cathedral, and was 10 years in building (1682—1692). From its foundation it has been a home for veterans of the wars who have fallen on evil days.

There is a picturesque legend that Nell Gwynne, the orange girl of Drury Lane, and favourite of King Charles II (1660—1685) was so moved by the spectacle of old soldiers about London without any means of support that she approached her royal lover.

The King said in jest that she could have just as much ground as could be enclosed by her handkerchief. Nell thereupon tore her handkerchief to bits, thread by thread, and found enough silk to enclose the broadacerage at Chelsea on which the hospital was built.

Alas! there is no truth in the legend; the only connection the King had with it was that he laid the foundation stone three years before his death in 1685.

The buildings contain a hall, a beautiful chapel, and extensive dormitories and recreation rooms for the old soldier inmates. The hall is now used as a reading room and contains in normal times a varied collection of medals and other military trophies.

In the chapel are preserved several of the Eagles captured at Waterloo and in the Peninsular War against Napoleon. It is almost exactly as Wren left it.

Today there are 550 in-pensioners. They are familiar figures in London in the characteristic long red frock coats they wear in summer.

Just outside the old City of London walls is the picturesque hospital of the Charterhouse, the survival of the original Carthusian foundation established by the French knight Walter de Manny in 1371. It became a monastery, but was dissolved at the time of the Reformation in 1536.

Here Queen Elizabeth lodged in 1558, before her coronation the following year, and King James I used it for his court when he came south from Scotland in 1603.

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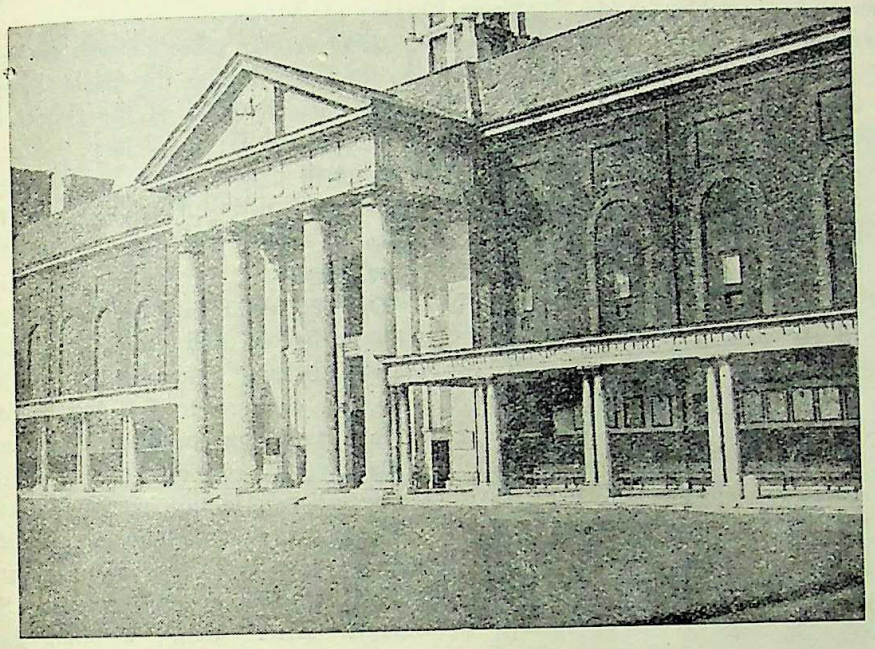
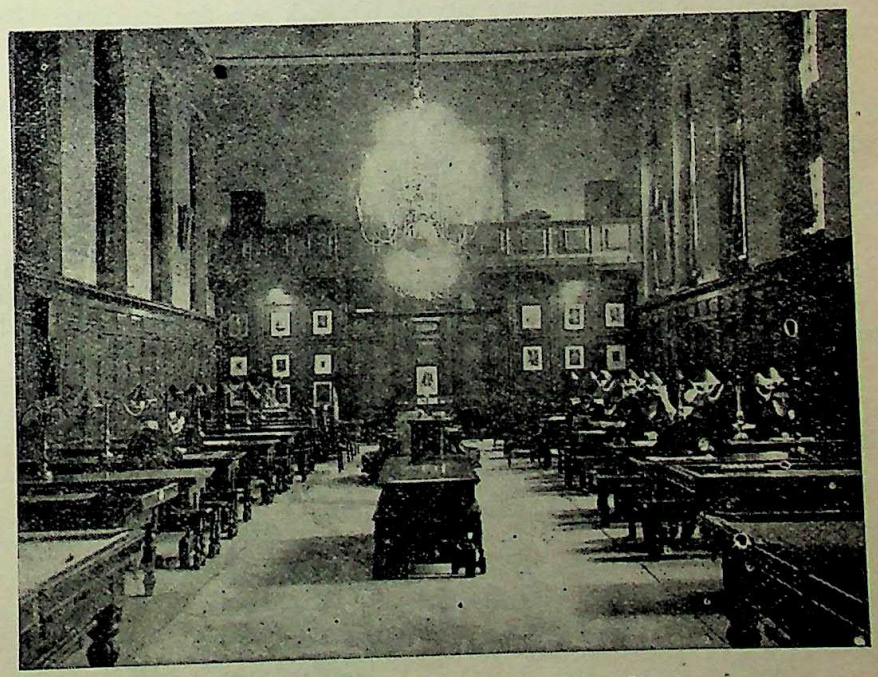
The buildings subsequently were acquired by the rich coal merchant Thomas Suttan in 1611. In his will he endowed the property as a home for pensioners and as a school.



The main entrance and the fine Doric portico of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, London, designed by Sir Christopher Wren in 1682

The pensioners were to be 80 in number—"gentlemen by descent and in poverty, soldiers who had borne arms by sea and land, merchants decayed by piracy or shipwreck, or servants in household to the King or Queen's Majesty." The school was for 40 boys. It has grown considerably since that time, and now, in its new home in Surrey, is one of the most important public schools in England.

Until the outbreak of World War II, the Charterhouse still had its pensioners in their black gowns. They were accommodated in their own rooms, as their founder wished. Unfortunately the ancient buildings suffered considerably from fire during the air raids, but plans are on foot to re-establish their home exactly as it was.



The great hall of the Royal Hospital is now used as a reading and writing room

The Midlands town of Warwick is one of the most perfectly preserved places in the country. Apart from the huge castle, there are some notable churches, remains of fortifications, a priory, and the two town gates.

The West Gate is a place of pilgrimage for travellers because of its proximity to the picturesque Lord Leycester's Hospital for impoverished citizens. This remarkable half-timbered building was originally the hall of the United Guilds of the Holy Trinity and St. George, which was founded in 1383. After the Reformation the buildings were acquired by the famous Earl of Leycester in Queen Elizabeth's reign (1559—1603). He built the Tudor hospital which is now so familiar a local landmark.

Lord Leycester established his foundation for a Master and twelve brethren. Each pensioner was, and still is, required to wear in chapel a habit of blue-black, surcharged with the heraldic bear and ragged staff of the Warwick family with which the town has always been associated.

Each brother originally had to prove that he had not more than £50 a year of his own before he could be elected to the foundation. Also he had to come from Warwick, Kenilworth, Stratford-on-Avon, or Wooten-under-Edge, in Warwickshire, or Arlington in the neighbouring country of Gloucester. Today the brethren each receive an allowance of £80 a year and their quarters.

A little distance from Winchester, the ancient capital of England, set in pleasant gardens and amid fields, there is the ancient Hospital of Saint Cross. The genuine traveller may ring the bell at the great gate and be regaled with a piece of bread and a glass of beer, for this is the ancient tradition of this unique asylum.

It is perhaps the oldest hospital of its kind in the

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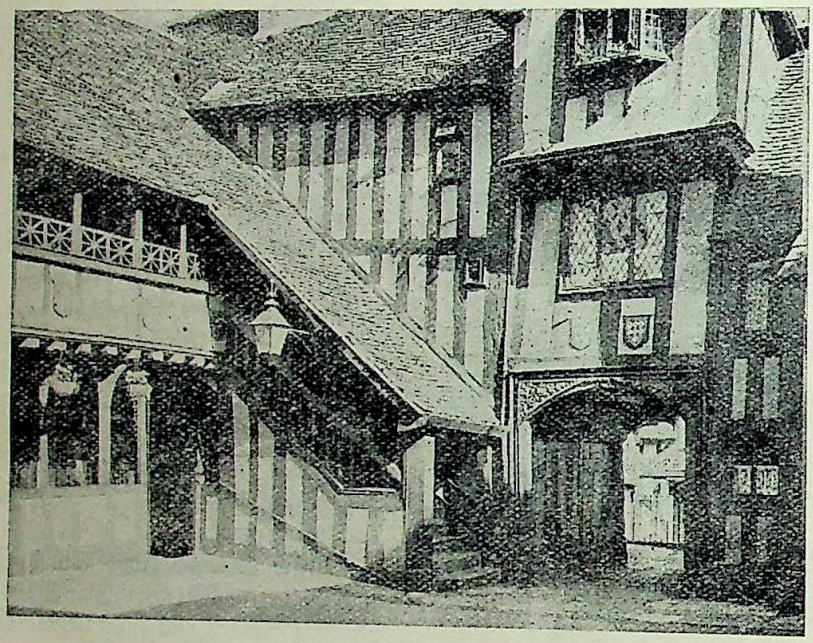
kingdom, for it was founded by Hyde de Blois in 1136 for the relief of "thirteen men, so reduced in strength as rarely or never to be able to raise themselves without the assistance of one another."

In 1377 Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, re-established the Hospital as a "Brotherhood of Noble Poverty," but the pensioners were drawn for the most part from his own considerable retinue.



The Leycester Hospital in the city of Warwick is a fine specimen of Elizabethan half-timbered architecture, built in 1571

It escaped dissolution at the time of the Reformation, and continues to flourish. In 1857 it was organised on a trustee basis.

At the gateway is the hatchway erected by Cardinal Beaufort. Here the beer is dispensed to the Wayfarers in horn cups, and bread is served on wodden platters which were originally made in the hospital by the pensioners.

The brethren wear distinctive robes. Those who depend on the original charity of de Blois have black gowns with prominent silver crosses on the shoulder. Those of the Beaufort foundation have a robe of Cardinal red.

In Windsor Castle immediately opposite the beautiful St. George's Chapel, you will find a row of charming old Tudor houses. Here live that select community known as the "Military Knights of Windsor."

This honourable body of veteran officers has an ancient history, and dates from the same time as the establishment of the famous Order of the Garter by King Edward III in 1948.

In those days the knights were called the "Milites Pauperes" and the King, in making the endowment, used these words:

"Out of great regard he had for the military honour and those who had bravely behaved themselves in his wars, yet chanced to fall into decay, made a provision for their relief and comfortable sustenance in old age providing for them in this his foundation."

Twenty-six poor knights were originally appointed; they wore a red mantle, with the escutcheon of St. George. After their election they received 12 pence a day, and 40 shillings a year for other needs, provided they fulfilled certain duties. They had to pray for the Sovereign and the Knights of the Garter. They had to be present each day at High Mass, at masses for the Blessed Virgin, at vespers and at complin. If they failed in their religious obligations, then they lost their 12 pennies a day.

Since 1833 they have been called simply "Military Knights" and today they are chosen from impoverished senior officers of all three fighting services. They still attend services in St. George's Chapel and have special duties at Garter chapters and other functions. They wear a picturesque red tunic, blue overalls and cocked hat with red plume.

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ADULT EDUCATION SETTLEMENTS

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By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

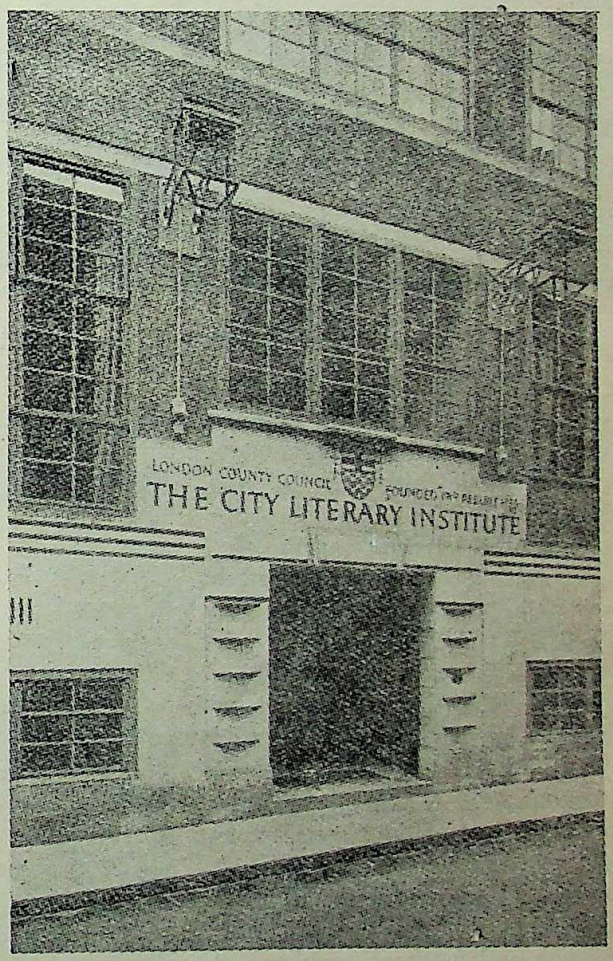
Sir Richard Livingstone, the most prominent among the creative educationalists of England, wrote in 1943, amidst the blizzard and horrors of World War II :

"Education cannot be completed by 18 or 21, and by failing to provide adequate facilities for its continuance, we deny in practice what we affirm in words, that it is a life-long process. One of the chief problems of the day is to make it life-long. Opportunities for systematic adult study are needed on a wider scale, and these must not be limited to lectures or classes given in any hall or schoolroom that happens to be available. They must have a 'local habitation,' a focus in the Latin sense of the word, a hearth where the fire remains continually lit, and where education can be more than isolated individual study and becomes a life shared with the others. The Educational Settlements which have grown up during the century show how such a hearth can be provided."

In his well-known book, *Education for a World Adrift,* Sir Richard Livingstone condemns in the most merciless and outspoken way the system of education in England with its examinations, specializations, academic snobbery and public school touch-me-notism, with its growing indifference towards history, literature, philosophy and fine arts. The harsh criticism of the author will become a hundredfold true when we turn our eyes from England to India, where the basis for a healthy nationalistic education is still to be laid. The narrow idea that education is to be got through certain approved schools and colleges is so strongly rooted in our people. The diplomas, degrees and titles become ends in themselves to be worshipped and adored, even to the extent of discarding the formation of personal character, sense of civic duties and the creative development of personality.

But today the very fact that even mass-produced graduates and the glamorous Europe-returned gentlemen feel themselves compelled to hunt after jobs for a salary equal to, or a little lower than, what the office clerks get, has turned out to be a blessing in disguise for us to ponder dispassionately the inherent defects of our educational system and our educated mentality. The lack of self-reliance, self-respect and national pride, the lack of will-power, strength of character and unlimited creativity are all found to be inseparably linked up with our present mercenary education. Whatever might have been the causes and results of such an education in the past, we are all agreed that in Free India we need the substance and not semblance of a healthy, national and creative education, more particularly for the adult population of the country, which is usually left out of our vast educational paper schemes.

To supplement and integrate the State schemes of national education in England, there are separate University Departments of what are known as "Extra-mural studies and adult education." Then there are residential colleges for adult education, as the Ruskin College for both men and women at Oxford, Avoncroft College, near Bromsgrove, Worcs, meant specially for the agricultural and rural workers and the Woodbrook Settlement in Birmingham managed by the Quakers for promoting social, religious and cultural studies. Non-residential colleges for adult education are numerous in England and are spread throughout the country, extending up to Wales and Scotland. Of these the principal adult educational settlements in London which are really doing pioneering work are the City Literary Institute, Mary Ward Settlement, Toynbee Hall, Walthamstov Educational Settlement, Oxford



The City Literary Institute, London

and Cambridge Settlements in the East End and the Working Men's College. As one who has attended and seen something about these settlements from inside, I must say that the real seminars for the future Peoples' Colleges are to be found in those settlements. There is hardly any trace of formalities and academic snobbery which is the essential pre-requisite for the free and full development of humanity in us.

Then there are various voluntary organisations and associations that are engaged in adult education, of which special mention should be made of the British Institute of Adult Education, International

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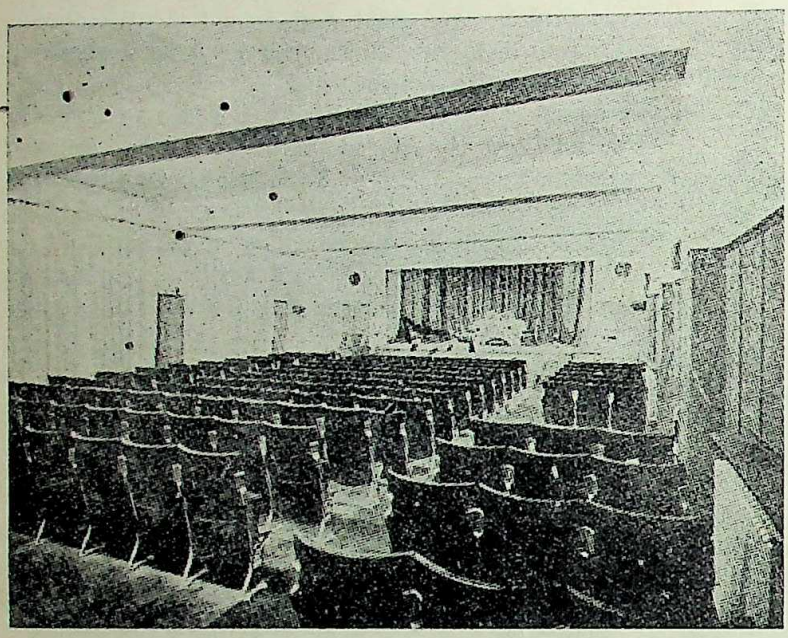
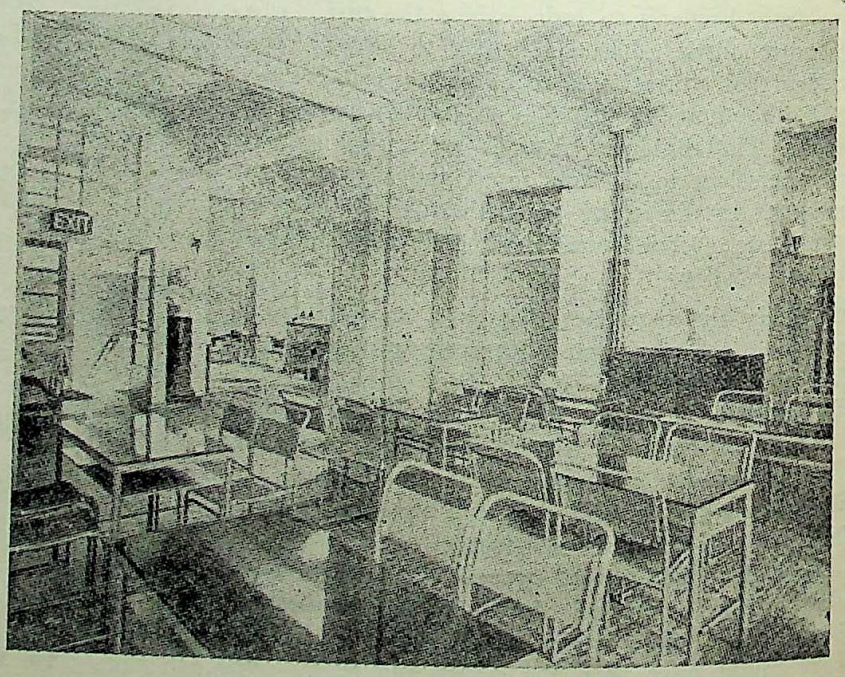
Federation of Workers' Educational Association, National Adult School Union, Workers' Educational Association and the National Foundation for Adult Education, all having their headquarters in London.



The theatre of the City Literary Institute

The settlements intended for improving the social status of the workers, the downtrodden and the unfortunate, the countrywide network of the Y. M. C. A.s and the Y. W. C. A.s—all co-operate and work together for the spread of creative education among the adult population in England.

Even with the most efficient system of general education as they have devised in England, challenging and creative minds like Sir Richard Livingstone, T. G. Williams, the present Principal of the City Literary Institute in London, are raising their voice so that the people of England may get freed from the glittering hallowness and arrogant snobbery of the Public School system and a new healthy, creative, national, all-sided, and, above all, life-long education may be provided for the common man in their country.



The corner of the canteen

Of all the European countries, perhaps the Scandinavian peninsula has progressed most in the field of imparting adult education. In the beginning of the world war the Scandinavian countries had provided more than 200 Adult Education Colleges for their 16 million inhabitants. Proportionately and qualitatively England was lagging far behind the Scandinavians. In spite of the horrors of war in Norway, it is known the Adult Education schemes are still being materialised.

A great incentive to the Adult Education of the common man was given in Germany and Italy during the reign of the Dictators. Their ideal was to give the opportunities to all the citizens of the State to enable them to acquire that amount of useful knowledge that will make them the best citizens in their own sense. It may not be out of place to mention here the part played by the G. I. L. (*La gioventu italiana del littorio*) in Italy for the formation of the youths of either sex during the last decade of the Fascist rule in Italy. It is no exaggeration to say that the common man gained more knowledge and experience about the economic, political and social problems of the day from those non-academic and popular institutions than from the recognised schools and colleges of the Fascist State. The State Education of the children, and of the boys and girls should later on be integrated by the efficient working of the Adult Education schemes, which, if rightly and intelligently organised, can benefit not only the illiterates and uneducated masses, but even University graduates and recognised professors.

Both the Wardha Scheme and the Sargent Scheme speak of the free and compulsory education of children between a certain age. The school-leaving age is fixed at fourteen or sixteen. So far well and good. Sir Richard Livingstone, in his book entitled *The Future*

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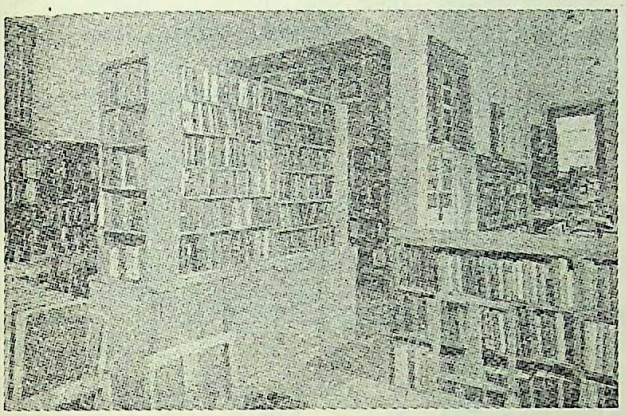
in Education analyses this idea of fixing the age at fourteen, as it is fashionable in England, and says: "To cease education at 14 is as unnatural as to die at 14." The argument holds good if we admit that what is physical death to our body that, in reality, is lack of education to the mind. Obviously, it is better to have compulsory education terminating at the age of 14 than to have no education at all. But in a more advanced society, as England is supposed to be, that argument holds ground as solidly as ever.



The library

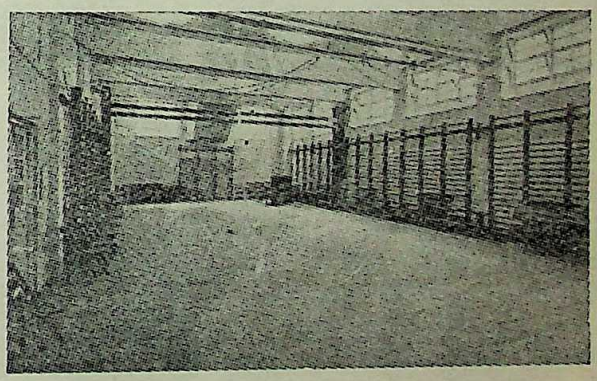
But in a country like India adult education will have to serve many purposes. Its immediate and primary aim can be the uprooting of the curse of illiteracy from our land. Mass education of the adults, if undertaken immediately and wisely organised, can prove to be an effective remedy to the menacing cancer of illiteracy. Then, it is through bringing together the common man of all parts of the country that the living communion of minds and hearts takes place. What is fruitfully observed in our social clubs, debating and discussing groups of boys and girls, will prove to be more fruitful in these adult education centres.

It goes without saying that higher grades of Adult Education classes and courses given in advanced educational settlements, as the City Literary Institute or Mary Ward Settlement in London, can profit also the University graduates. Time will not be wasted and we discover that there is always something new and fresh to learn from those grand, living social and human phenomena, which are slowly being discovered, analysed, classified and interpreted through the co-operative interaction of the members and associates of the adult educational settlements.

Another very important aim of such educational residential settlements is to provide a periodic seclusion and salutary withdrawal for workers and men of action so fully engrossed in the busy turmoil of the world today. Karl Mannheim, the distinguished sociologist, says: "It will become more and more a question whether something corresponding to the monastic seclusion, some form of complete or temporary withdrawal from the affairs of the world, will not be one of the great remedies for the dehumanizing effects of a civilization of busybodies." These settlements thus meet the profoundly human needs and creative urges for men and women who, unfortunately, fall a victim to the grinding wheels of the machine civilization.

Dr. H. C. Dent, a man whose realistic approach towards modern life is as keen as it is critical and sympathetic, in his book entitled *A New Order in English Education,* says: "Men and women must have in future the opportunity to apply themselves uninterruptedly for a sufficiently long period of time to exploration of a selected field of knowledge, mastery of a desired skill, or enjoyment of a worthwhile form of recreation. Only thus can they be enabled to meet the ever-more exacting conditions of life in a modern industrialised society.

"The nearer we approach to full democracy the more numerous and more responsible will grow the common obligations of citizenship. The periodic withdrawal of the worker from the daily round and common task, that he may examine thoughtfully and objectively the nature of the society in the governance of which he takes so active a part will become more and more a necessity if muddle and mismanagement are to be avoided."



The gymnasium

Whatever the final form of national educational Plan for Free India and the provisions therein for the furtherance of vocational training is going to be, adult education, through residential or non-residential settlements, peoples' colleges, adult education centres, must form an integral part of our national life. They will become better and more efficient centres for creative education than the approved channels of the university sylllabus system. They are enterprising experiments worth embarking upon, for the future of India will largely depend upon the sort of education we give to her people right now. In the great nation-building task that awaits us creative education through creative channels will be next in importance to the healthy economic development of the nation.

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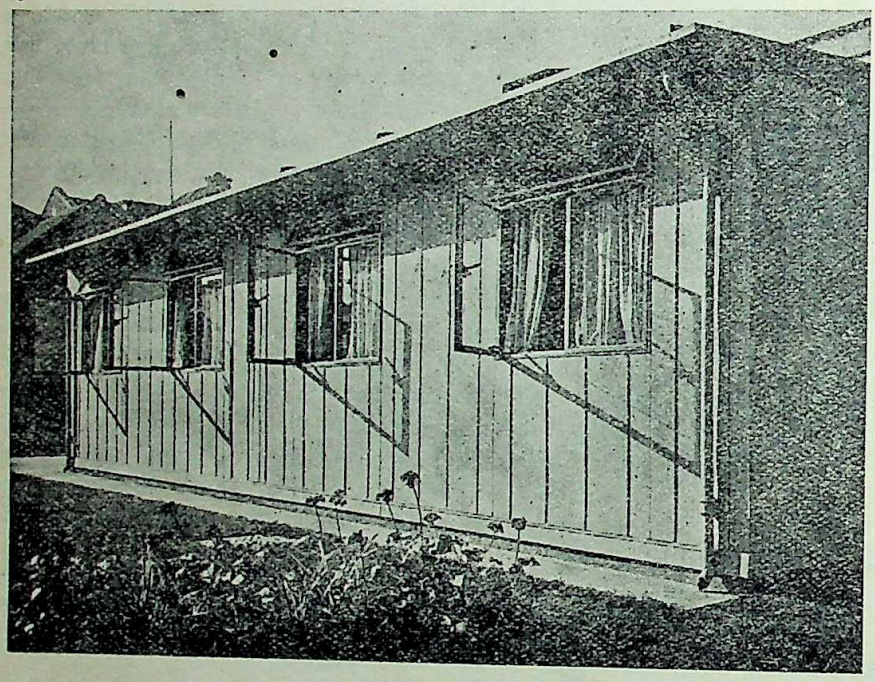
SOLVING HOUSING SHORTAGE IN BRITAIN

Factory-made Steel Houses

By PHILIP MURRAY

In Great Britain today plans are fast materialising for a huge co-ordinated building programme. There will first be an emergency period of two years during which the accumulated and urgent demands will be met, and then a 10-year schedule of rapid building. One million homes must pe built during the first two years of peace in Europe.



The exterior of a factory-made house fitted with ample windows with steel frames

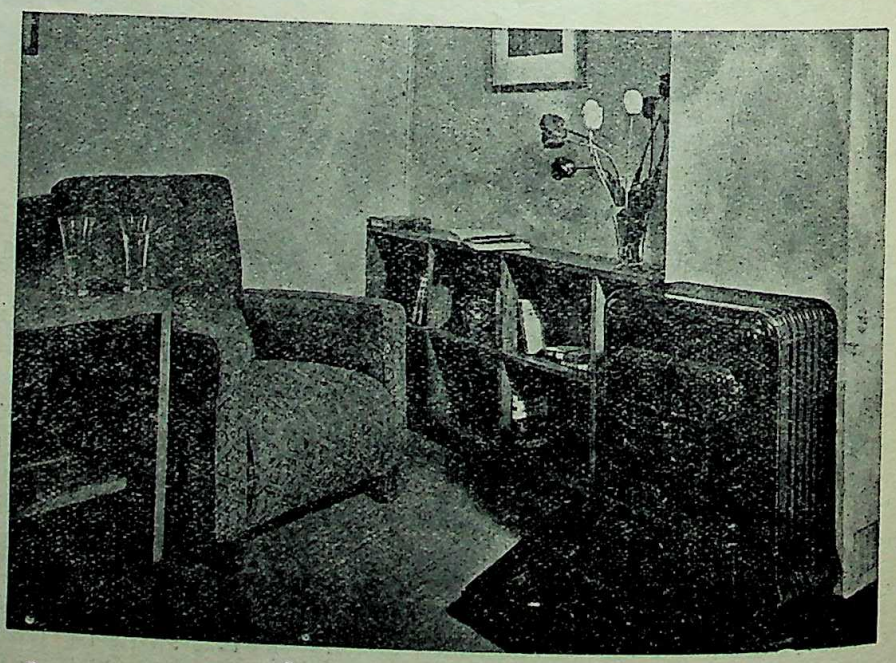
The builders that remain will not be able to build more than 300,000 traditional brick houses during this period. A new technique of building was required to bridge the gap, so the British Government has decided that half a million temporary houses must be mass-produced in factories—houses that can be put up quickly by trained men without retarding in any way the 12-year plan for 4,000,000 traditional brick houses.

Tens of thousands of men and women have become accustomed during the war to working with steel, of which there will be a surplus as soon as the munitions programme is cut. The prototype of the British Government's emergency house has, therefore, been designed to use steel so that parts can be turned out as quickly as airplane and tank parts have been during the war.

Although families will live in these houses only until they can find more permanent homes, no effort has been spared to provide them with all the benefits of modern science while keeping the rent as low as possible, and well within the means of even the poorest workers.

Although the house is small—it covers an area of but 616 square feet—it contains a living room 14 feet 3 inches by 10 feet 1½ inches; two bedrooms each 12 feet 5½ inches by 10 feet 1½ inches; a kitchen 10 feet 2¾ inches by 7 feet 3½ inches; a bathroom, separate W. C., and a storage shed.

The house has been planned to give maximum areas to the rooms by avoiding corridors. Opening off the entrance hall are the kitchen, bathroom and W. C. One of the bedrooms opens off the kitchen, the other off the living room. The living room and kitchen are en suite, separated by a glazed screen in the centre of which is a glazed door, giving an impression of space and light.



The comfortable interior of the living room

Realising that for sometime after the war it will be

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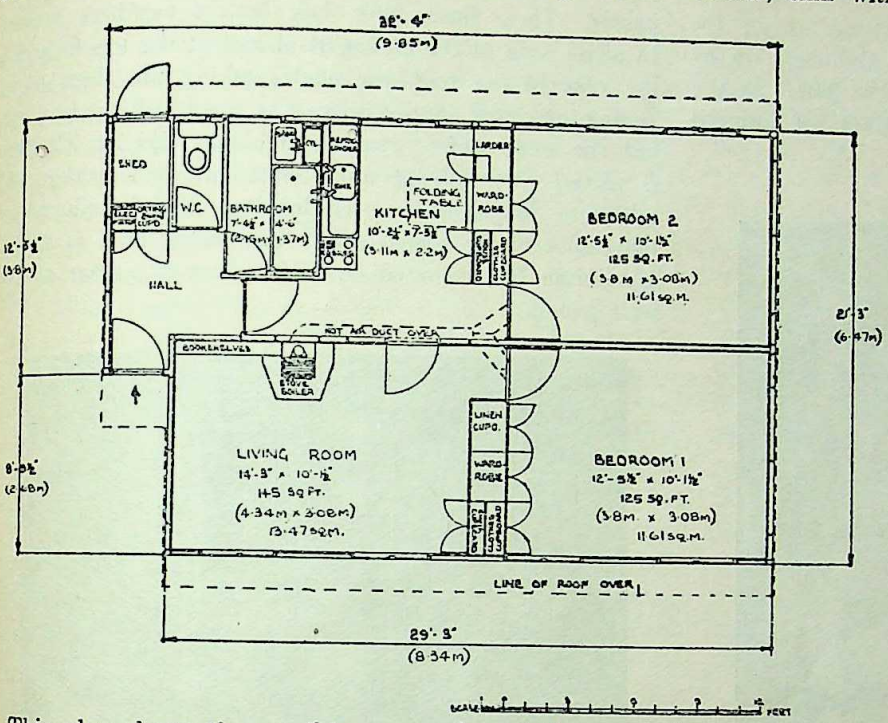
difficult to obtain furniture, the designers of this house have built in several fittings. To-day these fittings would



This plan shows the sensible use made of the area allotted and the compact arrangement of the domestic offices

be worth nearly £100 if they could be bought. Young housewives who have seen the prototype have all praised these fittings, which are, perhaps, the outstanding feature of the house. Indeed, it is in the interior of the house, rather than in the shell, that factory production has rendered its greatest service.

The two partitions between the kitchen and the first bedroom, and between the living room and the second bedroom, are arranged as cupboards. On the kitchen side there is a larder with divided horizontal shelves. The lower shelves are for dry goods, and the upper shelves have been ventilated for the storage of perishable foods. There is a second built-in cupboard on the kitchen side for brooms and other loose kitchen equipment. Between the two cupboards is a hinged table, which folds vertically against the partition when not in use. All these cupboards are made of pressed steel.

On the bedroom side of this partition there is a full-height hanging wardrobe, with horizontal hanging rail, and a short cupboard, shelved for containing personal linen. The bedroom side of this unit has mahogany plywood panels to the doors, which are framed in steel. The shelves are steel.

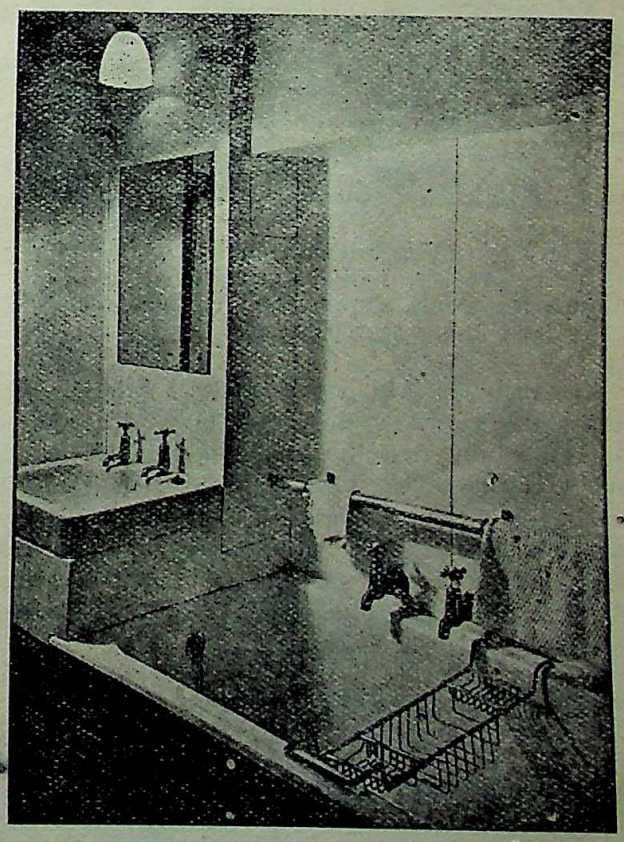
The cupboard unit between the living room and bedroom is also in steel, with plywood panels to the fronts. On the living room side is a shelved china cupboard with three drawers underneath, and on the bedroom side are three cupboards—one for soiled linen, one to serve as a wardrobe and the third for clean linen.

The partition between the bathroom and the kitchen conceals a mechanism which is a miracle of modern science,

On the kitchen side there is a combined assembled cooker, sink with two draining boards, and refrigerator, with drawers and cupboards below. On the bathroom side, the bath and combined clothes-washing boiler and hand-washing bowl are built into the steel unit. The hot and cold water pipes and waste pipes are in the middle of this unit, together with the hot water circulating cistern.

Water is heated by a boiler fixed to the back of the heating stove in the living-room. This stove burns either coal, coke or anthracite. An electric immersion heater, thermostatically controlled, is also fixed in the cistern to heat about seven gallons of water when the living-room fire is not in use. The living-room stove also heats the kitchen and bedrooms by hot air ducts between the walls of the various rooms.

The method of construction of these houses has been planned so that over 90 per cent. of the work is done in the factory. The wooden floors are in sections, screwed direct to sheet steel joists. The walls are in panels



The bathroom side, which has bath, basin and clothes-washing boiler built into the steel wall

of equal widths (except at the corners) into which are built the steel-framed windows. The panels are

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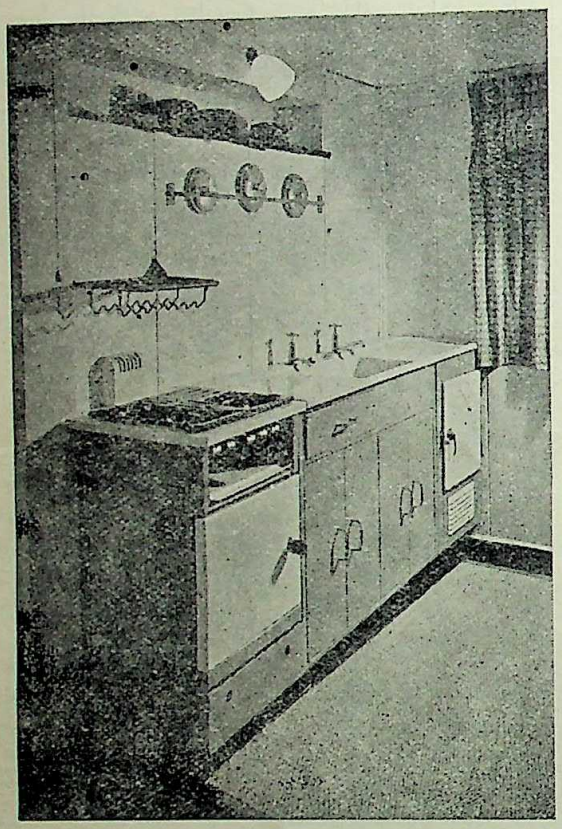
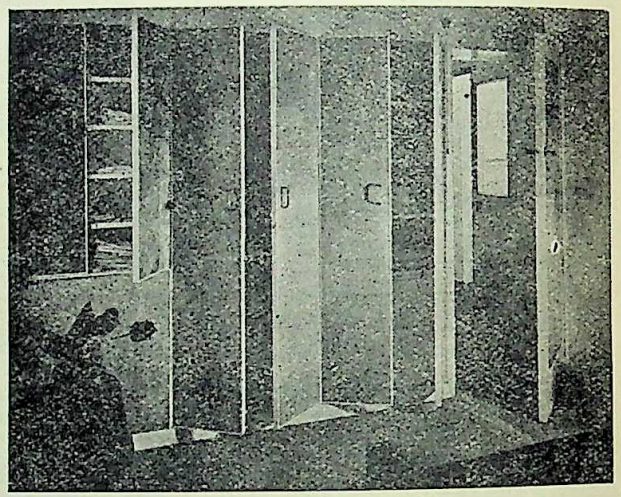
set on a sheet-steel sill at the floor level, and between similar vertical corner and middle posts. Three horizontal steel flats, at the top, centre and bottom, are in the thickness of the wall. The sections are tightened up by means of steel wedges at the ends of these flats. At the joints of the sections special mastic seatings are inserted to ensure perfectly weathertight joints.



The kitchen side, with a combined unit comprising cooker, refrigerator, sink with two draining-boards, drawers and cupboards and saucepan rack

The walls are built on the sandwich principle. The external side is sheet-steel, swaged to provide stiffness, and coated with flocculent anti-drum material on the inside to prevent noise. Internally, the wall is lined with steel in the kitchen, bathroom, W.C. and hall, and elsewhere designed to receive plyboard or any on a light timber frame, and faced on either side with aluminium foil. This gives the wall a resistance to heat equivalent to an 11 inches cavity brick wall.

The roof, pitched at 6½ degrees, has pressed metal joists at centres corresponding to the widths of the wall panels. These joists have their bottom members pressed in angle form at the ceiling level and at the top following the rake of the roof, the angles taking the sheet metal ceiling and roof respectively. The steel ceiling is plain, but the steel roof is swaged to obtain rigidity. Capping is placed externally at the joints of each section and adequate longitudinal steel bracings are introduced at the centre of the span. Above the ceiling level is placed aluminium foil mounted on timber frames similar to the wall panels.



The bed-room cup-boards of pressed steel with mahogany plywood panels

The steel is bonderised, primed and painted, except the roof, which is bonderised, primed and tar-sanded externally, which gives adequate protection from rusting.

The site work of erection is reduced to the minimum. Prior to delivery of the emergency factory-made house, a concrete slab is laid and tarred on the top surface, and the necessary services and drains are put in. Afterwards the floor sections are laid and bolted together on top of the concrete, and the end walls and side walls are positioned, wedged and bolted, working from one end of the structure. The partitions, cupboards and kitchen units are placed in position before the walls are erected. The placing of the roof, bearing on the outer walls and the internal central spine wall, is the last constructional operation. The house has been designed to meet an immediate requirement, and its life will be limited by licence.

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JAIPUR AND ITS ENVIRONS

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Their Place in Hindu India

By SATYA PRAKASH, M.A.,
Superintendent, Archaeology and Art Museum, Jaipur

THE 'rose pink' city of Jaipur, literally known as the City of Victory, owes its existence to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II. In other words, it may be said that the city derives its name from the famous Jai Singh who ruled from 1699-1743. He was the king to stand by the son of Prince Azam-shah in the struggle for the Empire on the death of Aurangzeb and to drive the Moghuls out of Jaipur.

The present city of Jaipur was founded by him in the year 1728. The city, surrounded as it is on the north and east by rugged hills crowned with forts, is enclosed by a crenellated wall with seven gateways in it. This place is the pleasant healthy capital of one of the most prosperous independent States of Rajputana. It is a very big and important commercial centre with all possible amenities of life in it. The crowded streets and markets are lively and picturesque. The city is remarkable for the width and regularity of its main streets. It is laid out in its rectangular blocks and is divided by cross streets into six equal portions.

The grandeur and beauty of the city very well speak of the material improvements in modern civilisation, which mainfest themselves in detail in the elegant style of town-planning found in Jaipur. But the fame of the city does not out-shine the grandeur of the State. The State of Jaipur, needless to say, is the most progressive State of Rajputana and it, just like its city, is magnificent both from within and without. It has a glorious past—the past on which its beautiful present is based and also a promising future it is destined to be. Here an attempt will be made to reconstruct its past on the basis of what has been found in the State. This would enable us to see Jaipur through the various periods of Indian history. Here its place in Hindu India (*i.e.*, up to 1000 A.D.) has been discussed.

The State of Jaipur was known as Amber in medieval times. But its ancient name is *Matsyadesh*. According to Father Heras, a noted historian from Bombay, the place may rightly be called the land of the Meenas or the place of Fish. It is interesting to note that both *meena* and *matsya* mean one and the same thing, *i.e.*, fish. This place-name is famous in the Mahabharata, for it was here that the five Pandavas came to reside in disguise after they had completed twelve years of their exile. In epic times Matsyadesh had its capital at Bairat—a village in the territory of the State, and commonly known as 'Viratnagar' of the Mahabharata.

Besides the epic evidence in question, the Rajput evidence on the historicity of the place ascribes to it the name of Dhundhar—another name of Jaipur, probably after a vigorous personality known as Dhundhmar. The Kachhwaha clan of Rajputs, whose head is the present chief His Highness Maharajadhiraj Sawai Man Singh Bahadur, ruled over this State of Jaipur since the time the place was known as Dhundhar.

Archaeological finds at Rairh, Bairat and other places reveal to us that traces of pre-historic civilisation are to be found in this part of the country. We are indebted to Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni for the information that the valley of Bairat was inhabited by man even during pre-historic times and that it is older than the epics. The chert flakes and cores discovered in one of the rough-built stone platforms in this valley and on the lower terrace of the adjoining hill closely resemble these found on the chalcolithic sites in the Indus Valley. The parallel walls found at Rairh by Dr. K. N. Puri appear to be but models of the parallel walls excavated at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. That their purpose must have been to serve as foundations for floors to prevent the possibility of their sinking is evident from their use at these places.

Again, the cult of Nature or Mother Goddess, the representations of which are to be found in clay here in quite a good number, has its origin in the hoary past.

This deity played a supreme role in the religion of the Indus Valley people, and also in the chalcolithic civilisation. It is interesting to note that the representations of the Goddess similar to those found at Rairh and other places in Jaipur State have been found in Baluchistan, Iran, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, the Balkans, Syria, Palestine, Crete and Egypt.

It appears that the cult of the Goddess found to have been in existence in the State in the pre-historic times must have been widespread before the advent of the Aryans and also after it. It was so deep-rooted that it got assimilated in Vedic religion and the cult of the earth goddess came to be known as the cult of *Shakti* later on.

We do not find many traces of Vedic civilisation here and we find little to record of what appertained to those times. The literary evidence of the epics, no doubt, comes to our rescue in the post-Vedic era and we are able to connect certain courses of events with the period of epics in our country's history.

The present Maharaja, an illustrious descendant of the Kachhwaha clan of the Kshatriya as he is, becomes, historically speaking, connected with Kusa —the second son of Rama. The clan Kachhwaha is the corrupted form of the word Kushwaha. Since Kush and his father Rama Chandra were known as Suryavanshi figures, the present ruler and his ancestors belong to the same class of Suryavanshi Kachhwaha line of Kshatriyas.

Now coming to the evidence afforded by the

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second part of the epics, the Mahabharata, we find that the first historical event we have knowledge of (from literary sources) is the great war fought between the Kauravas and the Pandavas on the battle-field of Kurukshetra. A scene of this historical drama was enacted in the vicinity of this city of Jaipur.

In the north of Jaipur is a place known as Bairat. The five famous Pandavas after their wanderings in the land of Rajputana and during the closing period of twelve months of their exile, are described to have concealed themselves in this region in the guise of menial servants. Thus the State afforded shelter to the Pandava brothers in times of trouble. The place is also associated with the epic period in the sense that the vicious Kichak with his hundred kinsmen was killed by the great warrior Bheem Sen here.

Again, this place better known as Virat in the Epics, was attacked by the illustrious king Duryodhan and his mighty army. The latter was forced to admit defeat. This place not only witnessed concealment of the Pandavas and the bloody war between Duryodhan and Arjun but also the happy union of the Princess Uttara and the famous hero Abhimanyu. In this way the three great events of the Mahabharata are connected with Bairat—a place situated in the Jaipur State.

The State continued to play an important part in the history of the Buddhist period as well.

The terracotta sealing which has been found at Sambhar possesses in it the principal impression of *yupa* (sacrifical post) surrounded by railings. The well-known Ujjain symbol consisting of a cross with balls attached to each arm with the Prakrit legend Imdasamasa (*i.e.* of Indra Sarman) inscribed on the opposite side in Brahmi characters, is of the 3rd century B.C. At Nagar in the south of Jaipur near Sambhar and at Bairat have been found traces of the Buddhist monasteries, which present in them Hinayana symbols.

In the Mauryan times Bairat of the Jaipur State was in a flourishing state, for we find an inscription of Asoka ascribed to this place. The text of the inscription deals with certain principles of Dhamma and it is a matter of great pride that the place was deemed suitable for an edict here by the great King Asoka.

At Babhroo too, the present Bhabroo on the Amber-Pavta road, another edict has also been found. The existence of two edicts of the great Asoka amply illustrates the importance of the State in the Maurya period. At a distance of twenty-five miles to the south of Jaipur, we find a place called Chatsu or Chaksu. Our history records that the place of Chaksu belongs to a contemporary or immediate ancestor of Vikramaditya—the founder of the famous Vikrama Era—the era used by the Pandits even now in all astronomical and astrological calculations. We are, thus taken back to B.C. 56-57, the starting point of the Vikrama Sambat as it is called.

The finds of the excavation at Bairat include a number of coins which are both Greek and Hindu. The Greek coins include one of Heliokles (circa 140 B.C.), the last Greek King of Bactria; one of the Indo-Greek King Apollodotos; 16 coins (of various types) of Menander, one of Antialkidas, two of Hermaios and four of the same king alone.

These coins clearly show that Bairat and the country round it formed part of the Greek dominions. Menander was probably the Indo-Greek ruler to come down up to Rajputana and it is due to it that sixteen out of the twenty-eight coins of the class belong to his coinage. These coins also provide authentic evidence of the continuation of the Buddhist establishment on the Bijak ki Pahari until about 50 A.D.

The two Yupa pillars found at Barnala and supposed to be of the 4th century A.D. give us a glimpse of the importance of the State even in those early years of the Christian Era. Several such memorial Yupa pillars were already known, *i.e.*, two from Mathura, two from Nandoa (in the Udaipur State); three from the Badva (in the Kotah State); one from Bijaya Gadh (near Bayana), a fragmentary one at Nagari and some in the island of Borneo.

The portable antiquities found at Sambhar and Bairat reveal to us that the State of Jaipur continued to play an important part in the history of Hindu India. The number of coins of the Indo-Greek kings and the Gupta Emperors found at these places is sufficiently large and very well testifies to the importance of the State in those bygone days. Again, copper and iron objects revealed to us by the excavations at Sambhar, Bairat and Rairh reflect the culture of the State in those ancient times. Some of these towns in those times were well-planned and were great industrial centres and their artisans specialised in the manufacture of ornamental pottery, conch and steatite objects and the cutting and polishing of such hard stones as cornelian, white, crystal etc., the specimens of which have been brought to light by the excavations.

As to religious faith it is almost certain that the inhabitants of the State in the major part of the period of Hindu India remained ardent adherents of the orthodox Brahminical faith and pottery tablets with mythological and other subjects throw welcome light on the subject.

Thus up to the latter half of the 7th century A.D., the State seems to have shared the attitude of toleration in religion and different faiths were allowed due honor and recognition in some form or other. All this is testified to by the famous Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who in the course of his wandering in quest of truth, happened to see personally and also to record them in his memoirs.

In Barnala has also been found, in a small pottery jar, a hoard of ancient coins which include in them 90 Indo-Sassanian coins of the 7th or 8th century A.D. The existence of the Sassanian head on the obverse and an inscription in Devanagri on the face of it

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with an attendant on either side of the altar is an interesting thing.

The part played by the State in the 7th and the 8th century is not only testified to by these coins but also by other finds at Sambhar. The Devayani Tank at Sambhar is credited with a temple attached to it belonging to about 10th century A.D. A number of black stone images found in this tank can be seen in the Jaipur museum. Thus it is almost clear that Sambhar was the first capital of the Imperial Chauhan kings of North India and continued to be so up to the year 1198.

The city of Amber, the third capital in succession of Jaipur State, is believed to have been founded in the 10th century A.D.

The inscription below the two armed figures of Ganapati runs in seven lines and is dated, Friday the 11th of the dark fortnight of Bhadrapada Sambat 1011. The period of the 10th century A.D. is important in the history of Jaipur. The old place-name of Jaipur, Dhundhar, seems to have changed with the change of dynasties during this century. It was in the year 966 that this place was conquered by Sodh Deoji and his son Dhuleraiji or Dulharaiji Kachhwaha, who ruled over Narwar then. Sodh Deoji conquered Dausa, Khoh, Manch, Jamwa Ramgarh and occupied the whole of Dhundhar.

Thus the first phase of the history of the State and its environs comes to an end.

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HINDU-MUSLIM AMITY IN EARLY MEDIAEVAL INDIA

By Prof. K. B. VYAS, M.A., F.R.A.S.

In the present days of Hindu-Muslim tension it is most refreshing to turn the pages of Indian history and study striking instances of amiable relations between Hindus and Muslims in early times. For this purpose the early mediaeval period before the Muslim conquest (*i.e.*, from C. 1000 to C. 1200 A.D.)[1] is most suitable, when India was a mosaic of many Hindu states and Muslims had settled in several parts as traders and citizens. The Muslim contacts and settlements took place in Gujarat (and Western India) earlier than in *most of the other* provinces[2]; so we shall confine ourselves mostly to the study of the conditions in Gujarat. Gujarat was, during this period, at the height of its glory under the Solanki and Vaghela kings. We shall base our study solely on the records of Muslim historians and works of Muslim scholars.

India was celebrated for its riches from very early times. An Arab traveller described India to Hadrat Umar (7th century A.D.) thus :

"Its rivers are pearls, its mountains are rubies, and its trees are perfumes."[3]

Mahanagar, the capital of Balhara, the Rastrakuta king of Manyakheta, was called "the city of gold" by Arab travellers.[4] India was famous for its perfumes, musk, sandal, ivory, *aguru* sticks, camphor, spices, fine muslins, velvet, diamonds and other precious stones, pearls, cocoanuts, and various other things.[5] This attracted numerous Arab traders to trade with and settle in India.

India had also considerable import trade with the neighbouring countries. It imported wine from Egypt, silk-clothes, chamois-skin, skins for jackets, swords and other things from Rome, rose-water from Persia and dates from Basrah. Hindu traders had settled in large numbers in Sairaf, a port in Iraq, in the 9th century.[6]

There was a brisk trade between Indian ports like Cambay and neighbouring countries like Iran during this period. The Iranian port of Ublah near Basrah on the Persian gulf was the most important port for merchant-ships sailing to and from India. Ublah's sea-borne trade with India was so heavy that it was considered by Arabs an out-post of India.[7] Similarly the ports of Basrah and Ormuz derived considerable revenue from custom levies on merchant-ships coming from India.[8]

Indian trade attracted numerous Arabian merchants who came and settled in India as traders. Thus developed several large settlements of Arabian and Iranian traders on the west coast of India, noted by Arab travellers who visited India during the 9th and subsequent centuries.[9] It will be interesting to hear their testimony regarding the treatment of these Muslim traders by Hindu rulers and people.

1. Sind was, indeed, conquered by Muhammad bin Kasim in 712 A.D. But it was reconquered by the Hindus by about the 9th century A.D.

2. The first mosque in Hindu India (outside Sind, where there was Muslim rule during this period) was built near Broach in Gujarat by Hisham, the Abbaside ruler of Sind, in 759 A.D. Vide *Arab Aur Bharatke Sambandha* (Hindi) by Maulana Sayyid Sulayman Nadwi. Translated by Babu Ramchandra Varma, and published by Hindustani Academy, Prayag, U.P., 1930, p., 15.

3. *Al-Akhbar-ut-tawal* of Abu Hanifa Dinwari, p. 326, cited by Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

4. *Ajaib-al-Hind*, p. 137; cited by Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

5. Nadwi *op. cit.*, p. 55. Masudi (915 A. D.) and Bushari (1319 A.D.) have praised the footwear of Cambay. Nadwi, *ibid*, p. 55.

6. Vide *Ibn-i-Haukal*, p. 231; cited by Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 68; and Abu Zayd Hasan Sayrafi's travels, p. 46; cited by Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

7. *Al-akhbar-ut-tawal* of Dinwari, p. 133; cited by Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

8. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

9. Ratnamanirao Jote, *Khambhatno Itihasa* (Gujarati), 1935, pp. 107-108.

NOTE : Muslim settlements are known to have flourished in Ceylon (7th century-9th century A.D.), Malabar (from 9th century A.D.), Saimur in the kingdom of the Balhara (from 9th century A.D.), Thana (12th century A.D.), Dvarasamudra in the present Mysore State, and other places. In Sind, Muslim settlements existed even before the conquest of Muhammad bin Kasim. *Vide* Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-247.

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They tell us that the treatment of the Muslim settlers in Gujarat and elsewhere by the Hindu rulers and people was always very kind and generous. Sulayman Sawdagar (851 A.D.) the first Arab traveller, whose account has come down to us, writes in his *Silsila-tut-Tawarikh* that Balhara, the king of Konkan, was exceptionally kind to the Arabs. Al Masudi (915 A.D.), the author of *Maruj-uz-Zahab*, which is practically a history of Islam, states how the officer ruling over Cambay "was kind to..... strangers, Musalmans and people of other faiths."[10] He further informs us how the Rastrakuta king, whose rule then extended over the western coast from Cambay to Konkan "favours and honours the Musalmans and allows them to have mosques and assembly mosques."[11] Al Istakhri (951 A.D.), the author of *Kitab-al-Aqalim* and *Kitab-al-Masalik-wa al-Mamalik*, tells us that "in the Konkan were many Musalmans, over whom the Balhara (*i.e.* the Rastrakuta King) appointed no one but a Musalman to rule."[12] Thus the Rastrakuta kings treated foreigners and especially the Arabs with consideration and respect and appointed magistrates from among themselves to adjudicate disputes according to Musalman law.

This toleration shown to their religion both by the Hindu kings and peoples in Western India struck Arabs more than anything else. And this was a feature not peculiar to Western Indian kingdom alone; it was a universal characteristic of entire India. Al Biruni (973—1048 A.D.) records that "in the 9th century when the Hindus recovered Sindan (Sanjan in Sind) they spared the assembly mosque where long afterwards the faithful congregated on Fridays praying for their Khalifah without hindrance."[13] This is also attested to by Bilazuri (in *Fatuh-al-Buldan*) who states that the Hindu kings, after their reconquest of Sind, treated their Muslim subjects well and allowed the mosques to remain in situ.[14] Intolerance or religious bigotism seems to have been unknown then, for it is recorded that Muhammad Bin Kasim did not destroy the Buddhist temple in Sind when he conquered Sind, and the famous temple of Multan remained unmolested during the period of Arab occupation, and Arab travellers loved to visit it.[15] Another Arab historian, Al Idrisi[16] (end of the 11th century) says:

"The Indians are naturally inclined to justice and in their actions never depart from it. Their reputation of good faith, honesty, and fidelity to their engagements brings strangers flocking to their country and aids its prosperity."[17]

This kind treatment of the Muslim community characterised the entire period of Hindu rule in Gujarat and elsewhere. It was a result of the Hindu tradition of hospitality and a keen sense of justice.

An incident has been recorded by a Muslim historian, which will fully bear out the extent of justice meted out to the small, struggling Muslim community by such a great sovereign of Gujarat like Jayasimhadeva Solanki. Muhammad 'U'fi the compiler of *Jami-'u-l Hikayat* (1211 A.D.), who resided at Delhi in the time of Emperor Altamish, relates the following story, which he had heard in Cambay, about the keen sense of justice of king Jayasimhadeva Solanki of Gujarat.[18]

In Kambayat (*i.e.* Cambay) resided a number of Sunni Musalmans. There was also a body of fire-worshippers there. In the reign of Jayasingh there was a mosque and a minaret from which the summons to prayer were cried. Once the fire-worshippers instigated the Hindus to attack the Musalmans, and the minaret was destroyed, the mosque burnt, and the Musalmans oppressed.

A certain Muhammadan, a Khatib or reader of the Khutba, by name 'Ali went to Nahrwala (*i.e.* Anahilvad Patan, the capital of Gujarat in the pre-Muslim period) to complain to the king. As the courtiers did not pay any attention to him, he saw the king, when he was going out for hunting, and placed in his hand a *Kasida* composed in Hindi (Gujarati?) verse, stating the whole case. The king heard the complaint and placed 'Ali in the charge of a servant, ordering him to take the greatest care of him. The king returned, made over the temporary charge of the government to the minister, on the pretext that he wanted to spend three days in the harem in seclusion, during which period he must not be disturbed.

Then he mounted a dromedary, travelled to Cambay in the space of one night and one day, disguised himself as a tradesman and made enquiries in the market as to the truth of Khatib's complaint. He then learnt that the Muhammadans were unjustly harassed without any ground. He then filled a vessel with sea-water and immediately returned to Naharwala (*i.e.* Anahilvad), which he entered on the third night from his departure.

The next day he held the court and directed the Khatib to state his grievance. Some of the officers

10. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, 1896, p. 514.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 526.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 526.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 530.
14. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
15. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
16. Other Arab travellers who visited India during this period are: Abu Zayd Hasan Sairafi (877 A.D.), Abu Dalf Mussar bin Muhalbil Yambui (942 A.D.), and Ibn-i-Haukal (943-79 A.D.), a merchant of Bagdad whom Istakhri had met in India. Haukal was, perhaps, the first Arab writer to prepare a map of India, estimating the length and breadth of the country and locating on it cities and places from Sistan to Gujarat. Bushari Muqaddasi (985 A.D.), the writer of *Ahsan-at-taqasim fi Ma'crafat-al-aqalim*, follows Haukal in time. He, too, like Haukal, has discussed the geography and [illegible] India. (Cf. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, 34-35). These travellers have nothing substantial to add to the picture of political and social conditions in India, depicted by historians like Masudi, Biruni and Idrisi.
17. *B. G.*, p. 531; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, 1867, p. 88.
18. H. M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, 1869, pp. 162-164.

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tried to falsify Khatib's statement. Then the king ordered his water-carrier to give the water-pot of sea-water and asked the officers to drink from it. The king then told them that he had travelled to Cambay to make personal enquiries as to the truth of the complaint, and learnt that the Muhammadans were oppressed. It was his duty, he said, to see that all his subjects were afforded such protection as would enable them to live in peace. He then gave orders that two leading men from Brahmins, fire-worshippers and others should be punished. He gave a lac of *balotras* to enable the Muslims to rebuild the mosque and minarets. He also granted to Ali four articles of dress.

During the succeeding period of Vaghela rule (13th century A.D.) protection was granted to all traders without distinction of caste or creed.[19] In Cambay there was a flourishing Muslim community. Ibn Batutah (1377 A.D.), the author of *'Aja'ib-al-Asfar*, who visited India later, states that there were many beautiful mosques in Cambay and a majority of its foreign traders were Musalmans. Even in Somnath Patan, one of the holiest places in India, the Muslims were able to build a mosque with the help of eminent local Hindu citizens, and endow land and other property for its maintenance (1264 A.D.). Pilgrims to Mecca were given all facilities, and when they embarked from Cambay a strong fleet guarded them against coastal pirates. This was appreciated by the Muslim community. A story is related about how Vastupala (C. 1186 A.D.—1240 A.D.), the erudite minister of the Vaghela King Viradhaval of Gujarat treated the mother of Mu'iz-ud-din (Qutb-ud-din or Altamish?), the Muslim Emperor of Delhi with kindness and respect, when she was sailing for Mecca on Hajj pilgrimage. He also presented her a beautiful marble *torana* (arched porch or gateway) for erection at the entrance of the holy place at Mecca. The Emperor touched by this kindness, maintained very friendly relations with both the King and the minister of Gujarat, and even went to the length of granting the Jaina minister excellent marble from the Mammani quarries for making the idols of Jaina *tirthankaras*.[20] Similarly, it is recorded how shortly after the conquest of Gujarat (C. 1297 A.D.), Ulugh Khan, the Suba of the Emperor 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, granted out of friendship a special *farman* to Samarashah, a merchant-prince of Gujarat, for effecting repairs to the celebrated Jaina *tirtha* Satrunjaya.

Thus, throughout the period of Hindu rule in Gujarat as in the rest of India, Muslims were treated with remarkable toleration and kindness, as the evidence of the Muslim historians cited above[21] will show.

II

Muslims reacted to this kindness very favourably and fraternized with Hindus, taking interest in their life and manners and even contributing to their literature and culture.

It is generally supposed that it was Akbar who was the pioneer of this movement. As Hindu life and culture interested him, he got several of the Hindu epics and scriptures translated from Sanskrit into Persian.[22] It is also assumed that Faizi was the first Muhammadan scholar who mastered Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, however, even in Akbar's time there were, besides Faizi other scholars like 'Abdul Kadir, Nakib Khan, Mulla Shah Muhammad, Mulla Shabri, Sultan Haji, and Haji Ibrahim, who translated Hindu scriptures form Sanskrit into Persian. 'Abdu-l-Kadir translated *Ramayana* and *Simhasana Batrisi*. The translation of *Mahabharata* was done by Nakib Khan or Faizi, while that of *Atharva Veda* was done by Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi.[23]

The knowledge of Sanskrit was thus prevalent among Muslim scholars, at this time, but it was not the first occasion when Muslims had become acquainted with the language. It is certain that several Muhammadan scholars had attained a correct knowledge of Sanskrit not long after the establishment of their religion.[24] Several Indian works in Sanskrit on astronomy, mathematics, medicine, etc., were translated into Arabic during the early periods of Khalifat.[25] In India,

19. *Vasanta Vilasa Mahakavya* of Balachandra Suri. GOS No. 7, Canto 4.

20. *Chaturvimsati Prabandha*, translated by H. R. Kapadia, p. 207.

21. Above we have cited the authority of a few Arab historians and travellers who visited India. Numerous other Arab historians and geographers, who had not visited India, have written about it from other sources. Among them are Ibn-e-Rustah (902 A.D.), Qadamah bin Ja'afar (908 A.D.), Bilazuri (909 A.D.), the author of the very valuable and famous work *Futuh-al-Buldan*, and Nadim Baghdadi (980 A.D.), the author of *Kitab-al-Fahrist*. The later Arab chroniclers include names like Idrisi (1156 A.D.), Yaqut (1229 A.D.), the writer of the very voluminous work *Ma'ajam-al-buldan*, Qizwini (1283 A.D.), Damishqi (1326 A.D.), Abu-al-Fida (1331 A.D.), and others (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37).

22. A corresponding instance of a Hindu ruler interesting himself in Islamic religion and culture is recorded in the earlier chronicles of Arab travellers. Buzurg bin Shahryar (912 A.D.), mentions in his record of travels 'Ajaib-al-Hind how a Hindu king named Maharoga of Alara between Kashmir and the Punjab, requested Amir 'Abdullah bin 'Umar of Mansura to send him some one who would expound to him the principles of Islam in the Indian language (*i.e.*, the local dialect of the Prakrit language). The Amir sent him an 'Iraqi-Muslim poet, who knew the Indian languages, having been brought up in India. The latter translated the *Quran* in the Indian language, to which the king always listened with rapt attention and reverence. (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 198).

23. Elliot and Dawson, *History of India*, Vol. V, 1873, p. 571.

24. The Arab scholars had learnt the Sanskrit language very early in order to become familiar with Indian philosophy and sciences of astronomy and medicine, which attracted them much. India's advanced civilization and elegance of manners also fascinated them. *Vide* Elliot and Dawson, Vol. V, p. 572; Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4.

25. The Baramakah ministers (753-802 A.D.) of the Abbaside Khilafat of Bagdad attracted Hindu scholars to Bagdad and encouraged them to translate with the help of Arabs, the Hindu works on mathematics, astronomy, medicine, etc. These Baramakah ministers were, according to Maulana Sayyid Sulayman Nadwi, of Hindu origin. (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84, 102-104). Under the patronage of Khalifa Mansur and Harun-ar-Rashid and their Baramakah ministers the Hindu scholars worked assiduously in the medical and literary departments of the kingdom of Bagdad and translated into Arabic several Hindu

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Al Biruni (973-1048 A.D.) studied Sanskrit diligently and was so proficient in it that he could translate into, as well as from, Sanskrit. He was fascinated by the Indian philosophy, especially as expounded in the *Bhagvad Gita*. He has composed a wonderful book named *Kitab-al-Hind*, popularly known as *Al Biruni's India*, which is unique in Muslim literature. Hindus gave him the title "Vidyasagara" *i.e.* 'ocean of learning.' He translated Sanskrit into Arabic for the benefit of Arabian scholars, who got acquainted with astronomy and other Hindu sciences through him. He also translated Arabic works into Sanskrit in order that the Hindus can have an idea of the new researches of Persian and Arab astronomers. Biruni thus served as a cultural link between the Hindus and the Muslims. He was, in the words of Vincent Smith, 'one of the most gifted scientific men known to history.'[26] Muhammad bin Israil-al-Tanukhi also travelled early in India to learn the Sanskrit system of astronomy. Amir Khusrav mentions that the Arab astronomer Abu Ma'shar came to Benares and studied astronomy there for ten years.[27]

Several Muhammadan emperors before Akbar are known to have got Sanskrit works translated into Persian. Firoz Shah Tughluq, middle of the fourteenth century, ordered a work on philosophy to be translated under the name of *Dalail-i-Firuz Shahi*. There is another translation from Sanskrit into Persian, done in Firuz Shah's reign.[28] A work on veterinary art was translated from Sanskrit by order of Ghyiasu-d-din Muhammad Shah, son of Mahmud Shah. This rare book, called *Kurrutu-l Mulk* was translated as early as 1381 A.D. These translations clearly indicate that Muslim scholars were well acquainted with Sanskrit language and literature during this period.[29]

Thus a tendency is noticeable among the Muslim emperors and aristocracy of India to appreciate Hindu life and culture, considerably prior to Akbar's time. In Gujarat too, we come across striking instances of this tendency, and, what is more interesting, they are found in the ordinary strata of Muslim society. Though considerable historical material and early literature of Gujarat still remains to be explored, we come across instances of Muslim inscriptions written in Sanskrit in a manner which reveals their profound admiration for Hindu culture. Similarly literary compositions written in *Apabhramsa*, the language of the people during C. 600 to 1200 A.D. and in early vernaculars, by Muslim writers, have come to light. Some of them were considered so elegant as to induce eminent Jain monks to write on them scholarly commentaries in Sanskrit. We shall review them here in brief.

A *Muslim* inscription of Somnath Patan was found written in Sanskrit during the reign of the Vaghela King Arjunadeva (V.S. 1320, A.D. 1264), recording the building of a mosque at Somnath Patan, by Muhammadan ship-owners of Ormuz in Iran, and the endowment of land, shops and other property for its upkeep. The surplus income of the property is directed to be utilized in the celebration of Muslim religious festivals and the remainder thereafter is to be sent to Mecca and Medina. The local *jamaths* (*jama'ats*) or congregations of Muslims are entrusted with the supervision of the trust. This inscription was first noticed at Veraval by Col. Tod, and was commented on and translated by E. Hultzsch in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, 1882.

It begins with a peculiar benediction :

Om
Om Namah, Sri Visvanathaya
Namaste Visvanathaya Visvarupa namostu te
Namaste Sunyarupaya laksalaksa namostu te[30]

"Om, Om. Adoration to holy Visvanatha. Adoration to Thee who art the Lord of the Universe, adoration to Thee whose form is the universe, adoration to Thee whose form is the void, adoration to Thee who art visible and invisible (at the same time)."

This form of *mangala* or benediction is not met with in other inscriptions of this period. It appears to be an adaptation of some *ayats* in the opening and other chapters of Al-Quran, like the following :

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works on mathematics, astrology, medicine, literature and statecraft. A *Pandit* from Sind, who visited Bagdad in 762 A.D. took with him the Sanskrit astronomical work *Brihaspati Siddhanta*, which was translated into Arabic under the name *As-Sind-Hind*. It was later followed by the translation of *Arya Bhatta*, under the name *Arj band*. Arabs mastered Hindu astronomy and even supplemented the Hindu system. The names of Arab astronomers like Hasan bin Sabbah, Hasan bin Khasib, Hatim Tabrizi Abdullah Marwazi, and Abu Rihyan Buruni or Al Biruni (9th to 11th century A.D.) are outstanding in this connection. Numerous terms in Arabic astronomy are derived from Sanskrit : *e.g.*, Arabic *Kardjah*, Sanskrit *Kramajya* ; Arabiv *Jayb*, Sanskrit *Jya* ; Arabic *Awj*, Sanskrit *Ucca*; Arabic *Urayn* (the normal position) Sanskrit *Ujjain*; Arabic *Bazmasah*, Sanskrit *Adhikamasa*. The Arabic method of writing the figures 1 to 9 has been borrowed from the Hindus. (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112, 115-119). Similarly the Arabs borrowed the Hindu system of medicine. It is well-known that when Harun-ar-Rashid fell ill and could not be cured by the Arab physicians, a Hindu physician named Manaka (Sanskrit—Manikya ?) was sent for from India, and he cured the Khalif. Manikya helped the medical department of the State and translated the treatise of *Susruta* into Arabic under the name *Sasru*. He also translated a Hindu treatise on poisons. *Charaka* was first translated into Persian and then into Arabic. Similarly a work named *Siddhisthana* was translated under the name *Sandhastan*. *Qast-Hindi* and *Janjabil* or ginger are mentioned in the Quran. Similarly the Arabic *Itrifal* is to be traced to Sanskrit *triphala* (Nadwi, *Ibid*, pp. 119-124). Similarly Hindu works on veterinary science were also translated into Arabic. So also Hindu works on the science of war and statecraft, chemistry, logic, poetics, mesmerism, etc., were translated into Arabic during the first five centuries or so of the Hijra era. Stories from the Mahabharata were translated into Arabic by Abu-al-Hasan Ali Jibilli in 1026 A.D. Numerous Hindu stories, too, appear to have travelled to Arabia. Kalila'wa Dimnah, a favourite work of fables in Arabia, is traced to the *Pancha Tantra* by Biruni. (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-136). Yaaqubi (died 900 A.D.) has written a history of peoples, in which he has described those books which were translated from Indian languages into Arabic. Qadi Saad Andulusi (died 1069 A.D.) has written a history of art and literature of civilized nations, which includes a chapter on India. Ibn-e-Abi Usayba'ah Muwaffaq-al-Din (1270 A.D.) has written biographies of eminent physicians of the world, including Indian. (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-82).

26. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 194.
27. R. C. Majumdar, *Advanced History of India*, p. 275.
28. Elliot, V, 573.
29. *Ibid*, 574, 572.
30. This is also an epithet of Siva.

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Al-Hamdu Lillah-i-Rabbil, 'Alamin :
"All praises to God, the Lord of Universes."—(Ch. I).

Allahu La Ilaha Illa Huw al-Hayy al-Qayyum :
"There is no God but God, the living, the self-subsisting."—(Ch. III).

Fa innallah Huw al-Ghaniyyul Hamid :
"Verily God is self-sufficient and worthy to be praised."—(Ch. XXXI).

Huw al-Awwal wal-Akhir waz-zahir wal Batin :
"He is the first and the last ; the manifest and the hidden."—(Ch. LVII).

The date of the inscription is given thus :

Bodhaka-Rasula-Mahammad-Samvat 662 tatha Sri-Nripa-Vikrama-Sam 1320 tatha Srimad-Valabhi-Sam 945.

i.e.—"In the year of the Prophet Muhammad (*i.e.*, Hijra year) 662, in the Vikrama Samvat 1320, and in the Valabhi Samvat...."

The inscription mentions the ruling king of Gujarat, during whose reign the grant is made, with all the usual titles, and it refers to the chief priest of the temple of Somnath with marked respect :

Sri-Somanathadeva-Pattane Parama-Pasupatacharya-Mahapandita-Mahattara-Dharmmamurtti-Ganda Sri-Paravirabhadra.

i.e.—"In the town of Sri Somanathadeva Mahattara Ganda Sri Paravirabhadra, the great teacher of the Pasupatas, the great scholar, an incarnation of the god of Justice."

The name of the purchaser, the seller and the details regarding the land purchased are mentioned thus :

Hurmuja-vela-kule Amira-Sri Rukanadina-rajye paripanthayati sati Karyavasat Sri Somanathadeva-nagaram samayata-Harmuja-desiya-Khoja Nau. Abubrahima-suta Nakhu. Naradina Pirojena raja. Sri-Nanasiha-suta Vrha raja Sri-Chada prabhritinam parsvat Sri Somanathadeva-nagarabahye Santisthamanabhukhandam Samupattam.

i.e.—"While on the shore of the Hurmuz coast the reign was conducted by the Amir Sri Ruknuddin, the ship-owner Nuruddin Piroz, son of ship-owner Khoja Abu Ibrahim, a native of Hurmuz, who had come for some business to the town of Sri-Somanathadeva bought a piece of land situated outside the town of Sri-Somanathadeva, from the great man Raja (Kula) Sri-Chada, son of Raja (Kula) Sri-Nanasiha."

On this piece of land Piroz erected a masjid in accordance with the code of his religion with the help of Sri-Chada:

Tatah Nakhu—Pirojena Svadharmasastrabhi-prayena mijigiti dharmasthanam Sri-chada-Sakhayatvenad dharmabandhavena karitam.

For the maintenance of this mosque the following property is assigned:

Asya mijigiti dharmasthanasya varttapanartham pratidinam puja-dipa-taila-paniya[31] *tatha Malima*[32] *Modina*[33] *Masapathaka*[34] *tatha nauvittakanam samacarena Baratirabikhatamarati*[35] *visesa puja-mahotsava Karapanar tham tatha prativarsam chohacuna bhagnavisirnna samaracanartham . . . Sri-Baulesvaradeviya samagra palladika . . . tatha 'ghani . . . tatha hattadvayam . . . Udakena pradattam.*

i.e.—"For the maintenance of this place of worship (called) Masjid, for the lamps, oil, and water (required for) the daily worship, and for (the appointment of) a preceptor, a crier to prayers, and a monthly reader (of the Quran), and for the payment of the expenses of the particular religious festivals of *Baratira-bikhatamarati* according to the custom of the sailors, and for the annual white-washing and repairs of rents and defects, (confirming the gift) by (a liberation of water) were given ....the whole hamlet (palladika) belonging to (the temple of) Sri Baulesvara, and an oil-mill and two shops."

All the surplus that remains is to be sent to the holy places of Mecca and Medina :

Yat-kincit sestdravyam udgarati tat sarvam dravyam Makha-Madina dharmmasthane prasthapaniyam.

The *jamaths*[36] or congregations of the local Musalmans were entrusted with the management of the trust :

Nakhuyanorika-jamatha[37] *tatha khatibasahitasamasta sahadasakta 'ghattikanam jamatha*[38] *tatha cunakarajamatha*[39] *tatha pathapatinam*[40] *madhye Musalmana-jamatha prabhrtibhih samastairapi militva ayapadamidam palapaniyam dharmasthanamidam varttapaniyam ca.*

The inscription concludes with a curse on the future plunderers of the place :

Ya kopi dharmasthanamidam tatha ayapidam ca lopayati lopapayati ca sa papatma pancamahapataka dosena lipyate narakagami bhavati.

This inscription reveals some interesting facts. There were several Musalman congregations in one of the holiest places of the Hindus, Somanath Patan. They received warm support from the local Hindu celebrities in building a mosque and endowing property for its proper maintenance. Somanath, as Muslim historians tell us, was sacked more than once by Muslim conquerors. But this did not affect the Hindu spirit of toleration and generosity towards people of other faiths. The Muslims of this period did not live in isolation, but had imbibed several important elements of the sister-culture, and had fitted themselves into Indian life to a remarkable extent. They did not hesitate to use Sanskrit for their important inscrip-

31. (To provide for the expenses of) prayers, oil for lamps, and water for ablution.

32. *Malima*—Mu'allim, *i.e.*, one who leads the prayers.

33. *Modina*—Muwazzin, *i.e.*, one who gives *a zan* for prayers; one who calls the faithful to prayers.

34. *Masapathaka*—Hafiz, one who remembers the Quran by heart. It is the usual practice for the Hafiz to recite Al-Quran during the particular *namaz* prayers offered at night in the month of Ramzan, and complete the Holy Book at least once during the month. Hence the Sanskrit translaiion *Masapathaka*.

35. *Baratirabikhatamarati*—Certain festivals celebrated by the Muslims on the 14th of Sh'aban, the month preceding Ramzan. They are called Shab-e-barat (*i.e.*, the night of share or lots), the giver of fruits (*rabihah—thamarat*).

36. Jama'ats, congregations of Muslims.

37. Congregation of ship-owners.

38. *Sahadasakta ghattikanam jamatha*—the congregation of all the wharf-people who are devoted to the martyr ('Ali).

39. The congregation of the (Persian) artisans.

40. The congregation of the Musalmans among the landholders.

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tions, nor did they stint in paying a reverent tribute to the chief Hindu priest of Somanath.

Another outstanding example of Muslim admiration for contribution to the Hindu culture is the *Sandesa Rasaka* of Abdul Rahaman, written after the style of *Sandesa* poems like the *Meghaduta*, probably during the latter half of the 12th or the first half of the 13th century. The language of the poem is Apabhramsa, then the current popular speech of western India, from which have arisen the modern Gujarati, Rajasthani and western Hindi. The *Rasaka* won such celebrity that two Jaina monk-scholars were attracted to write *avacuris* or commentaries on it in Sanskrit. Abdul Rahaman, who very probably belonged to western India, was the son of a weaver, Mirasena by name, a good scholar of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa, in which latter he had many poetical compositions to his credit.

The present composition is a remarkable specimen of Apabhramsa poetry. Its depiction of moods and sentiments is very powerful and its description of the seasons is quite attractive. The most striking aspect of the *Rasaka* in the present reference is the Muslim poet's profound sympathy and respect for Hindu life and culture. Describing Mulasthana (modern Multan) he says :

> "There everyone is learned. Charming Prakrit verses in melodious tunes are heard while moving about in the city. At some places (Brahmins) well-versed in the four Vedas expound the Vedas. At other places a *Rasaka* (a dramatic composition) is played by actors. At some places is heard the *Sadayavatsakatha*, at other places *Nalacharitra*, at still other places the Mahabharata. At some places eminent Brahmin ascetics are uttering benedictions; (while) in other places (episodes from) the Ramayana are acted."[41]

This charming poem has been recently edited by that great savant, Muni Sri Jinavijayaji in the Singhi Jaina Series. It is a remarkable instance of the Muslim contribution to Indian culture. In later times too we come across Muslim poets contributing to Indian literature. Amir Khusrau's (1325 A.D.) poetical works in early Hindustani, and Malik Mohammad Jayasi's *Padamavata* (1540 A.D.) in the early Avadhi language, are instances in point. Writings of Muslim poets like Kabir and Rahim have become an immortal cultural heritage of India. Contribution to Indian culture by Muslim writers is in evidence upto about the 19th century in Gujarat and in other parts of India.

Correspondingly Hindus, particularly their upper castes like Nagars and Kayasthas took keen interest in Persian language and literature. Some of them could even vie with Muslim scholars in their mastery over Persian. They must have started studying it out of necessity, perhaps to qualify themselves for state-service. But later they developed keen interest in Persian language and literature. In Surat, for instance, the Nagars and Kayasthas held *Musha'iras* where they recited their *qasidas*. To some the study of Persian literature became such an obsession that they adopted for themselves names like 'Sahebrai' and 'Mijlasrai,' and even performed the sacred Hindu ceremonies like the *Sandhya* in Persian.

Some of the Hindu scholars have composed notable works in Persian. Thakordas Daru, a Kayastha of Surat, sent a *qasida* to the Mughal emperor every year. Nandalal Munshi of Broach (C. 1700) attracted the attention of Emporor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748 A.D.) by his poems. Kavi Bhagavandas (1681-1746) a divan of the Nawab of Surat, composed poetry in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, besides Sanskrit, Gujarati and Marathi. Sridasa, a Nagar Brahmin, composed *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* (1731 A.D.), a history of the reign of Aurangzeb. While Mithalal Kayastha (C. 1750 A.D.) is known to have furnished to Muhammad Ali Khan a considerable part of the material for the celebrated history Mirat-i-Ahmadi.[42] The celebrated Kathiawari Nagar Minister Diwan Ranchhodji Amarji (1768-1841 A.D.) wrote in Persian an account of Kathiawar named *Waqa'i-i-Sorath* (C. 1825 A.D.), and epistles entitled Ruqaat-i-Gunagun. The Gujarati poets Samal (C. 1700-C. 1752 A.D.), Manoharaswami (1788-1845 A.D.) were well-acquainted with Persian. Numerous other Persian works of Hindu writers have been lost on account of the ignorance of their descendants. This tradition of Persian scholarship among Hindu writers continued almost up to recent times. The late Prof. N. B. Divatia's father and grand-father, R. B. Bholanath and Sarabhai were good scholars and writers of Persian, and so too was the late *Masta Kavi* Balashankar Ullasaram Kantharia. Today D. B. K. M. Jhaveri is acknowledged in Gujarat as an erudite scholar of Persian. Similarly it is well-known that several eminent Hindu citizens of U. P. including men like the late Pandit Motilal Nehru have been good scholars of Persian. Sir T. B. Sapru's proficiency in and affection for both the Persian and Arabic languages is acknowledged on all hands. Several Hindu

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41. *Sandesa Rasaka* of Abdul Rahaman. Ed. Jinhavijayaji Muni. Singhi Jain Series, 1945, vss. 42-44.

This description reminds us of a lovely poem by an Arab poet, Abu Dala Sindhi, in praise of India, which was his motherland It appears to have been composed sometime between the 9th or 10th century A.D. and 1287 A.D. The Arab poet's love for his motherland, and his estimation of her wealth and charms, is indeed noteworthy. He describes his motherland thus :

"By my life, this is the land which, when rain falls on it, grows milk, and pearls and rubies for people devoid of adornments.

"It produces musk, camphor, ambergris and other innumerable perfumes for those who are unclean.

"It produces attars of various kinds, *jayaphala*, hyacinth, ivory, teak wood, perfume sticks and sandal.

* * * *

"Among the weapons it produces are swords, which never need polishing, and spears which, when they are hurled, would push back armies."

"Then, could there be any one but a fool, who would refuse to acknowledge these merits of India ?" (Qizwini, *'Asar-al-Bilad*, p. 85; cited by Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79).

42. Gujarati Literature and Muslim Culture, D. B. K. M. Jhaveri, *Madhyakalno Sahityapravaha*, 1929, pp. 205-209.

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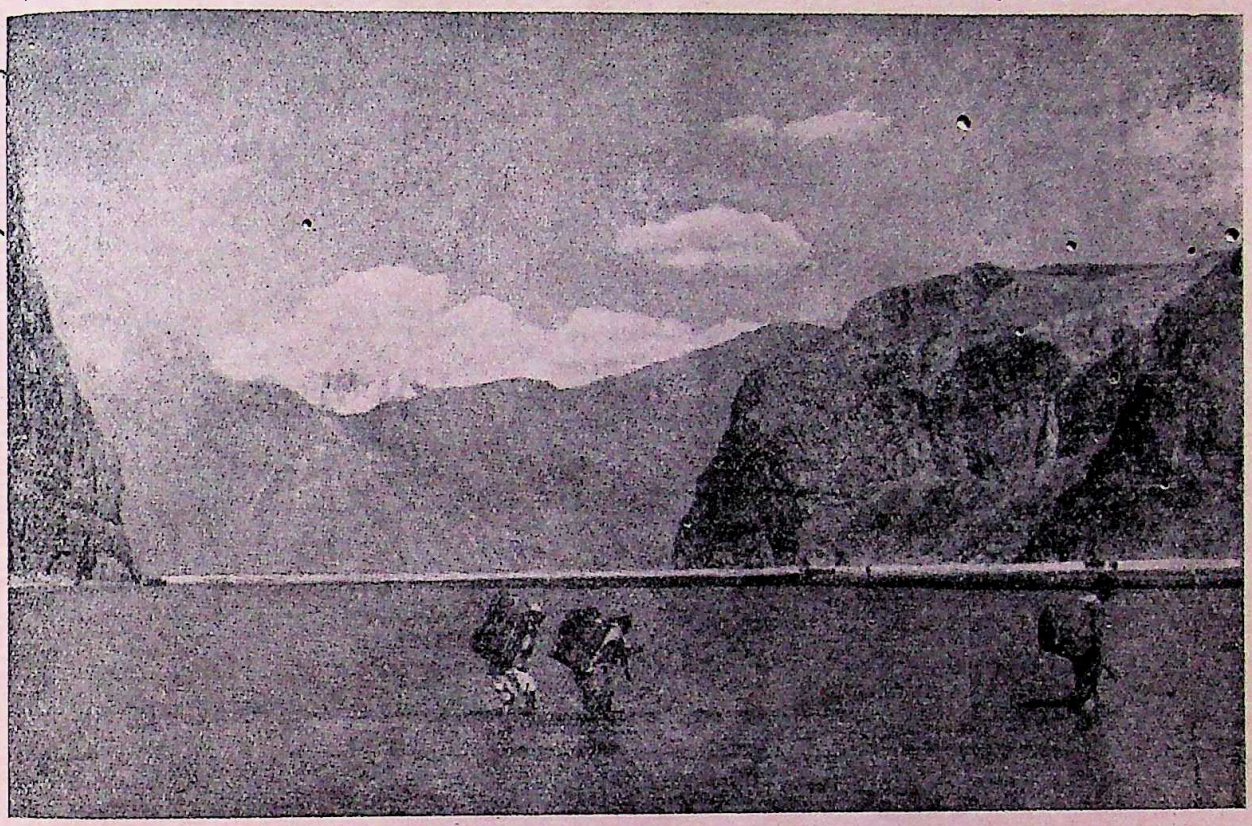
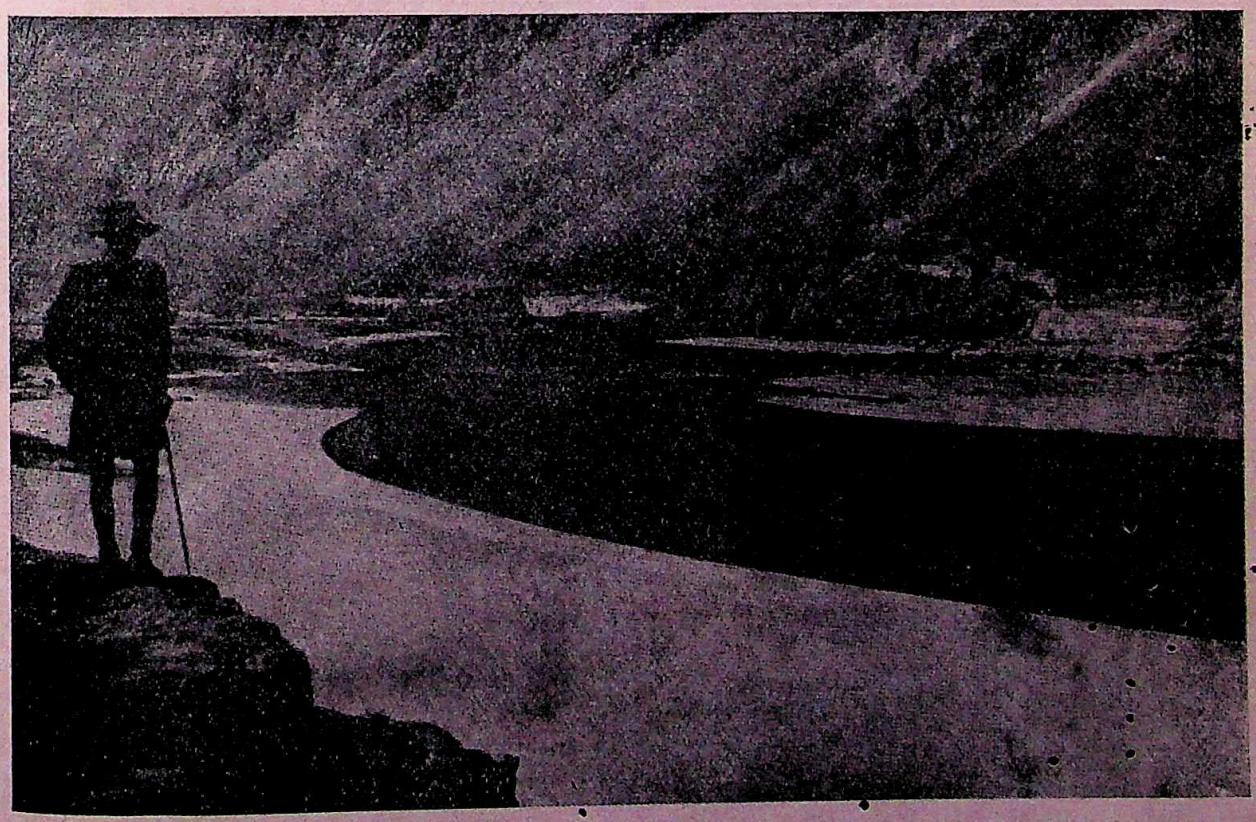


Crossing the Shyok near Khaplu, north of Kashmir



The Shyok valley, steeply enclosed, is more open and sandy than that of the Indus

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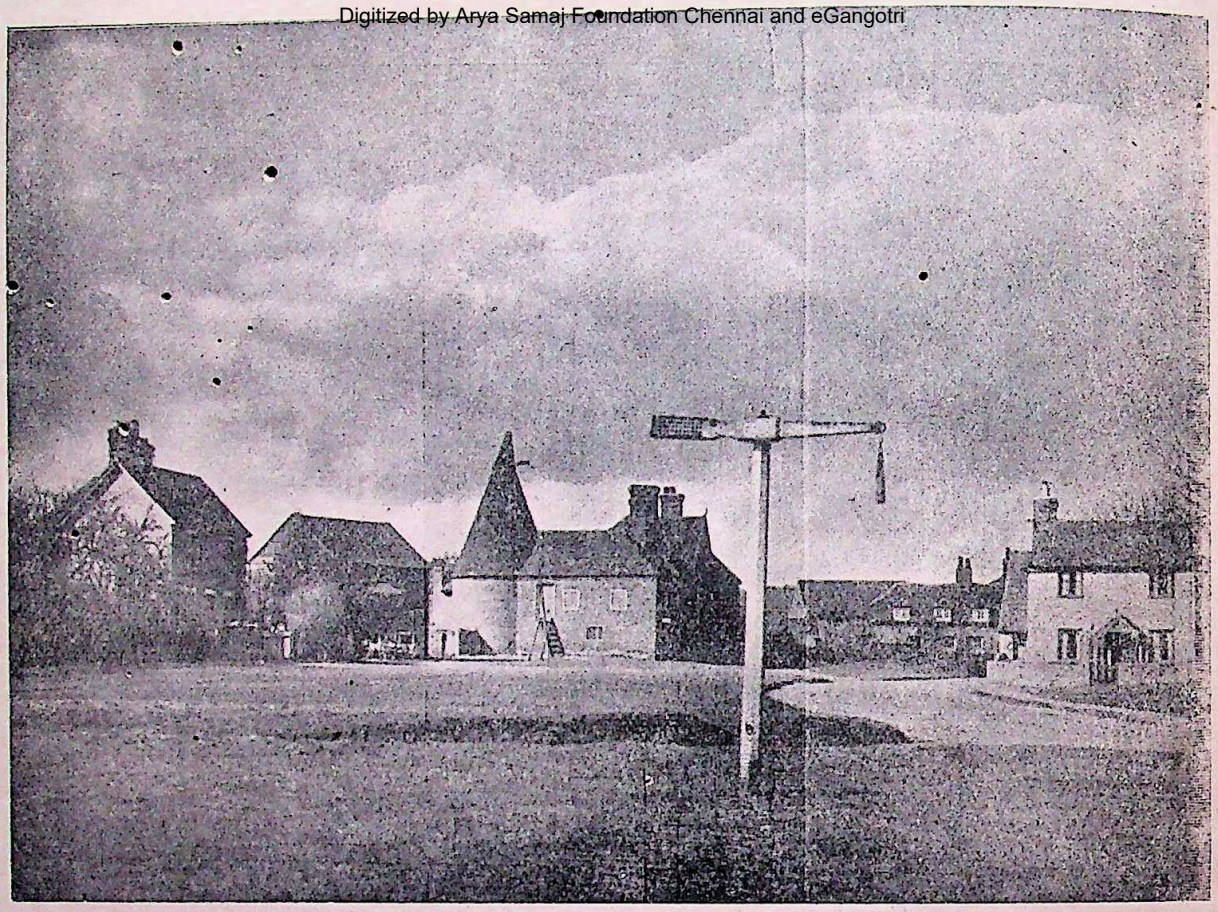
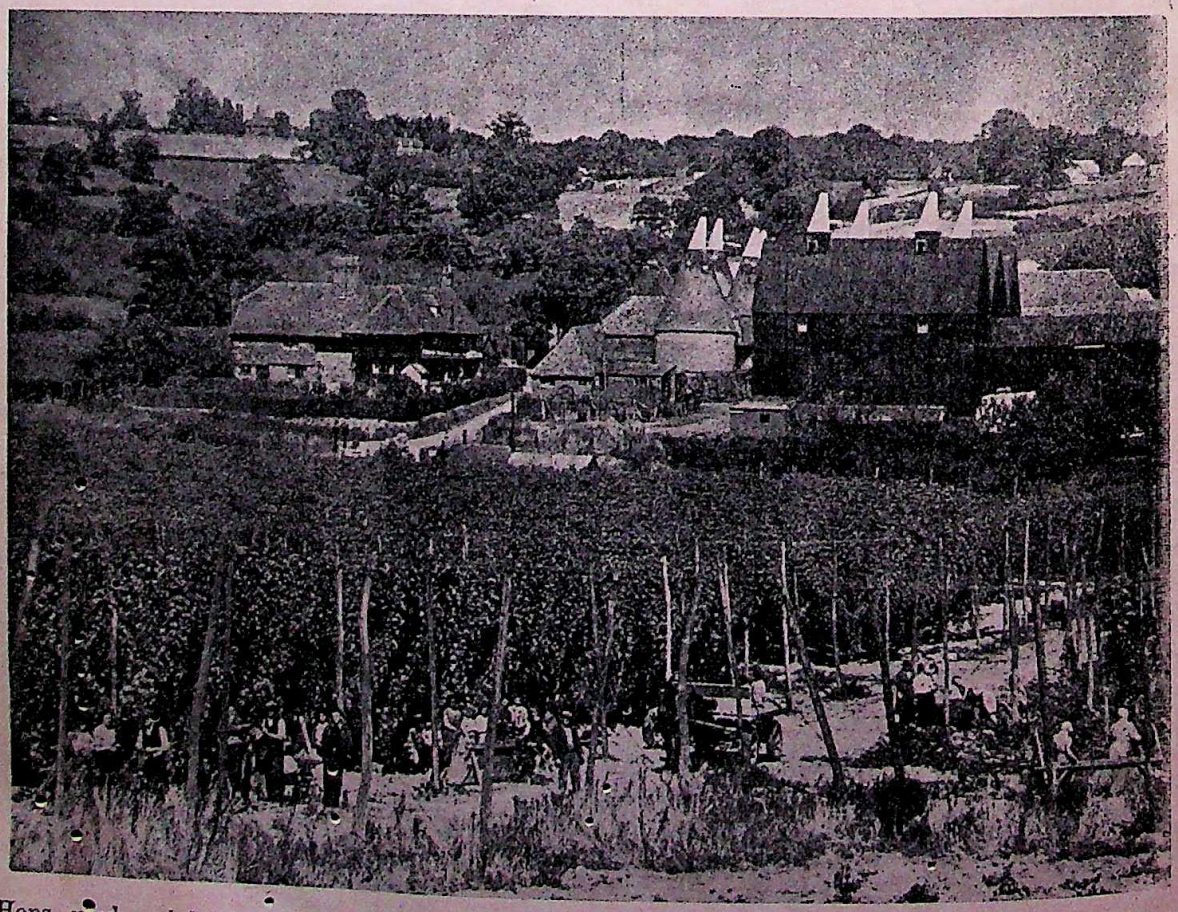


A typical village of Kent, undisturbed through the ages



Hops, used mainly for the brewing of beer, are important among the many crops grown in Kent

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writers of the present day, like "Sudarshan", "Premchandji", Ramnath Sarshar, Brijnarayan Chakbast, Pandit Brijmohan Dattatreya Kayafi, Lala Shri Ram, Manoharlal Zutshi, Dayanarayan Nigam, Jwalaprasad Barq, are acknowledged masters of Urdu literature.

It is only during the last fifty years or so that the mutual culture contacts between the two communities, have dwindled and almost ceased.

The isolationist tendency among the present-day Muslims seems to have been responsible for this result. The recent revivalist tendency among the Hindus may have also to a certain extent contributed to it.

From the foregoing survey emerge the following points:

In the heyday of Hindu rule, the rulers and the people treated Muslims with remarkable toleration and kindness. The greatest of the Rajput kings of Gujarat considered it their duty to see that all their subjects—whatever their creed or community—were afforded such protection as would enable them to live in peace. Muslims reciprocated by fraternizing with the Hindus and taking interest in and contributing to their culture. This served as a golden link between them and their Hindu brethren. Hindus in later times studied Persian language and assimilated Persian culture to a remarkable degree.

Let us hope that Muslim scholars today will emulate the example of poets like Abdul Rahaman, who drank deep at the fountain of Hindu culture, and inspired by its noble sentiments made an invaluable contribution to contemporary Indian literature, and that Hindu scholars will study Persian language and appreciate Muslim culture. That will bring the two communities close to each other as nothing else can, and bind them together in ties of love and mutual respect.

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HINDI AND HINDUSTANI

Speaker, C. P. and Berar Legislative Assembly
By G. S. GUPTA,

The language controversy is coming to the forefront. This is but natural. After the British have retired from India the political reason for the dominance of the English language has ceased to exist and there is a quest as to what language or languages should take its place (except where the need of English may still be felt for reasons other than political). No responsible person holds that English can go in the twinkling of an eye. It would have already gone if it were so simple.

English had the monopoly in certain vital spheres of our activities, *e.g.*, in administration, in law and as a medium of higher education. These fields were the close preserve of English and our languages simply could not touch them. In the other fields that were open to our languages, they showed their potentiality in no mean manner. The works of Bankim and Tagore can stand comparison to any in the world. So it was not the lack of capacity in our languages for growth but their forced disuse that has stunted their progress. Nor did we lack genius. The present Civil Procedure Code owes much to the acumen and ability of Dr. Sir Rashbehari Ghosh. We could produce such giants in sciences as Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and Dr. Sir C. V. Raman even in such adverse conditions. There is no wonder, therefore, that there is a genuine and universal feeling that we must not remain tied down to English for all time or in all those spheres where English predominated. But we must not shut our eyes to the obvious difficulties and the complexity of the problem. If we fail to appreciate them or if our approach is not on sound lines, then instead of solving our problem we may just complicate matters. This may even lead to provincial jealousies and mutual suspicion which we must avoid. There are many problems like medium of University education in different provinces which are coming to the forefront. But my purpose in this short article is not to deal with all or many of them. I want to confine this article to one specific question; and that is, what should be the language of the Centre, which, in the Draft Constitution, is to be called Union of India. Mere repetition of sound slogans like *Rashtra Bhasha* or national language won't serve. We must examine the question somewhat closely. What do we want to achieve? From where do we want to dethrone English so far as this particular question is concerned? Is it from the market places, the bazaars and our houses? Was the common man's parlance in our own language in any way banned to us by any enactment or ordinance of the British Government? No, certainly not. We could speak whatever language or dialect which suited us in our homes, in bazaars and in public meetings. The same person sometimes has to speak somewhat differently in different places if he wants to be understood by the local audience in a meeting. So the problem is really different. It is not the common man's parlance. If we remember this while discussing this question, much of the misunderstanding will be removed. The question is, in what language shall the administration of the Union be conducted; in what language shall our laws be framed by the

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Union? When we consider these things one inevitable factor presents itself to us, and it is that in the fields of law and administration looseness of thought and expression won't do. We will have to express our thoughts and ideas accurately and without leaving them open to doubt. We will have to provide for fine shades of distinction like consent and assent, trade, profession, calling and employment; sentence, punishment and penalty; and a thousand others. The vocabulary of common parlance will not do; at any rate it will not suffice. We have to search for suitable words to express those ideas. We may have to coin a lot of them. So, to my mind, it is not so much the question of language—Hindi or Hindustani—but one of vocabulary. What should be our source for these new words? Should it be Sanskrit or should it be Arabic and Persian is the real question. If Sanskrit, the language would be called Hindi although the vocabulary would be equally Bengali, Marathi and any other language of the Dominion of India. If it would be Arabic or Persian, then the language would be Urdu or Hindustani. Some people think that we can draw our new words from both the sources, that is Sanskrit and Arabic and Persian. I am one of those who seriously doubt this proposition. We can have either but not both. If we have both, shall we call arrest *dhritkaran*[1] and re-arrest *giraftariaye-mukarrar*[2]; law as *vidhi*[3] and lawless as *kanoon shikan*.[4] This will be preposterous. We must remember that we are not planning for ourselves but for generations to come. Any attempt to draw new words from both the sources will put a heavy weight on our boys. Not only will they have to learn two different sets of words—Sanskritic and Perso-Arabic—but they will also have to learn two different sets of grammar. I will illustrate my point. From *vidya*[5] and *arth*[6] we have *vidyarthi*[7], but from *ilm*[8] and *talab*[9] it won't be *ilmtalib*[10]; it would be *talibe ilm*.[11] Our *arthvidya*[12] after the fashion of *talibe ilm*[13] will mean quite a different thing. So it won't suffice for the future student of our country to know the words *ilm*[14] and *talib*[15] but he must also master the grammar of it before he can make use of those words. Then again, my fear is that even if we put on the boys the heavy burden of mastering Arabic and Persian words, which are more foreign to us than Sanskrit words, and of learning two different sets of grammar, we are likely to fumble at the first real test. To give an example, the preamble to the Draft Constitution of India says:

> "'We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to its citizens, justice—social, economic and political . . '"

N.B.—Now, let us take the words "justice—social, economic and political."

This has been translated in Urdu, which we may call Hindustani as follows: *Insaf mile—samaji, maashi, our siyasi*.[16] Now suppose the word *samaji*[17] came before a court of law. The question will arise, is it like *dhandi, hasti* and *kari*[18] or it is like *maasi* and *siyasi*.[19] These would convey two different meanings. In Hindi and Bengali *samaji*[20] will mean one having a *samaj*.[21] In Arabic and Persian it will mean appertaining to *samaj*[22] and the two in a court of law are quite distinct things. It may do well in a bazaar but it won't do when we write constitutions and laws to have a word, which according to our own standard and canon, can mean two different things. What I am trying to impress is that by resorting to Hindustani, a mixture of Hindi and Urdu, we are likely to land ourselves in difficulties even after we have cut ourselves away from languages of Sanskritic origin like Bengali, Marathi and Gujrati. To my mind, therefore, the language, or in other words the vocabulary, of the Centre has to be from Sanskrit which will, therefore, be called Hindi. Our nationalism requires it more than anything else because if we have *dhritkaran*[23] for arrest, our terms will be uniform throughout the Dominion of India. But if we have *giraftariaye-mukarrar*[24] for re-arrest we shall be making ourselves understood to a very limited part of the Dominion.

There is another very important point. Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Civil Procedure Code, Evidence Act, etc., are in the Concurrent List. The Centre as well as the Provinces, to be called States, can legislate on them. It is therefore absolutely essential that our vocabulary should be the same throughout the Dominion of India. Otherwise there is bound to be chaos ultimately leading to disintegration.

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१ धृतकरण २ गिरफ्तारि-ए-मुकर्रर ३ विधि
४ कानून शिकन
५ विद्या ६ अर्थ ७ विद्यार्थी ८ इल्म ९ तलब
१० इल्म तालिब ११ तालिबे इल्म १२ अर्थ विद्या
१३ तालिबे इल्म
१४ इल्म १५ तालिब

१६ इन्साफ मिले—समाजी मआसी और सियासी
१७ समाजी १८ दंडी, हस्ती करी १९ मआसी सियासी
२० समाजी २१ समाजी २२ समाज
२३ धृतकरण २४ गिरफ्तारि-ए-मकर्रर

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THE MOTHER AND THE SON

By SANTA DEVI

[*Translated from the original Bengali by Miss Shyamasree Nag, B.A.*]

The elder daughter-in-law was busy with her toilet. On the bed, beside the dressing-table, lay three gold-embroidered *Benaresi saris*—one purple, the other *mayurkanthi*, and the third a dazzling flame colour. Mukul ran her comb briskly through the mass of her hair, while she tried to decide whether the sleeveless brocade blouse or the yellow jacket decorated with the wide Surati gold border would be more suitable for her *sari*. A lacquer casket stood on her dressing-table and over its lid a string of pearls and a diamond necklace lay sparkling. Mukul was not satisfied with her coiffure; it came too low down on the nape of her neck. She undid it and then with a large comb pushed the thick strands of her hair up, nearly on the middle of her head. Tying the base of her long tresses with a ribbon, she stood with her back to the dressing-table mirror and looked into the full-length mirror in front of her. Twisting her hair up into a loose bun, she held it in both hands and surveyed the effect. Ah, was it not becoming! Tiny ringlets, beneath the high coiffure, hung at the smooth white nape of her neck (like a picture from Ajanta). Was it not a shame to cover up such a coiffure with the veil? But anyway, a plain bun under the veil, would have looked stunning either!

Her husband's younger sister entered the room and stared at her, surprised.

"Heavens! *bowdi*," she said, "is it *dada's* wedding today, or *chorda's*? The new *bowdi* falls far below you, so far as beauty is concerned—and now, if you dazzle each and every person by dressing up in that manner, then nobody would even notice the poor thing."

"What must I do, may I know?" Mukul retorted. "Would it please you all if I smear some ink on my face and throw away my *saris* and ornaments into a dust-bin? Well, then, say so—and it might be done!"

Poor Maya, being a good-natured soul, hastily softened down and said, "Of course not dear! Who else should dress up but you, with no children to torture you all day long, as in our case?"

"Well, *that* is the problem," said Mukul, pouting her lips, "you cannot help being jealous of my childlessness and yet you weep your heart off until a noisy little friend comes and settles on your lap. I never cared for such stuff. A Bengali child is a nuisance—having dysentery and liver troubles every other day! I would have had to go without food and sleep, and so, it is better as it is."

"But even then," Maya replied, "I have never heard of anyone liking a lonely childless home!"

Mukul did not answer. She draped the purple *Benaresi* around herself and walked out of her room, fixing the veil over her head.

Maya's aunt entered the room, panting breathlessly, "*Bowma*," she said, "the pantry door is wide open—all the sweets will be stolen, dear!"

"*Bowdi* is frightfully busy with her *saris* and jewels," replied Maya, "has she any spare time to take charge of the pantry? It is only a few seconds that she has finished her toilet and gone out of here. We mere women must bear the burden of the whole world—even when our children are constantly at our heels—while ladies like her are so busy eating, dressing and sleeping that they have no time for work!"

"Bless the little dears!" said her aunt, "God grant them long life! It is just because you have come that I see some fresh little faces and so forget my misery. Otherwise, this house is nothing but a hospital! *Dada* groans with his gout in his room, while I gasp with asthma in mine. The boys are untraceable the whole day—they do not turn up till ten at night. And our daughter-in-law is, of course, unique! Her sole concerns are the shops, the market, the tailor and the jeweller; and as she has a motor car tied to her heels, she does just that all day long. If she had a little imp in her lap, she would have wanted to stay at home, just to fondle it for a while."

Maya said, "Seven years have passed since her marriage, when will she ever have a child? She is as old as I and my Panu was a six-months' baby at the time of her wedding. She ought to see a doctor now. If I try to tell her, she will eat me up, of course!"

"She will rush to eat you up, indeed!" replied her aunt. "She can't escape such a fate if she has such a nature. Does any one in this modern age realise that motherhood is the result of the strictest penance? The past age could have taught her a lesson! Eight years after my aunt's wedding, my grandmother pushed a second wife into my uncle's home. The virtuous lady bore everything patiently all her life but never blamed anyone but her fate. She never touched a luxury throughout her life, she used to say—what right have I to use those things, my only wish is to have the *sindoor-mark* always on my forehead."

"What is the use of telling such old tales?" Maya said, "we will be glad enough, if the new bride makes our family grow! But she also is a grown-up girl of nineteen, who knows of what sort she is?"

Aunt answered, "Her mother has five sons and three daughters, I have heard. That had made us bring her, hoping she would have two or three, at least. Otherwise, we do not bring a bride just to spend some money!"

Mukul heard her words as she was entering the room to keep in her almirah the *sari* the new bride had worn in the reception feast. Her face darkened for

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a moment, but she entered the room with a forced smile on her lips. Even then, she heard Maya saying, "Father built this huge house and mother made it the home of her heart's desire. It is also full of memories of my grandmother. The heavy cupboards and bedsteads, the household utensils, silver and gold, are even now clothed with years of their loving touch. What is the use of all this, if *bowdi* has no children ?"

"Why sister dear !" said Mukul, as she stepped across the threshold, "Is there any cause for such anxiety ? Everybody is not like me, and even then your children are there and they might take care of the household."

"Bowma!" said the irritated aunt, "you are their own aunt. Don't hint so unkindly at the little dears !"

(2)

Mukul led a contented life with youth, beauty, ornaments and mode of toilet. Being one of five children in a middle-class family, she never was much acquainted with wealth or luxury. When seeing her wealthy friends and relations she wished to wear a *Benaresi sari* she had to be satisfied with a Santipuri striped one. When she wanted jewels to sparkle all over her, with each movement of her young body, she had to spend her days adorning herself only with two shell-bracelets around each of her wrists. Her heart shed silent tears when she inspected in her mirror the thousand defects in her mode of toilet. But she could not protest as she knew she was one of five children of poor parents ! All of a sudden, because of her pretty complexion, she was married away to a rich family ! Now, all the unfulfilled desires and untasted pleasures—of whose existence she had feared to admit even to herself—crowded towards her, each with its individual claims. She did not forget to satisfy any of her desires, such as enjoying the luxury of *saris*, ornaments, a car and furniture, together with social pleasures and merriments. Even now, one desire was giving rise to another. Seven years of pleasant experience has made Mukul realise that there was no end to human desire. If each new desire could be fulfilled in life what would remain to be yet desired for ? This is life. But even into this bower of complete happiness, the fresh little face of a child never peeped. Mukul used to think that the vast future would attend to that. Now was the time to ignore such problems and enjoy the pleasures of life !

But Mukul woke up from her dreams after her brother-in-law's wedding and realised that seven years have slipped by while there was a stir of anxiety in the whole family.

It was eight months or so, since the arrival of the younger daughter-in-law. She was not keeping well. Her mother wanted her to be sent to her immediately. Mukul has come to her husband's study, to make arrangements.

In the sultry summer afternoon Jayant Babu lay stretched on his easy-chair under the electric fan and tried to discover the special features of Mussolini's character. But the soft enticement of sleep had nearly made him forsake Mussolini when Mukul came and, running her fingers through his hair, said, "Listen darling ! the day after tomorrow is an auspicious one and so, if you can inform them today at your convenience, they can take *choto-bow* away early that day."

Jayant put his legs down from the arm of the chair and sat up. "Why will they take *bowma* away now ?" he asked in a hoarse inaudible voice.

Mukul shook her husband by his shoulder and said, "Rather ! now, stop being a fool ? As if you know nothing. It is her first time and we should send her to her father's. Who would be able to take care of her like her mother ?"

Jayant looked at Mukul's face and said, "Even Sukant is to be a father before long ? I feel so tickled when I remember him with his books tucked under his arm, scheming to miss his college classes, just a few days ago !"

Jayant laughed out but it did not sound like sheer laughter. It rang discordant even in Mukul's ear. She could not give a reply in her customary taunting way, swinging her arms and jingling her earrings. Jayant himself raised the topic, "Well, dear ?" he said playing with the many bangles around her wrists, "Now Sukant will be the master of this house and when we grow old we would have to live on his children's charity. Let us rather leave this sham house and lead a hermit's life in the woods ! What do you think of the idea ?"

Mukul's heart gave a great leap. How could she being a woman, remain oblivious of this fact so long ? To the society her excessive adherence to self-decoration and household care would seem meaningless and momentary efforts to appease the heart. Who would believe her if she declared that she truly felt the greatest happiness through these acts ? Mukul had at last realised that this gorgeous life was like a bouquet of spring blossoms abundant in its colour and fragrance but yielding no fruit to Nature's creative mystery. A pain wrenched at her heart when she thought that her husband had realised this fact even before her. Yet she went and sat very close to Jayant and twisting around her finger the border of her red Daccai *sari*, murmured in an injured tone, "Why ? Are we two not enough for each other ? Is our own present happiness absolutely worthless ? Should everything depend on future ?"

Jayant patted her cheek and replied, "Of course, this has a value, Mukul. But how long is the present lesser than a moment, do you not think ? Surely, life means a tiny past and a vast future. We live our lives just for that future."

"Great heavens ! Now, please stop your metaphysical lectures !" exclaimed Mukul, "Such things will not get into my brain. If you are so very impatient of the present then why not go and marry once again like the gentlemen of old !"

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"Stop it, Mukul," Jayant said, "I do not want such words from your lips. Plenty of old gossips are still living to say them."

Suddenly, some one seemed to brand Mukul's heart with a red-hot iron. So this topic has been discussed already! Her seven-year-old home, her very own husband—could these people think easily and with one accord of snatching all this away from her, even in this twentieth century? Her eyes filled with tears. Drawing away from her husband, she pouted her lips and said, "So you all had discussions about this and still you kept it a secret from me? Excellent!" She could not think of any more words.

Jayant said, "Must I come and whisper into your ears every word that others say to hurt you?"

Mukul replied in an injured voice, "Why should you ever tell me, if you like to hear them yourself?"

Jayant did not answer.

He again lay back on the easy chair and began turning the leaves of a book. After a few moments' silence Mukul said, "Will you not tell me who those old gossips were? After living with me for seven years you just listened to their words patiently—could you not give a proper answer?"

"Goodness!" exclaimed Jayant, "Why should I answer? They were not talking to me! I just heard them talking among themselves. People always do tell such things in these cases—there is nothing to be so sore about it!"

"So you too?" said Mukul and stalked out of the room stamping her feet.

(3)

Mukul had never stayed at her father's house after her marriage. Even on an invitation she would return home on the evening of the very day. Jayant's family was well-known for its arrogance as the daughters-in-law were never much sent to visit their parents. Moreover, Mukul did not like to display before her relatives the wealth and splendour of this house. She was the daughter of poor parents; why would she humiliate her father by showing off her present wealth? Yet she never did wish to stay away from the princely grandeur.

But after so many years she quarrelled with her husband for nothing and went away to her parents. Mukul was terribly hurt as Jayant had refused to name the "old gossips" who had wanted to bring him another wife.

Her parents had a simple household. Both the brothers were married and their wives have had babies. The joys, the anxiety and the pleasures of the family were all because of the two little children. The elder daughter-in-law Sudha's daughter was a tiny tot, only two and a half years old and the younger daughter-in-law Beena had a year old son. Sudha's little girl Tuku would either lisp stray lines from the nursery rhymes all day long, or twisting and turning her chubby little arms and legs would start dancing. Sometimes she would offer her tiny little lap for her dear cousin and stretching her little arms would chirp pleadingly at her aunt for the baby.

The wise, precocious ways of Tuku were always making the two mothers laugh. When Tuku, in her anger, would puff up her fat cheeks and hiding her face would say, "I shan't talk wif you," Sudha, forgetting all her house-work would run to pick her up in her arms and kiss her till she forgot her anger.

The whole house, of course, was mad about the boy-baby. In addition to his being a wee little thing, he was the first son born in the family. His grandmother would collect coloured threads from the borders of old *saris* and embroider on his little patchwork quilts nursery rhymes that said, "Ah, my heart's treasure, my lotus-eyed one!" His mother, when she finished cooking, would take her baby on her lap and after dressing him up for the evening would put a *kajal* mark on his forehead, while she sang a nursery song that would drive the evil eye away from her child. The baby would gurgle merrily. His father and his uncle would inquire after the baby-boy the moment they returned from the office. A grimy little bundle of humanity would crawl over to his uncle and sit down on his beslippered feet. That was his way of wanting to sit on his lap as he could not climb up himself! As usual, the family had gathered round the two little kids that evening. Tuku's aunt was asking her, "Whom do you love most, Tuku dear?"

"Mummy, daddy, you, baby and granny!" replied Tuku.

"Do you love all of us at top level, you silly little thing?" taunted her mother.

"How much do you love me?" asked her aunt.

Tuku spread her little arms as much as she could and said, "So much."

"And me?" asked her mother.

"More and more, up to the sky!" Tuku answered excitedly.

"Oh, you little imp!" said her aunt, "Did you not say you had the greatest love for all?"

The baby crawled over to his mother and hung over her shoulders, "Imb!" he muttered incoherently.

All attention was turned to him at once. They stared at him, amazed, and exclaimed in chorus, "My, what a naughty little thing."

Tuku shook her forefinger at the baby and shrieked, "My, what a naughty little thing?"

Sudha and Beena had no other interests in life. They did not seem to care whether there were any other living creatures or objects of interest in the world or not. Mukul's *saris* and ornaments would grow stale in a few days, she would lose all interest in them until she thought of newer ones. But to Sudha and Beena their treasures were perpetually new. The words that the human child had spoken innumerable times, the wanton sprightliness that had rippled over the child's tiny body over and again, seemed to them to appear in this world, for the first time, in the words and

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actions of their own babies. Now Mukul realised it for the first time in her twenty-five years.

The baby's eyes were heavy with sleep. His mother gathered him close into her arms and rocking him gently sang a lullaby that said, "My treasure, oh, my treasure, useless is the life of one who has not such a treasure!" The baby-boy clapsed his mother's necklace in his tiny fist and cuddled closer to her bosom.

The growing agony in Mukul's heart made her realise that these rhymes were not mere empty verses. The most intimate feelings of innumerable mothers have been gathered up throughout the ages into this little song. This led her to believe that her childlessness might really make her husband take a second wife. Suddenly, she got up and ran into the *Thakur-ghar*. Prostrating herself before the idol, Mukul joined her palms together and cried, "Oh God, I have never prayed to you before! I am driven to beg of you today, Give me a child in my arms, be it blind or lame, but never, dear God, let my husband have another wife!"

Downstairs, Beena was still rocking her baby to sleep, singing that lullaby, Mukul thought that Beena was deliberately mocking her and her wealth, through those words.

(4)

Mukul had come back to her husband's home. She had not known that God had fulfilled her urgent desire. She did not know that she was already bearing that child whose absence had made her leave her beloved home in shame and misery.

When she discovered the fact, she could no longer stay away from her husband. She could not and should not give this good news to any one before she did to her husband.

The moment she returned home, Mukul brought out all her silk *saris* and started cutting them into small pieces. What was the use of stuffing her almirah with all these? It is better to thrill the heart by using them to prepare for the advent of the desired child.

"What is all this?" exclaimed Jayant as he entered the room, "Are you mad? Do not mothers wear good *saris*? There are enough silk-houses in the market. Your child will not be in want of clothes."

"No, no, it is not so," said Mukul shyly. "I am cutting them because I don't like to wear them anymore. They might be useful if I cut them myself, otherwise, worm-eaten *saris* are absolutely of no use!" Her face saddened and she said, "I do not know whether I will live or die after having a child at this age. Then you will regret seeing an almirah—full of *saris*, or the second wife might come and wear them. You were getting married after all! I served as a barrier just for a few months."

"There is no need to talk such rubbish," Jayant said. "All the women of Europe and America are having children at this age and death opens its jaw only in your case!"

But Mukul was truly afraid. She might now pass out of the borders of this world, she thought. Could a person enjoy all the pleasures of life, at the same time? Yet she tried to check this fear by giving sound lectures to her troubled self. Death *would* come to a person one day, so it was better to die now than stagger through the whole length of a long, useless life. In her short lease of life she had known all the pleasures that a Hindu woman wished for. If, now, at the time of her death, she could die in the glory and hope of making her husband's lineage ever-flowing, then what does it matter if she did not see the same sun-rise and sun-set and have the same food and drink for another twenty-five years! She would bid farewell to this world, happily, if she could once see the face of her own child whom she had never seen before.

The day drew nearer and nearer together with the preparations for the reception of Mukul's child. Everything from suits, hats, and stockings to a cradle, a little bedstead and a play-car, were stored by the father and mother, in anticipation.

The loud blowing of conches in Jayant's house mingled with the Durga-puja music. Everyone, from the old aunt to Maya, was busy. Mukul has had a son. Aunt shouted, "I say, you people, go and call Dada! Tell him to bring two guineas with him. The glory of our family has at last come to glorify our home!"

"Let that be," Maya replied. "*Bowdi* had nearly collapsed,—first go and see whether she is still living! First attend to the mother and then do whatever you wish to do with the child."

"No, dear, *Bowdi* has revived now," said the midwife. "There is nothing to fear. Show her the beautiful baby and she will forget all her pain and misery."

The nurse brought the baby near Mukul. What a helpless, pathetic little face! Mukul's heart filled with love, seeing the baby. Will this child of hers live?

The grandfather, the grandaunt, the uncles, the aunts and all the others came and saw the baby blessing him with *mohurs*, guineas and rupees. But Mukul's heart trembled with anxiety. Will she be able to stand such happiness? God, let this child live long to bless her!

(5)

Mukul's son was a year old now, brought up by the deep love and caressing attentions of his mother. But Mukul's happy smile has disappeared from her face. Her son has not yet learned to turn round or sit up or speak. She had tried every doctor in the city of Calcutta, but all had said that this was an incurable ailment. The child's spinal column was malformed from his birth. It will remain so throughout his life.

The child has learnt to recognise his mother, he laughed when he saw her and cried when she went away. The doctor says that his brain would develop normally and he would understand everything, but he would have to depend on others, throughout his life.

Mukul says, "If God had taken everything away from him, he could have also deprived him of his brain. He would not have understood his misfortune then!"

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Every time the boy smiled at his mother, her eyes would fill with tears. Mukul's eyes were red with weeping. She attended to the baby, day and night, forgetting her toilet and amusements. It seemed as if this Mukul was another person altogether from the Mukul of the past. Jayant realised that it would be hard to save her life if she behaved in this manner. Calling Mukul to him, one day, he tried to make her understand. "Listen dear !" he said, "All the fingers of a hand are not identical. Must you kill yourself just because of one such child ? You can live to have five healthy children. All will not be like this."

"I do not wish to live to have five more children," replied Mukul, "I had selfishly asked God to give me any child, whether blind or lame. God has punished me rightly ! It would have been better if you had another wife. I would then have been the sole sufferer ! My baby whom I love more than life would not then have to suffer throughout life just to redeem me from childlessness."

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Malayan Indian Congress

I have been a reader of your *Review* for many years. Our family is well-known in this country. I was once the Secretary of the Malayan Congress in this town. I have been a committee member of the Indian Association, and organiser of the Indian Independence League in this State. I have personally known most of the Indian leaders and almost all our Agents to the Government of India in Malaya. I had the chance of meeting Pandit Nehru on two occasions when he visited this country (1927 and 1946), and also the members of the Congress Medical Mission.

The writer does not think that any man who has been in Malaya for only six months can speak with authority about the Indian problem in this country, and as such I disagree with the article written by Dr. C. Siva Rama Sastry (August Number, page 144) though I agree with the following statement of his :

> "The Malayan Indian Congress, whose founder-president is today the Indian Representative in Malaya, is the *de facto* organisation of the commercial elements of Malaya."

And

> "The Indian Government must appoint a liberally minded man as its Representative in Malaya, one who can win the confidence of labour and lead them in the right path."

The writer had the fortune to work under this gentleman in Rangoon when he was the Minister of the Azad Hind Government. I can say without any hesitation that only the rich, the favoured few, and his paid stooges can expect any consideration from him, and it was due to his high-handedness (he was then the President of the M. I. C.) which caused me to resign from the Secretaryship of the local branch of the M.I.C. There were two other occasions when I had to go against him as he behaved like "Hitler."

It is more than a mystery to me why Pandit Nehru appointed him or Mr. Raghavan to be our Representative in Malaya or Java though I had predicted about this more than a year before these gentlemen got their present posts. As professional men there are at least a dozen Indians who have built up greater reputation than they have at the local Bar, and as "patriots" there are some who have worked and sacrificed far more than what they have done. My former friend, the late lawyer S. C. Goho of Singapore, is one of them. It is a great pity that Pandit Nehru should do things without consulting the Indian masses in this country.

Mr. J. Thivy's public utterances have proved (if proof is necessary) that he has not the qualities to entitle him to hold such a high office. Even the leading English paper (*The Straits Times*) had something to say against him. Surely, no statesman will utter anything that may hurt the feelings of the Muslims of this country who hail from Pakistan. This has given an impetus to the formation of the Overseas Pakistan League. A former colleague of his (Mr. Mallal) in the Azad Hind Government is now holding a high post in this O. P. L. They have now made representations to the Pakistan Government to send someone to look after their interests.

The President of the Negri Seremban Labourers Union have also denounced him (Mr. Thivy) as siding with the British capitalists, just as Mr. Abdulla (until recently the President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Kuala Lumpur) has denounced him for siding with the Chettiars *re* the representation he (Mr. Thivy) made to Pandit Nehru regarding the Malayan Government's Debtor-Creditor Ordinance.

Mr. J. Thivy has miserably failed the Indian labourers, and hundreds of them have been jailed under the Emergency Regulations. There is no use of 'locking the stable door when the steed is stolen.' It was his duty to have seen that the Indian labourers did not fall a prey to Communism. Speech-making, giving Press interviews, attending dinners and tea parties—these are not for what he was given this position of honour. I request you, Mr. Editor, that you will make a very strong protest to see that he is immediately relieved of his post, and a more efficient man from the Foreign Department is sent to this country. It would be a folly to appoint any local Indian, for there is not a single person who is fit to hold this high position.

Bentong, Pahang, Federation of Malaya. B. C. GHOSH

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

AN INDIAN PILGRIM : *Autobiography of Subhas Chandra Bose. Published for Netaji Publishing Society by Thacker Spink & Co. (1933) Ltd., P.O. 54, Calcutta. Pp. 144. Price Rs. 5.*

THE INDIAN STRUGGLE : *By Subhas Chandra Bose. Published for Netaji Publishing Society by Thacker Spink & Co. (1933) Ltd., P.O. 54, Calcutta. Pp. 440. Price Rs. 10.*

These two books should be read together as the first is the complement of the second. The first covers the period (1897-1920) the years between Subhas Chandra Basu's birth and the year in which he passed the Indian Civil Service examination with distinction. The second volume covers the period (1930-1934) the years during which Subhas Chandra Bose had played his part in India's fight for freedom first as a lieutenant of Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das and then, after the latter's death in his own right as an exponent and leader of the radical and "Leftist" feelings and forces in the country. The British Government in India put a ban on this book on its publication in Britain in 1935. When the Congress Ministries were formed in 1937, the United Provinces Ministry took the initiative in having the ban removed. The years since then have been years of turmoil and conflict, and the book faded out of view. Now we have to thank the Netaji Publishing Society for "the first Indian edition" of the book.

The first volume of this series has been very properly given the title—*An Indian Pilgrim*, for, those who know anything of Subhas Chandra Bose even from a distance felt that here was a man who had the mind and manner of one who regarded his life as a pilgrimage, ever on the move towards the Eternal City of the True, the Good and the Beautiful, enthroned in the Himalayas of human aspirations and who was fully conscious that the goal could only be reached after one had traversed through the dust of the earth and made his way up over the rarified atmosphere of the ever-receding altitudes of human experience. And in this book we are taken through the secrets of "an introvert" who (Subhas's own words) struggled through the inhibitions of his own make-up, and that of a society in India trying to come out of a collective split-personality, conditioned by the alien domination, physical and mental, over State and its attempt to recover its natural and national manhood. During this period Subhas Chandra represented in himself the whole period since the middle of the 19th century when society in India awoke to the ignominy of an existence as a dependent people. And in the book we get one of the cleanest of descriptions of the struggle of a nation, unit by unit, to recover balance and self-respect. It depicts a tranquil nature that could maintain its dignity and integrity through all the experiences of angry political strifes and controversies.

The second book under review takes us through the first 15 years of the Gandhi Era which gave a new meaning and significance to India's struggle for political freedom. It shows us that from the first day of Subhas Chandra's contact with Gandhiji, the younger man had developed a scepticism of the principles and policies that the Indian National Congress had been trying to implement under the leadership of a man of religion forced into politics. The enigma of this conflict evades our analysis. In the first volume we have seen the instinctive bent of the writer for the life of the *sannyasi*, in the second volume we come face to face with his reaction against a plan and a programme that were framed in the language of the religious life, and built on the principle of a spiritual quest after the Truth. As we read through it, we understand the significance of the events that disfigured India's political life during the opening months of 1939 when Subhas Chandra Bose had to come out of the Congress as its "Rebel President." The "lack of understanding" on his part and the "lack of clarity" on Gandhiji's that came out on the 16th of July, 1921, persisted all through the years, and we have been witnesses of the consequences of this mutual distrust between two builders of modern India.

Now that both of them have left the fields of their mundane activities, we can try to reconstruct the evolution of Indian politics with the help of these two volumes that describe the philosophy of conduct of the man, who lived to frame a state's decrees and lead its army for the redemption of his country's freedom, from the clutches of the greatest Imperial Order of modern times. This "man of action" (Romain Rolland's words) has left us "an indispensable work" for understanding the "Indian Movement" free from "party spirit," in language that is eloquent with simplicity.

Suresh Chandra Deb

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS OF BENGAL : *By Shri Bijay Bihari Mukharji. Published by Jugabani Sahitya Chakra, 28 Kabir Road, Calcutta 29. Price Rs. 4.*

The prevalence of corruption in the public administration has been a subject of strong and persistent criticism in the press and by officials and non-officials of the highest positions. There have recently been several instances in which ineptitude in the conduct of departmental proceedings and the resulting inadequacy of the findings reached and punishments awarded have been unfavourably commented upon. It is fully realised that ways and means must be devised for effecting an improvement in the procedure and results of departmental proceedings. Corruption in public administration is like a cancer. It must be bodily removed or it infects every tissue. Inefficiency is a creeping paralysis. At each

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point it adds to the people's misery. At crucial points it is a great steriliser. The co-efficient of efficiency in India has not been high. It is probable that foreign rule chilled enthusiasm and made the growth of an incorruptible and efficient administration impossible. But free India must now be galvanised into action to cover up by forced marches the lost ground and come abreast with the most advanced countries. India can no longer suffer efficiency or integrity of public administration to be compromised in any way. If India has to develop into a real and genuine modern State, the highest efficiency and an incorruptible character should be the only tests for filling in public positions of trust and responsibility.

The author of the book, Shri Bijay Bihari Mukharji, is eminently suited to write a handbook for the administrator and suggest remedies for the existing lacunae. The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the ways and means for effecting an improvement in the procedure and in the results of departmental proceedings, the second part deals with changes in law for the trial of cases of corruption and the procedure for the successful detection and prosecution when criminal proceedings are decided upon, and the third part deals with the improvements in the methods of work and in the attitude of the public servants to stamp out inefficiency and corruption in the administration and to improve the quality and morale of the public servants. This invaluable book should be on the table of every administrator of Free India today.

K. N. C.

HISTORY OF BENGAL, Vol. II, (Muslim period): *Edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by the Dacca University. 1948. One map. Pp. 546. Price Rs. 16.*

This publication stands as a landmark in the development of historical studies in Bengal. It proves how our knowledge of our province's past has been revolutionised by the work of her *own sons* in the course of ninety years since Rajendra Lal Mitra showed us the path of modern research. The first volume, covering the Hindu Period, edited by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar, was published in 1943. With the second volume we reach the foundation of British rule in 1757. Nearly half the volume is the work of Sir Jadunath. A band of other noted Indian scholars have contrbiuted chapters on their special periods, so as to complete the work.

It fills a longfelt want, and the high level of its pages will long make it standard authority on the most interesting formative period of Bengal's past life.

AIN-I-AKBARI, Vol. III (2nd Ed.) : *English translation by Jarrett, revised and further annotated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Bound in boards. Pp. x + 528. Price Rs. 10.*

This particular volume of Abul Fazl's masterpiece, is an encyclopaedia of Hindu philosophy, science, literature, arts and customs compiled by the learned author with the help of a syndicate of Sanskrit pandits. Abul Fazl tells the reader in his preface, that his intention in writing it was to "establish peace and promote concord" between the Hindus and other sects by demonstrating that the Hindus were not really superstitious idolators, but very liberal and highly intellectual philosophers, who regarded their own mythology as merely symbolic. He gives long and learned accounts of different schools of Hindu philosophy, dress, manners, beliefs, and customs ; and adds (in this volume) a long collection of Akbar's *wise sayings* which are quite illuminating, and also a charming account of his own family and education. There is a long and helpful index. This book has been long out of print. We are sure this greatly improved edition will have a large sale. The 2nd volume (also long out of print) is now in course of reprinting.

B. N. B.

INDIA ANTIQUA : *A volume of Oriental Studies presented by his friends and pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel, C.I.E., on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his doctorate. Kern Institute. Leyden. 1947. Pp. 329. 4 to.*

This excellently printed volume, consisting of contributions from the pen of a number of well-known scholars both of the East and of the West, is a fitting tribute to the high literary services and achievements of one who may justly be regarded at the present time as the *doyen* of European orientalists. It is not possible to notice in the present place all the papers of outstanding importance contained in this precious work. But we may mention a few which are of special interest to students of Indian history and culture. Sanskrit philology is well represented by the papers of F. Edgerton (The Sanskrit suffix—*titha*), J. Gonda (Sanskrit *Utsava*—festival), F. B. J. Kuiper (Traces of Laryngeals in Vedic Sanskrit), E. J. Thomas (*Nirvana* and *Parinirvana*), and K. de Vreese (Sanskrit *Kutagara*). Important for Indian history and archaeology are F. W. Thomas' interpretation of a Mathura inscription of the so-called Kaniska Year 14, S. Konow's note on Indian eras, B. Bhattacharya's identification of a few Nepalese Buddhist bronzes, and R. B. Whitehead's discussion of the identity of the so-called Sun God of Multan on some Indo-Sassanian coins. Of interest for Indian literature is the comparative study of *Mricchakatika* and King Lear by B. Faddegon. For the interpretation of the rules of the Buddhist *samgha*, E. Lamotte's paper is of special interest. In another paper the present writer has sought to bring out the full significance of the *mandala* doctrine and the theory of six *gunas* (with their sub-divisions) with reference to the problem of inter-State relations, as laid down in the *Arthasastra* of pre-Kautilyan times. Of local interest, but still of much importance, are the discussion of an incident in South Indian history by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and B. C. Law's collection of references to ancient Mithila. As for Greater Indian and connected studies, A Foucher in a learned article proves two ivories selected from those discovered by J. Hackin on the site of ancient Kapisi to illustrate *Jataka* stories. While E. E. Herzfeld authoritatively discusses the identity of a few place-names found in the old Persian literature and inscriptions as well as Greek classical writings. In another scholarly paper, G. Tucci discusses the authenticity of the extant Lamaistic historical works in the light of the newly discovered documents from Tun Huang. For the study of Indo-Javanese literature, F. D. K. Bosch's explanation of the *Bhimastava* and Th. P. Galestin's illustrations from the Javanese Pausyaparvan on a Balinese painting are of particular interest. A riddle in the early annals of Siam is explained by Georg Coedes with his usual thoroughness, while F. H. van Naerssen throws new light on the Sailendra interregnum in ancient Javanese history. In another paper B. Ch. Chhabra brings together all known references to Yupas in ancient Indian inscriptions for comparison with the well-known Yupa inscription of King Mulavarman in East Borneo. Mention may be made lastly of the interesting paper in which S. Paranavitana infers from the joint evidence of general architectural design and a Mahavamsa verse that the figures portrayed in the well-known Sigiri paintings are not those of Queens and their attendants, but those of celestial beings of the types called Lightning-Princesses and Cloud-Damsels.

U. N. GHOSHAL

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BENGALI

BIPLABER PATHE BANGALAR NARI (Bengali Women on the Path of Revolution) : *Haridas Mukhopadhyaya. Published from 40-A Sikdarbagan Street, Calcutta. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 2.*

BANGALAR NARI ANDOLAN (Women's Movement in Bengal) : *By Chhabi Roy. Published by National Book Agency, 12 Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta. Pp. 177. Price Rs. 2-4.*

Both these books cover almost the same ground. The first is interpretative of the many impersonal forces that launched the renaissance movement in Bengal by Ram Mohun Roy and his generation. There were reformers and conservatives amongst them who led this movement of enlightenment among their womanhood. In the eyes of the present writer they appear to be antediluvian without any consciousness of the transformation in thought and life that their activities, often halting, would precipitate. He reflects the modern mind that relates woman's education to many of the expressions of woman's emancipation from book-knowledge to "unmarried motherhood." But one difficulty in the way he has not been able to negotiate—the difficulty of "sex antagonism" he has posited at the root of the problem. His programme of reform does not help to remove this conflict planted there by God or Nature.

The second book is descriptive of the reform started by Ram Mohun Roy and the Brahmo Samaj passing through the Hindu revival and the same awakening in Muslim Society. Both the writers build up the background of their story in the disruptive part played by British capitalist-imperialism in India. But the second writer is fuller in her description of the havock in Indian society that has brought the women of the "sheltered classes" along-side the peasant women fighting for the crops raised by their men-folk in the fields of Bengal. This gives a touch of reality to what has been happening before our eyes seeking to establish a new pattern of conduct through a new appraisement of human values. As everything appears to be in a flux, no one can yet prove its validity or its worth.

D.

HINDI

'GANDHIJI' SERIES : Vol. I (Homages) : *Published by Kashi Vidyapith, Benares Cantt. Printed at Bhargava Bhushan Press, Trilochan, Benares. Pp. 160 plus 16 illustrations. Royal octavo size. Price Re. 1-8.*

Kashi Vidyapith, the well-known National University of Benares started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920 during the non-co-operation days is bringing out a series of 25 volumes in Hindi entitled *Gandhiji* Series. The first few volume of the series will contain homages paid by eminent personalities, newspapers and periodicals, poets and institutions, from all over the globe to Mahatmaji on his death. Other volumes will consist of Mahatmaji's life-sketch, his letters (with facsimiles of the important ones), speeches, writings, prayers, addresses and other details of his varied activities. The present volume is the first of the series containing homages paid by eminent personalities of the country and by leaders of U. P., Bombay and West Bengal. The volume is beautifully illustrated with more than a dozen pictures of the various scenes of the last rites, and of the mournings in the country.

X

DAYANANDOPANISHAD: *By Bhimsen Vidyalankar. Rajpal and Sons, Anarkali, Lahore. Pp. 139. Price Re. 1-8.*

The author is an ardent and industrious student of the works of Swami Dayanand, the illustrious founder of the Arya Samaj. In the present volume, which is only the first part of his project, he has skilfully brought together under several heads, Vedic thoughts on God, soul, etc., in the light of the great Swamiji's scholarly interpretation and exposition with an indication how these could be applied in the life of the individual as well as of the community. He has thus brought the wisdom of the ancients to the very door of every Hindi-knowing adult.

G. M.

ORIYA

ODISA ITIHAS (History of Orissa) : *By Sri Harekrishna Mahatab, Premier of Orissa. Published by the Students' Store, Cuttack. Royal octavo. Pp. 478. Price Rs. 12-8.*

This work is the first authentic history of Orissa in the Oriya language inasmuch as references are quoted; art and architecture, throwing light on the ancient culture, are amply illustrated with plates, and an index is appended. The history of pre-Mauryan period of Orissa is shrouded in obscurity. So far as this period is concerned the author has done this that he has collected all the information supplied by the *puranas* and by the Jain and Buddhist literatures. He offers no hypothesis and thus exhibits his scientific bent of mind for truth. After Asoka and Kharavel there is again a dark period in the history of Orissa, that covers about six centuries. From the sixth century A.D. onwards the epigraphic records, ancient art and architecture furnish the data for the reconstruction of the history of Orissa. Different scholars have discussed these data and expressed different opinions at different times. Sjt. Mahatab has now collated the different views and offered his own conclusions on the points of disagreement among the scholars. But unfortunately the most accurate view of Dr. Fleet, regarding the dates of Somavamsi kings, has escaped his notice and in consequence he has made unavoidably some palpable errors. The author has spared no pains to give as far as practicable the brief historical sketches of growth and development of Oriya language, literature and political consciousness. On the whole, the work has been informative and we congratulate the author for the zeal and enthusiasm he has displayed in attempting to unravel the past glory of his motherland, in spite of his being preoccupied with politics. We regret that the get-up is below the standard.

B. MISRA

GUJARATI

SAHITYANO TAPASWI : *By Devibhai Shambhuprasad Kharod, B.A. Printed at the Doshi Press, Junagudh. 1946. Paper-cover. Pp. 23.*

In Nanalal Kavi's death Gujarati literature has lost a notable figure. Immediately on hearing of his death in January, 1946, his friends and followers vied with one another in expressing their feelings of sorrow, by speech and in writing. Many of them paid their respect in verse. Mr. Kharod is one of them. His touching verses are modelled on Nanalal's special style of writing verse, and summarise the feelings of a fellow poet in a small but admirable compass.

JHANSIKI RANI LAKSHMIBAI : *By Govindrao Bhagwat. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. 1945. Paper-cover. Pp. 182. Price Re. 1.*

All that is known about the young Rani of Jhansi in respect of the courageous stand she made against the E. I. Co's armies in 1857, is set out here in language befitting her heroic deeds. Every Indian should study her life and be proud of the fact that in spite of the drawbacks of her sex in such matters, India can produce such women, when the need arises. It is a valuable and able work.

K. M. J.

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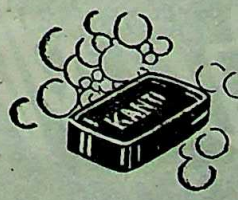

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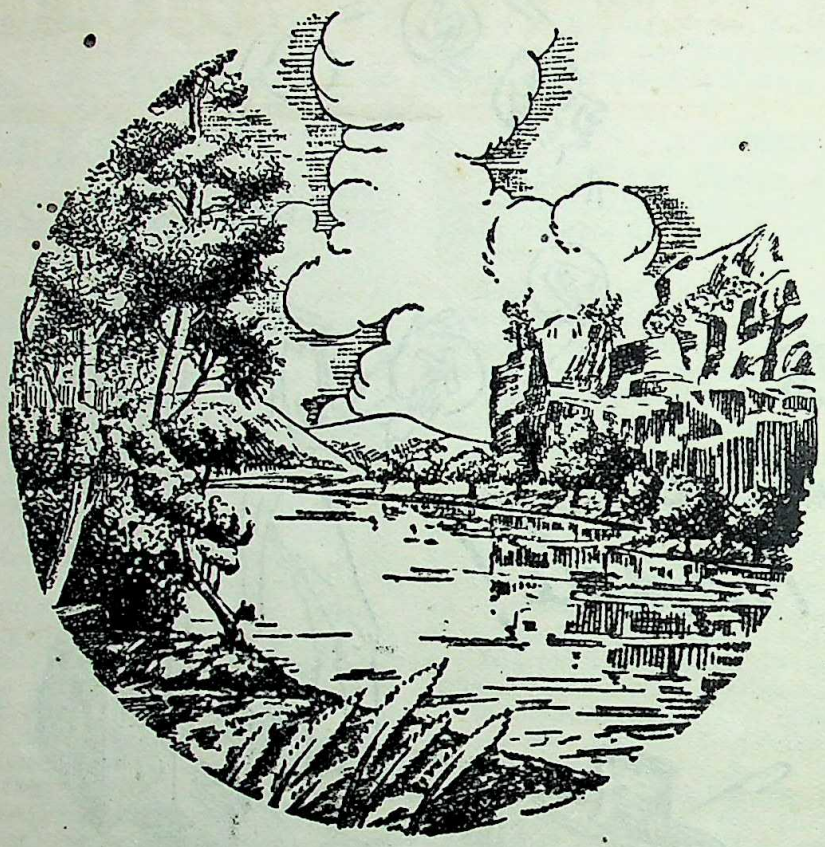

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Is Freedom Necessary for Civilization?

In bringing out the importance of Malinowski's great work on political science M. Ruthnaswami, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, observes in *The Indian Review* :

Is Freedom a political luxury or a political necessity ? Is it the fruit of civilization or the root of civilization ? Is it the end of progress or the means of progress? These are the important questions that the famous anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski attempts to answer in his book, *Freedom and Civilization* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London).

The several chapters of the book were written in America during the course of the last war and were written in support of the cause of Freedom which was in jeopardy at that critical time in the history of the world. It is the anthropological argument for freedom. Starting from the description of Culture as "the organized exploitation by human intelligence of environmental opportunities and in the disciplining of drives, skills and nervous reactions in the service of collective and implemented action," he shows how, from the dawn of history, human groups and the individuals that form them achieve a much greater freedom of mobility and environmental adaptation, freedom of security and prosperity "by the use of tools, by following the principles and by loyalty to a system of activities started with a purpose and carried out concertedly." He shows how through the discovery and use of fire the sphere of primitive man's action is extended and his many bodily needs are satisfied. The use of stone as hammer, as cutting blades, as spear, as arrowhead or as axe, as adze makes him the master of beast, or forest or flood, and also wood, stone, clothing make him the master of nature. He shows how primitive man far from being the slave of tradition or precedent was a realist and a free actor—he could not have survived otherwise. In fact, tradition and precedent were only a set of devices once discovered by the reason and freedom of primitive man to be useful and continued to be observed because it was thought they would continue to be useful. It was only when tradition and precedent continued to bind man after they had ceased to be useful that primitive man got stuck in the swamps of stagnation or died out because he was no longer able to adjust himself to his environment. Not merely individual freedom but individual freedom related to the claims and help of society was necessary for progrss in primitive society. "Earliest man" says our guide, "was unable to produce a single artifice by his own devices." For example, the use of fire as well as its production had to be learnt in society. Stone implements may be produced by one man but the quarrying of stone, the knowledge where to find and how to use the materials and the techniques and the principles of private property in tools and goods produced were due to customary law, co-operation and tradition. But all the restraints and constraints imposed by Society and Tradition are useful to man only as long as they are necessary, that is as long as the environment requires it. Once they cease to be required, they act as a millstone round his neck.

That man and that society is progressive whose freedom gives the lead and guidance to the rules and laws of his civilization and culture.

And Freedom serves the cause of progress by giving man the mainsprings of progress in inspiration and initiative, the power "to anticipate and to establish values by the guidance of which man can engage in co-operative activities and does reach new goals and enjoy them under the guarantee of tribal and national citizenship." If there are institutions—whether this be slavery or serfdom or military regiment, the crew of a galley, or he might have added, Caste—which stands in the way of free planning and anticipation or initiative such institutions stand in the way of progress. Among the institutions that this great anthropologist speaking from his vast anthropological studies recommends as a factor in progress is Religion. In Religion he says we find promise, planning, a principle of life and a code of rules. The Communist opinion that Religion is the opiate of the masses, says Malinowski, is not true. In reality and historically it is Faith which brings about the brotherhood of man and gives celestial freedom. Of course, religions differ in their sociological value. 'The effectiveness of any religion' says our guide 'lies in the extent to which it is a solace to the believer and to the extent to which it affects the mighty and the rich, the ambitious, the geedy, the lustful and their behaviour.'

The Family is another great institution that has served the cause of freedom and progress.

He calls it the fundamental institution of primitive mankind and of mankind in general. Of all forms of early organization, the family contributes the greatest quota of freedom in survival since it is the organization which protects the long infancy of the young, equips them for life and nourishes young and adult alike.

This freedom is such a precious thing that men in primitive times, in anciest times, in the Middle ages as well as in modern times have gone to war in defence of it. The battles for the emancipation of slaves, serfs and manual labourers have all aimed at the "threefold freedom of purpose, action and benefits." Not only individual freedom but social freedom, what Malinowski calls the freedom of combination, is necessary for the progress of civilization. It is a freedom enjoyed in (true) democracies but denied in societies either where the State (as in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy or Soviet Russia) takes over all initiative or else where Slavery, Serfdom or the Caste system debar certain groups from any initiative and supply others with an excess of power. But although some forms of social organization have been hostile to progress, some kind of social organizatios is necessary for the protection and promotion of man's freedom, let it be a clan, a tribe, or guild, or craft. The strength of the individual against his enemies,

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the beasts of prey, or forest fire or human enemies is the strength of the group which he forms. But every such social organization if it is to serve the cause of progress must be enforced by the principle of freedom. Primitive groups are never despotically governed and do not lend themselves easily to the accumulation of power. But mere natural and social aids are not enough. A sense of Values must be acquired by man. Value, according to the author, is the driving force, which determines purpose, and freedom lies in choice of purpose, its translation into effective action and full enjoyment of the results. This sense of values whether initiated by tradition or cultivated by religion or sublimated by mysticism is on the one hand a source of new strength and new efficiency for mankind while on the other hand it can also be misused by groups and individuals within a community to impose upon others. But the education of man in values and his chances of spiritual freedom depend first and formost, says our guide, upon the existence of a number of mutually dependent institutions which though related enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy. He points out that in several educational devices of the primitives, joining a new institution or passing through initiation ceremonies entails a definite attempt to break down the loyalties and interests acquired in earlier life and to introduce new values.

Institutions thus exercise an autonomous spiritual influence on the growing mind.

He would thus allow the autonomy of the Church against the sovereignty of the State. In fact the work of culture, according to Malinowski, is not done by any community as a whole nor yet by individuals but smaller organized groups, that is institutions which are organized and integrated to form the community. Institutional freedom is therefore necessary for individual freedom. But on the nature of the institution depends the freedom it makes possible. The criterion he suggests for testing institutions is whether the purpose of the institution is chosen by individual or group, whether implementation of the purpose is through autonomous responsibility and whether the results are shared by all the members of the institution. The legitimate use of authority is necessary for freedom while a denial of freedom occurs through an abuse of force for the benefit of the few in control. Tradition, Hierarchy, Obedience are necessary for social life but they serve the purpose of society only when they are made compatible with freedom. An undue excess or abuse of tradition, hierarchy or obedience leads to servitude which has always stood in the way of progress. Discipline, even stern discipline, was found necessary in primitive society as among the Zulus, the Hamitic and Nilotic tribes, the North American Indians and some of the head-hunting tribes of New Guinea and Indonesia.

Even democracy is supported by arguments from anthropology. Decentralization makes democracy real and Malinowski assures us that among primitive tribes centralization of any control hardly occurs, for political power is distributed and institutions are autonomous. Personal tyranny is limited and mitigated by customary law and traditional morality. It is not fair to savagery to call totalitarianism a return to savagery.

War, another of the anxious problems of modern times, is not a biological necessity according to the teaching of anthropology. War, we are assured, is not a permanent state of affairs in any type of tribal culture.

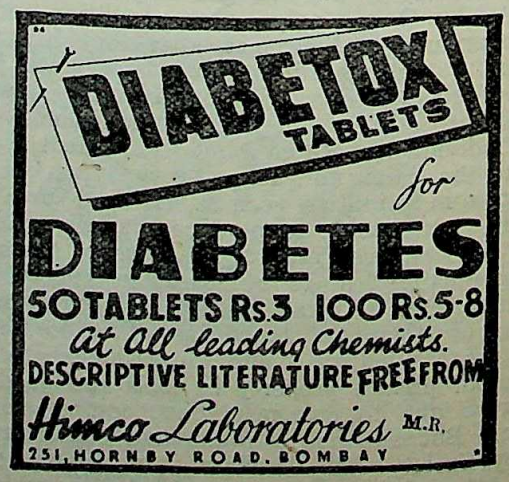
The final conclusion of this great anthropologist is that freedom is an indispensable ingrtdient of civilization for it guarantees the flowering of those spiritual qualities of man, primitive and civilized, which give birth to inspiration, to creative ideas, to the criticism of the old so that new knowledge, new art, a finer morality may emerge.

Religious Education in India

The future of Religious Education in India is one of the most contested and complicated of the educational issues in the country. K. G. Saiyidain, long Director of Public Instruction in Jammu and Kashmir State and now Educational Adviser to the Government of Bombay, writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The Central Advisory Board of Education has appointed, during the last few years, at least two committees consisting of distinguished public men and educationists who deliberated on this issue over and over again but could not come to any agreed conclusions, with the result that they could formulate no scheme or recommendations and the matter was shelved—a proof more of discretion than of courage! Recently, our Education Minister in the Central Government, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, himself a great Muslim divine and a scholar of comparative religion, has re-started the controversy by expressing the opinion that religious education, in the proper sense of the word, should find a place in our educational system. Of course, that phrase "proper sense of the word" raises many difficult issues but before one can face them one has to deal with the position of those who are entirely opposed to religious education in *any* sense—proper or improper!—being imparted in schools. I can here refer briefly only to my own views in this behalf, more with the object of initiating discussion and elucidating the issues than of laying down any dicta that all may accept or working out the details of a practical scheme.

People object to religious education for a variety of reasons. There are those who are not prepared to accept Religion at all as one of the great values of life and to whom Religion is but an exploded myth, an old superstition that has outlived its day. With such people there is *no* common ground for argument so far as *religious education* is concerned. Then there are those who are not satisfied that, in a multi-religious country like India, it is possible—or desirable— to provide religious education in schools. They would rather leave it to the



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parents to look after this aspect of the child's education. Theirs is not an objection of principle but one of practical expediency. A third class sees no place for religious education in a secular state and is obessed with what has been happening in India in recent years when communalism ran amuck and almost cost the country its freedom. A recent article by Dr. Paranjpe partly takes this attitude.

Is there no place for religious education in a secular state? Perhaps it may be useful to try to clear away one or two of the misunderstandings implicit in this point of view.

When we speak of a State as a "Secular State," what is really meant is that, in all public and political matters, the State will *not* ally itself to any particular religion and will not give preference to any group or individual on religious grounds. It does *not* mean that it is anti-religious or that it frowns upon the religious affiliations of its citizens. There is an obvious difference between a secular State as the Indian Constitution envisages it, and the *anti-religious* complexion, say, of the Soviet State in its early stages. So there is nothing intrinsically *wrong* or *illogical* in a secular State's making arrangements for the religious education of its children. Whether it is *possible* or *desirable* is a question that I shall examine a little later. So far as the argument based on the recent communal frenzy is concerned, it is a significant fact, worth remembering, that the political leaders and others who fanned this flame were *not* predominantly persons who had received religious education in their schools but those who were often quite indifferent to the religion that they formally professed. In the case of Muslims in particular, it may be said that some of the most influential organizations which always stood for communal peace and harmony were religious organizations like the Jamiatul Ulama-i-Hind! Nor is it a matter of accident that Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest apostle of communal harmony, was a deeply religious man who derived the inspiration for all his great and manifold work from his deepest religious impulses and beliefs. So it is a superficial view which would dismiss religious education on the apprehension that it would necessarily accentuate communal bitterness.

It is true that great crimes have been committed *in the name of religions* throughout human history—that in their name there have been intolerance, fanaticism, persecution, denial of intellectual and spiritual freedom, even destruction and death. But so have there been in the name of Patriotism and Culture and Science and it would be wrong to suggest that men and women should eschew them on this account. What *is* reasonable is to demand that the distortions and misinterpretations which have come to cluster round these concepts should be swept away and that they should become valuable agencies for the enrichment, rather than the impoverishment, of human life. Just as education in history or geography or literature can be a repressive as well as a liberalizing influence (depending on how these subjects are tackled, and it is the business of the teacher and the Education Department to improve and reform the methods of teaching so as to get the most out of them), so it depends on *how* religious education is imparted whether it is to be a force for good or for evil. It would be unwise to suggest that these subjects should be dropped because they are often taught poorly. Similarly we cannot refuse to countenance religious education on the ground that there are special difficulties in tackling it satisfactorily or that it has been badly taught in the past.

Is it necessary, however, to insist that Religion be given a place of importance in this age of Science and the domination of Intelligence, when the common attitude is one of doubt and questioning rather than of faith?

Will it not be enough if we concentrate all our efforts on the releasing and cultivation of the human intelligence which might provide the requisite guidance to man in his everyday life? Is it not true that the attitude of modern youth is one of scepticism rather than of faith? To take up the last question first, it *is* true that modern youth is predominantly sceptical in its attitude. But we should go below the surface and try to find out the causes of this phenomenon. I can see two factors operating in the creation of this mentality. Our world has become much more complex and its urgent new problems—of democracy, capitalism, communism, slums and social injustices—confront our youth at every step. In this situation the simple dogmas of an earlier age offer no solution. Thus the sheet-anchors of the past, as presented to the youth formally, have ceased to convey any meaning to him. Again, he is consciously or unconsciously repelled by the dualism and the hypocrisy that he finds rampant amongst both the religious and the secular-minded people. While they profess to believe in "Thou shalt not kill" they organize mass slaughter on a world scale and men of religion are found supporting and justifying this criminal madness! They pay lip service to the creed of "treating our neighbours as ourselves" and profess to believe that "all human beings are members of the family of God." But they have entirely different codes of conduct in personal,

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business, political and international life! Honesty, fairness, compassion, lauded in private life (at least in theory) are often regarded as foolish in business and politics and criminally dangerous in international relations! I have no doubt that if great religious teachers like Buddha, Christ or Mohammad, with their message of love and peace, happened to visit this world, they would be regarded as dangerous anachronisms in this age! Little wonder then that the inexperienced youth is bewildered and loses his faith in the basic values of life—which all uphold in theory but flout in practice.

Will it then be right to banish Religion, either from life or from education, altogether? Or must it be recognized as one of the supreme values in life?

Now, it is obviously impossible to give to this question an answer which can be proved logically or scientifically. But, speaking for myself, I am convinced that Religion is something which responds to certain fundamental urges of human nature. Man seeks for a firm anchorage of faith in this world of doubts and dangers and confusion of loyalties; he needs the conviction that life has a meaning and a purpose and is not the result of mere chance or "idle sport," that the pursuit of wealth and pleasure are not its highest objectives. Some people may not, of course, hear the call —many do not actually do so—but the best minds have done so throughout the ages and spirit has gone questing for the "Eternal Values." I am also prepared to concede that some people *have* been able to find their life inspiration in sources which are not normally regarded as religious. But such cases are rare and not typical. If we are thinking of human beings in general, we must come to terms with Religion as a valuable part of the permanent and ennobling experience of the individual and the race and we must do what we can to make it work in harmony with our general life objectives.

If we fail to exploit the educative possibilities of religion, we shall be ignoring a very powerful force for good. The advice to abjure religion because it has been misused is, as I have already hinted, a counsel of despair. We cannot and should not reject any great treasure of the human heritage because ignorant or unscrupulous people have used it for unworthy purposes; we cannot reject Religion as such because it has often allied itself with reactionary forces or produced discord. No one has seriously made a demand for the rejection of Science because it has been used as a weapon of destruction! Again the modern problem is not, to my mind, a search for an *entirely new* set of values and principles for life, for the world is not richer today in wisdom or charity or goodness than it was in the days of Buddha or Plato or Christ or Mohammad. It demands a reinterpretation and the presentation of values, including religious values, in modern terms and in relationship to modern problems so that they may help to solve the difficulties with which youth is faced, here and now.

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Special Opportunities in Work for Muslims in India

Dwight M. Donaldson observes in *The National Christian Council Review*:

In the partition of India a vast community of about ninety million Muslims is being divided between the two dominions. If both Hyderabad and Kashmir decide to join the India Union, there will then be more than half as many Muslims still remaining in the India Union as there are in all of Pakistan.

In Pakistan there is a determined struggle on the part of the *mullahs* (the religious authorities) to pattern the new Muslim state according to the *Sharia* which is the law of the Qur'an and the Traditions. For those who are promoting a peculiarly Islamic emphasis in Pakistan, freedom means not only an opportunity to work out their own form of government, without restrictions from any foreign power, but also two other momentous circumstances. They can now live in separation from the Hindus with their hated idolatry; they are in a position to protect the youth of Islam from those aspects of western civilization that they consider to be inimical to the interests of a typical Muslim state. The opposition of this group of Muslims to the influence of Christian missionary undertakings in general may be taken for granted, though toleration and a degree of appreciation may be shown for medical and educational service.

There is a second group of Muslims in Pakistan, however, that is made up of men and women of education and authority, who are by no means enthusiastic for a state that will be dominated by the *mullahs*, with a resuscitation of zeal for old laws and customs. Many of them realize the truth of what Sir William Muir wrote a generation ago, *i.e.*, 'As regards the spiritual, social and dogmatic aspect of Islam, there has been neither progress nor material change since the third century of the Hegira.' They know that the changes that have taken place in Turkey have been in spite of Islam rather than because of it. Accordingly, they are ready to argue that while the creation of Pakistan as a separate state was considered to have been necessary for the protection of Islam, nevertheless the character of the new state should be suited to modern life. To this end they are seeking first of all to be well-informed as to the requirements and responsibilities that go with self-government in the twentieth century. These men and women, we believe, will be inclined to encourage the maintenance of mission hospitals, schools and colleges because they will regard them as agencies that will strengthen a liberal and progressive spirit throughout the country.

Whether there can be a strong association of leaders in the India Union who will be able to pursue a secular policy without becoming irreligious and atheistic is still to be determined. Those who look forward to the development of a secular state—with a comprehensive educational system, with free expression of opinion in the press, with unhampered economic and industrial development, and with religious freedom—have to overcome a tremendous handicap.

It is in the India Union in particular that the Muslims have become unusually receptive to Christian friendship, and we believe that this situation should be met by planning much more definite work for Muslims. There will be individual missionaries, from among the splendid group of reinforcements that has come to India, who will feel that they are positively called of God to seek to prepare to give the major amount of this time to their particular work. Indian Christian ministers and teachers also will be facing the challenge to make their sermons effective proclamations of hope and faith for their Muslim friends.

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On the Art of Reviewing

Prof. B. S. Mathur writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

I recommend the synthetic view of literary criticism. The reviewer will have to cut down his prejudices to arrive at a balanced view, charged with sovereign sanity and brilliance, to help the reader to an appreciation of a literary work.

The emphasis is on sanity in a reviewer. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's motto for his "Literary Supplement" in the *Hindustan Review* is very significant. That is taken from the Rt. Hon'ble Augustin Birrel from his *Critical Faculty*. It reads thus :

"A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand-in-hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can be complete, the perfect criticism is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems to be the very essence of good criticism, and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. The master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair."

Here you have a very strict view of a critic or a reviewer. If one follows the whole of the passage critically, one will have to agree with Augustine Birrel that real criticism is an impossibility. Nevertheless, we have to aim at what we can achieve. Let us have sympathy and knowledge under the inspiring leadership of sanity. We can have ample measure of sanity if we follow the above synthetic method of reviewing by placing extracts from the original alongside our own reactions. Thus criticism to be comprehensive and comparative is possible if there is also some comparison with other writers in the line. Then the place of the writer also can be established.

While reviewing we have to think in terms of the contribution made by the writer. He must have some justification for his venture. Let us see to his justification. So above all we must have sanity : without it nothing is possible, what will be possible will be wholly prejudiced and perverse. That is not the function of criticism, which has to recollect emotion in tranquillity ; the emotion is of the writer and has to be recollected by the reviewer.

Before I conclude let me explain how I refer to emotion recollected in tranquillity by the reviewer. All art or literature is the production of emotion. Even critical books, not excluding philosophical books, are written in the fervour of emotion. Philosophers might shun emotion and say it is a return to the beginning, the animal and the brute in us. But they have it when they come to production, although it takes the garb of reason. No action, even mental, is possible in the absence of emotion.

All creative composition begins in a rare atmosphere of emotion. Man has a fund of energy : a part of it is required by the body and the rest goes to the work of creation in the form of emotion. If the artist is asked what he is going to create he cannot say anything definite. Reason might be guiding him from some unconscious level but it is not in the open field. And so the writer is carried away by his emotions. After having written he takes the role of a critic and carries out corrections and alterations, here and there, helped by his knowledge and experience, now under the direct control of reason humanly possible while judging one's own work. Ultimately even after this carrying out of some alterations his composition remains an emotion. This emotion the reviewer has to recollect. He is in a better position to recollect it because he is not the writer and he can, to some extent, humanly possible, be impartial because of his culture in sanity, sympathy and knowledge.

The reviewer, therefore, has this important task of recollecting emotion in tranquillity. But so he must possess taste, delicacy and discrimination, which he can possess if he has done a lot of reading and writing. I emphasise "writing" because without having done it the reviewer will not be able to project himself into the mind of the writer which he must do if he wants to make a near approach to him in his book. The reviewer has the double task of knowing the mind of the writer and after having known it he has to help his readers to this knowledge. He has to understand ; he has to interpret. The reviewer is like Gautama Buddha's disciple, Pourna, who was admonished by the Master thus : "Go then, O Pourna, having been delivered, deliver : having been consoled, console : being arrived thyself at the farther bank, enable others to arrive there also."

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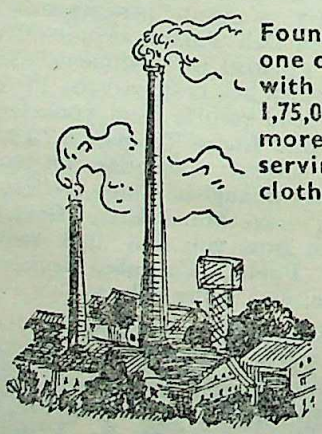

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Spinoza's Influence on Philosophy, Religion, and Daily Life

We reproduce the following article by Leonard B. Gray on Spinoza, one of the greatest philosophers of Europe, from *Unity*, March-April, 1948 :

Surely Emerson was right when he said that time does strange things with the reputations of men. Indeed, time often withholds fame from those who seek it most and gives it to those who seek it least. She immerses into oblivion many people sensationally popular and widely praised in their own days and clothes with immortality some of the little known or despised contemporaries of these popular persons. You just cannot tell what time will do, what values and names she will forget or belittle, and what she will love and praise and preserve.

If they could know, many of the contemporaries of Spinoza would be greatly surprised at the judgment time has passed on him. They knew that this philosopher was one of the most despised and hated men of his day, and some of them knew that quite early in his life fame was one of the three values he thought unworthy of his seeking and that along with the other two he deliberately chose not to seek it. Not only would most of his contemporaries that knew him be amazed at his fame that now fills the world, but also his enemies would be angrily humiliated and shamed either by their own oblivion or by the fact that they are known today only because they were his enemies.

With the possible exception of Thoreau's few pages on "What I Lived For" in *Walden*, literature contains no finer description of a man's sincere effort to find the simple fundamentals of life and happiness than Spinoza's few pages about his own search for the essential values. Indeed, the young Spinoza strove just as earnestly to get at the root of the matter as Thoreau, about two centuries later, sought to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to skin life to the bone, and to drive life into a corner so he could get his two hands on it. Early in life this Jewish philosopher carefully weighed the values of riches, fame, and pleasures of the senses, the three surroundings of life, according to his observation, most highly esteemed by most men. He soon found these surroundings, he tells us, to be vain and futile. With what passionate thirsts and with what disastrous consequences men seek these three values. Men let their minds become so absorbed by these goals of their desires that their minds have little power to reflect on any different good. When the heat of sensual delight has passed, it not infrequently leaves one in extreme melancholy. The best intellectual powers, never enthralled by such delights, are only disturbed and dulled. The more fame and riches we get, the more they increase our delight and the more they intensify our desire to acquire still more and more. Should we fail to gain them we are plunged into feelings of frustration and sadness. The search for fame has the further drawback of putting upon us the necessity of ordering our lives according to the lives of our fellow men, of shunning what they shun, and of seeking what they seek. Such values are nothing but hindrances to essential living and happiness. Men have been known to suffer persecution, at times even unto death, in search for riches and fame. Others hasten their death through over-indulgence in sensual pleasures. To possess these values, and especially to be possessed by them, means death, often physical, always spiritual. The more this earnest young Jew weighed these values, the more he became convinced that they were unworthy of his seeking and that only love toward a thing eternal and infinite could feed the mind wholly with joy and give genuine happiness. And so he set his goal before him and directed his aim. During his short life he did not get the three values he did not want, but through the earnest and continual seeking of the one value he wanted and decided upon, he attained a large measure of happiness despite the persecutions heaped upon him. And posterity with her strange ways and judgments, gave him fame, one of the three values he had deliberately chosen not to seek.

Not only through his reading of history, but also through his own bitter, personal experience Baruch de Spinoza was to learn that both organized religion and society whip their dissenters. On November 24, 1632, he was born into the Jewish community of Amsterdam to which his Jewish parents had fled from the vicious intolerance of the inquisition. There was more freedom of thought and worship in Holland at the time than elsewhere, but even there, while allowed to build their synagogue, the Jews had to exercise their freedom with considerable circumspection. Partly because the minority group greatly feared the political authorities who punished the whole group for the offense of any individual member and partly because the religious leaders of this Jewish community would not give to those under them the same freedom that they wanted for themselves, young Spinoza was excommunicated for his independent thinking. At fifteen the boy was the most brilliant student of Rabbi Saul Levi Mortiera. He was the pride and white hope of the little community of Jews. He would be, his elders predicted, a great rabbi, perhaps a great commentator on the Bible. But at an early age this acute rabbinical student began to dampen the hopes and to incite the fears of the orthodox. His conventional teachers could not clip the wings of his soaring mind. Their learning was insufficient and unsatisfactory to him. He acquired an appetite for science and secular philosophy. Freely he inhaled the free Latin

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culture around him. Increasingly his thinking became critical and independent. Stronger grew his dislike for the narrow and rigid rules of the synagogue, stronger his revolt against all forms of dualism and idolatry. In vain the alarmed and disappointed leaders sought to keep the new wine in the old bottles. Matters were gradually coming to a head and did come to a head when some of Spinoza's fellow students angrily left a heated argument and reported to their teachers that Spinoza sharply differed with them about the existence of angels, the incorporeality of God, and the immortality of the soul. The authorities wanted to keep their most promising student, but they would keep him only on their conditions. And they had only two more methods in mind to induce him to return to established opinions and customs. First, a bribe of an annuity of 1,000 florins. But truth was the greatest wealth to the youth. Then the threat of excommunication if the student did not yield after thirty days. Spinoza did not yield.

The chief way that Spinoza chose to make a living did much to bring about his early death at the age of forty-five. He loved to teach children and he loved to write, but he could not expect to make much money in these ways. He could get only a few pupils and his writing was too thoughtful to make popular appeal. Besides, the hands of conventional religion and public opinion were too much against him. Why not make a livelihood at polishing lenses? Was not this quite the fashion of learned men of his day? And did not the young student find in "Ethics of the Fathers" the advice that every man should do some manual labor? He did his lenses exceptionally well and thereby earned enough to supply his few and simple needs. Wisdom was the goal of his supreme efforts. Concentrated on severe study he would often stay in his room two or three days at a stretch and have his meals brought to him. But what price wisdom? The many hours of confined study in his lonely garret and the dust from the grinding greatly aggravated his inherited tuberculosis and so did much to cut him off prematurely.

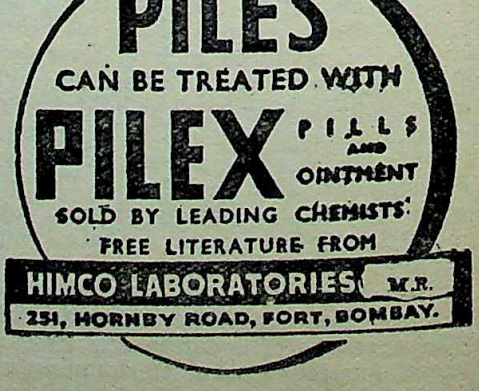
In his obscure lodgings he was a powerful magnet that drew visits and letters, honors and gifts from the great. The philosopher Leibnitz came to talk with him in 1676. There is much friendship and learning in the letters that he and Henry Oldenburg, the first secretary of the Royal Society of England, wrote each other. University students sought him out at Rhijinsburg and went back to tell their fellows that they had found a man who understood Descartes better than their professors. Heidelberg tried its best to get him into its chair of philosophy. We are sorry he refused, but appreciate his reason, namely, his honest wish to be free to think and write in his own way.

You only have to bear in mind orthodoxy's habitual opposition to everything opposed to its entrenched views and consider how sharply Spinoza differed with the dominant religious views of his day to understand the bitter persecution that fell upon this Jewish philosopher. Here was a thinker challenging the anthropomorphic views of God around him. Why, asked Spinoza, will men identify God with a magnified man? Why will they insist in making God in their own image? Why should God be like man at all? God is nature, the questioner went on to claim, and by nature he meant not only infinite matter and infinite thought but also many other infinite attributes. God is not the transient, but the indwelling cause of all things, and no substance can be granted or conceived outside of Him. Whatever is, is in God. Only by the laws of His own nature God acts.

Nature is an absolutely infinite, unified, and uniform order. By the necessity of the divine nature all things are conditioned to exist and operate in a particular manner. Therefore all things are necessarily determined by nature. There is no absolute or free will, not even in the mind, for the mind is determined to wish this or that by a cause which has also been determined by another cause and this last by still another cause and so on to infinity. Man's fate is not absolutely in his own hands, for he must follow the common order of nature and obey it and accommodate himself to it. Wrote Spinoza in his *Ethics*, "Men think themselves free because they are conscious of their volitions and desires, but they are ignorant of the causes by which they are led to wish and desire."

In a flawlessly operating universe, this believer in the immutable order of things claimed, there can be no such things as miracles. The masses and the theologians of his day thought that miracles exhibit the power of God. In all ages, including the present, many people with this same belief can have no adequate religion as far as they are concerned without miracles. But really, Spinoza said, miracles, if they occurred, would exhibit not the power but rather the impotence of God. Not by temperamental interruptions in the course of events but rather by immutable and necessary laws is the omnipotence of the one absolutely infinite Being manifested. By making organized knowledge and rational control impossible, miracles would make rational life impossible. Science and a commensurate power of scientific control are possible because all things are determined neither by miracle nor chance but by necessity.

Think of man, this philosopher urged, not as an *imperium in imperio*, not as a little complete world within the larger universe, but only as a part of the whole universe. Man is caught up and carried along by the whole eternal order of nature, of which he is only a small part, even as a little worm in the blood may be swept along by the sweeping currents of life of which it can itself have only an imperfect conception. We are thinking now of people who have lost their religious faith in calamity because such faith as they had was mistakenly built on the premise that God and the universe exist for their welfare. And likely most of you can recall that during the last war not a few people, even though they knew that many of their fellow men were being drowned and shot in other places, claimed that they themselves or some other sailors and soldiers were delivered from death by God directing clouds and shoals of fish to the rafts upon



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which they were drifting far out at sea. Such people need to realize Spinoza's claim that the universal laws by which the cosmos as a whole is controlled have a wider compass than the welfare or misery of an individual life or even of mankind.

Wisdom comes from this realization, our philosopher said, wisdom and a tolerant acceptance of and a compassion toward human perversity. Vices as well as virtues are the necessary outcome of nature's power. And there is support and help for man in living according to reason, in the understanding of and the adaptation to the necessary and immutable order of nature. This is what it means to know and to obey God. The *summum bonum* of the mind is to know God. And blessedness, a favorite word with Spinoza, is simply that very peace of soul which springs from an intuitive knowledge of God. Peace of mind and true greatness come from ruling one's self, from standing above the partialities and futilities of uniformed desire rather than from ruling others and raising one's self above humanity. This sort of living is a nobler freedom than that which men call free will.

With Hegel we are inclined to feel that Spinoza's system is too lifeless and rigid. His system is so rigorously ironclad that it seems to remove individual and group initiatives, creative thought and action, and spontaneous fertility. It seems to refute the Christian teaching of human dignity and worth and the Christian claim that men can rise on their dead or degenerate selves to greater beings. The best within us revolts against this. We stubbornly cling to the doctrine of the divine worth of man. We dislike to think that the twenty-third psalm, the Sermon on the Mount, Wordsworth's "Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey," and Whitman's "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" came into existence from the necessities of the eternal order and not from the altogether original and fresh geniuses and creative powers of their authors. We dislike to think that Spinoza's own decision to seek eternal truth instead of the three values he rejected and his decision to grind lenses for a living, a decision that probably meant his early death, came not from his own free power of choice but rather from a series of causes of which he himself was unaware and which he could not control. We prefer to think, as Walt Whitman surely thought, that within the areas of our limitations there is a "spontaneous you" in you and a "spontaneous me" in me. We prefer to agree with Will Durant in his claim that man is a creature composed of heredity and environment plus a strange, progressive, remolding force which we call life and that this life-force can take the initiative for a new and better character. Against Spinoza's rejection of any cosmic purpose we prefer to side with Plato and Aristotle and with Lecomte du Nouy in his *Human Destiny* in their claims that throughout history the evolution of the universe and the evolution of man, biologically and spiritually, move with perfect purpose. Of course our philosopher would say that the immutable order of the universe is altogether indifferent to our personal preferences, and we suppose that this is so. And yet the Christian doctrine of the worth of man and the Christian claim that there are spiritual powers that man can call upon and use for great endeavors support those philosophers who claim that when life is creative it gives a measure of freedom to the will.

Yet even though we cannot go all the way with Spinoza, still we cannot deny that he is right to a large extent and that there are great values in his teachings. With him we must acknowledge that we understand nature only imperfectly and that she is not held together by laws enacted by human reason. Surely it is obvious that the universe does not exist for the sake of any one of us or for the sake of the race as a whole, and that often she destroys our most cherished hopes and best laid plans. Not only are we all limited and restricted by political and economic and social conditions, by our associates, by our physical health and strength, and by weather and climate, but also by our innate abilities and by our inexplainable dispositions and tendencies. Through the very nature of things we all fail to get many things we wish and seek. Do not all of us know people who are held in certain ordinary occupations and stations in life and other people who climb into better occupations and stations in life, more by the abilities and personality-traits given to them than by anything else? Do not all of us know people who have certain tastes and interests, hold certain views, follow certain courses of action, become missionaries or ministers or reformers or writers or scientists, because, it seems, they can hardly help themselves against certain inexplainable drives and compulsions within them? It does seem that to a large degree, if not to the same degree that Spinoza claimed, men have certain necessities laid upon them by the nature of the universe of which man is a part, and that their lives are determined by causes unknown to them and uncontrolled by them.

And surely we are helped to acquire sensible and healthy attitudes towards "the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world" by our philosopher's claim that belief in determinism serves to fortify us to expect and to bear both faces of fortune with an equal mind and a contented heart. Such a belief does help us to accept the laws of nature and our limitations without complaint, and at the same time moves us to make the best of our lives within the areas of the limitations placed upon us. Such a belief teaches us that God is no capricious personality absorbed in the private affairs of His devotees, but rather the invariable sustaining order of the universe. To know God as such an eternal order of nature helps us to adapt ourselves to what is unchangeable, and to find through this adaptation support and confidence, and contentment and happiness of spirit which is true blessedness, Spinoza said.

Increasingly since his day, Spinoza's teachings have become an intimate part of philosophy, of religion, and of the daily thinking and living of men. This Jewish philosopher has made his strongest appeal to the great philosophical poets such as Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Goethe.

From Spinoza, Goethe learned that we must bear the limitations that nature places upon us. From breathing the calm air of this serene and happy philosopher, Germany's greatest poet was influenced to

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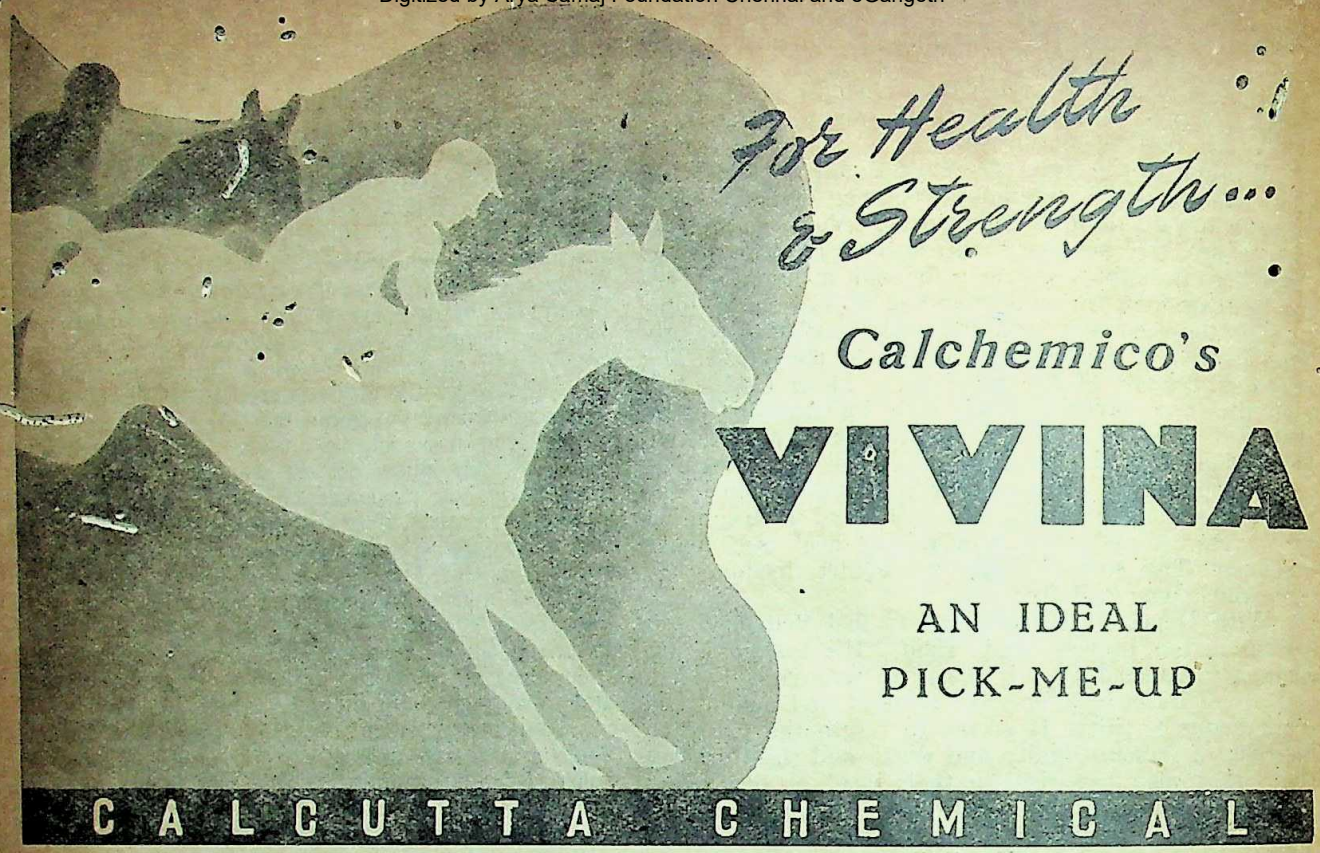

no small degree to rid himself of the wild romanticism of his early poems such as "Gotz" and "Werther" and to acquire the classic poise of his later life and writing.

There is still another encouragement to be found in Spinoza's determinism, an encouragement to live with the positive virtues of love, justice, and active usefulness. Our philosopher was positive when he claimed that everything in the universe that enlarges and enriches life as well as that which limits and confines us, is God. George Eliot who was greatly influenced by Spinoza, made Adam Bede express this belief in these words, "For what have we got either inside or outside of us, but what comes from God ? If we've got a resolution to do right, He gave it us, I reckon, first or last."

Such a positive philosophy then, such a healthy belief in a determinism supplies us, as it supplied Spinoza and Goethe, with positive virtues, and motivates positive living on our part by prompting us to believe that our best impulses are God-given and authentic.

One Injection of "Flo-Cillin" Will Cure Pneumonia

U. S. scientists have developed a new penicillin product, "flo-cillin," which increases manyfold the staying ability of penicillin in the blood. Flo-cillin remains in the blood of the patient for three or four days, whereas non-reinforced penicillin is expelled within a matter of hours, necessitating several injections daily. From a practical point, scientists declare flo-cillin to be the most outstanding achievement in penicillin research since the original discovery, in that a single injection is expected to cure pneumonia and as few as five injections to destroy the causative agents of syphilis.

The powerful germ-killer penicillin will not stay out of the news. Early this year, this antibiotic was made still more powerful by the admixture of painning procain which forces penicillin to stay longer within a patient's body, thus vastly increasing its germ-killing activity. A few weeks later success was reported in making penicillin radio-active, more recently in using it as a spray for clearing up sinusitis.

Now, scientists have announced a new penicillin product which may make it possible to reduce the frequency of injections from one or more daily to one every three or four days. From a practical point, scientists declared "flo-cillin" to be the most outstanding achievement in penicillin research since the original discovery. For example, it is seen as possible that a single injection would cure pneumonia, or that five injections would destroy the causative agents of syphilis without resort to heavy-metal medicinals which used to be indispensable. Current penicillin treatment for syphilis calls for 16 daily injections.

In essence, flo-cillin is an improvement of the procain-reinforced form of penicillin, announced earlier this year. It was developed in the Bristol Laboratories Inc., and already has undergone telling clinical tests.

Flo-cillin is the procain salt of penicillin suspended in peanut old and a water repellant known as aluminium monostearate. This compound remains detectable in the blood for three days after an injection—an unheard of staying ability. Dosage is the same as with previous penicillin types, namely, 300,000 units per shot. In some instances, flo-cillin remained in the blood for as long as four days, the longer retention in all instances being due to the slow-absorbing aluminum-medium. Procain penicillin remains one to two days; non-reinforced penicillin is expelled within a matter of hours.

What happens is that the addition of the aluminium-medium slows the absorption of flo-cillin by the blood; also, flocillin enters the blood at a more uniform rate. The curative dose is maintained up to four days—a marked improvement over previous methods. Maintaining so-called penicillin blood levels for extended periods has been the key problem of penicillin research since its discovery.—USIS.

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স্বনামধন্য ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

সুবিখ্যাত কৃত্তিবাসী রামায়ণের সর্বোৎকৃষ্ট

অষ্টম সংস্করণ প্রকাশিত হইল

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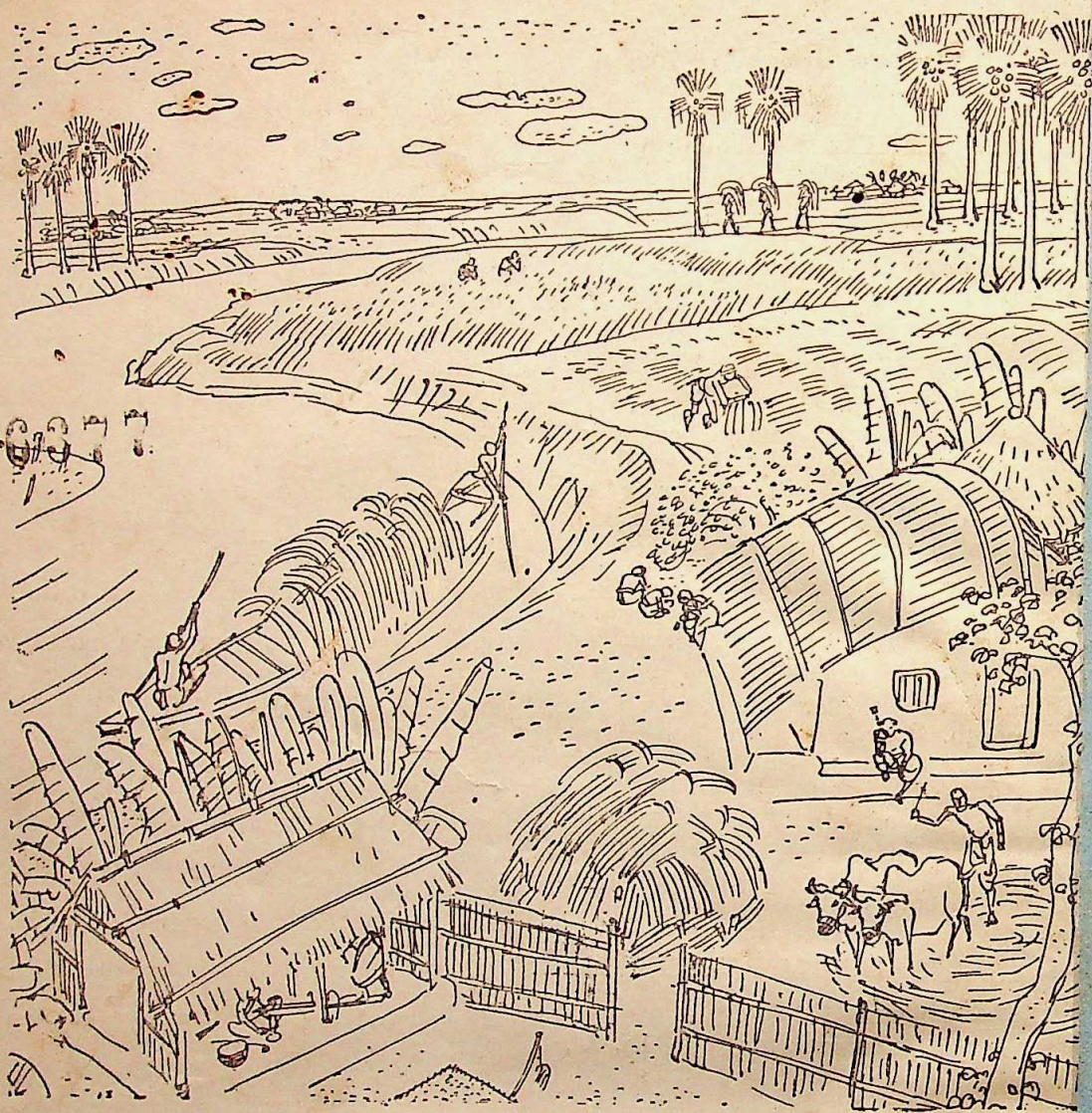

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Autumn

The rains are gone. White clouds waft by to a gentle breeze. The harvest is brought safely home and every village is gay with song and dance.

By the huts where the grain is threshed, the river glides calmly, and, in the distance, drums herald the coming Poojah. Autumn is a strenuous time, but still a time for quiet rejoicing. In every home, in village hut and city flat, the fine flavour and warm comfort of tea come as reward and refreshment after work well done.

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